

GOLDEN  
REMAINS

of the ever  
Memorable  
Mr John Hales  
of Eton College &

LONDON

Printed for R. Pawlet at  
the Bible in Chancery Lane

Reason

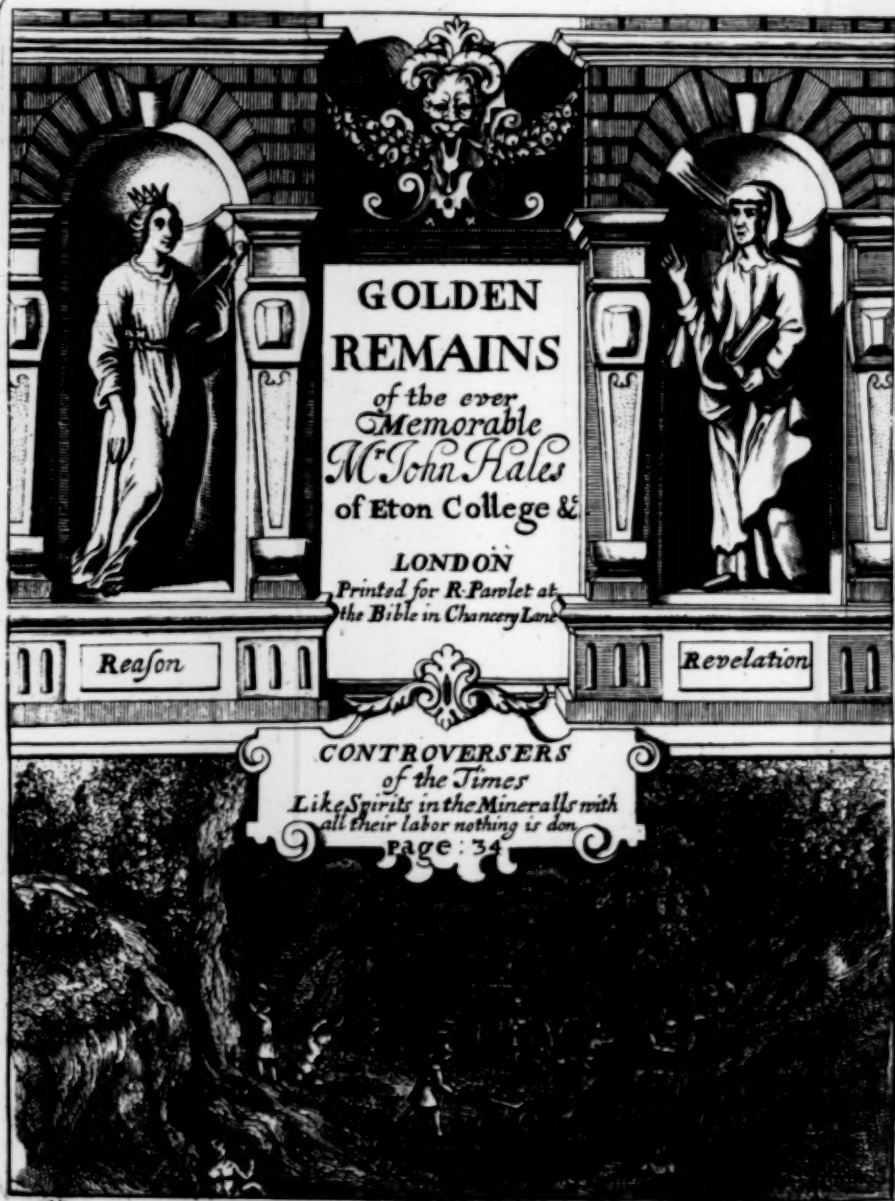
Revelation

CONTRIVERSERS  
of the Times

Like Spirits in the Mineralls with  
all their labor nothing is don

Page: 34





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Golden Remains,  
OF THE EVER  
**MEMORABLE;**  
Mr. John Hales,  
OF  
*EATON-COLLEGE, &c.*

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The Second Impression.

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With Additions from the Authours own Copy,

*Viz.*

**SERMONS & MISCELLANIES.**

ALSO

**LETTERS and EXPRESSES**

Concerning the Synod of Dort, (not before Printed,)

**From an Authentick Hand.**

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**L O N D O N,**

Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, for *Robert Pawlet*, at the  
Sign of the Bible in *Chancery-lane.* 1673.





# To the Reader.



*F* that Reverend and Worthy Person, Mr. Farindon, had not died before the Impression of this Book, you had received from that excellent hand an exact account of the Authour's Life, which he had begun, and resolved to perfect, and prefix to this Edition. And as the loss of him is great in many particulars, so especially in this; because there was none to whom Mr. Hales was so thoroughly known as unto him, nor was there any so able to declare his worth, partly by reason of his own abilities eminently known, principally because he learn'd his Authour from an intimate converse, who was a man never to be truly express'd but by himself.

I am therefore to intreat thee, Reader, being deprived of the proper Plutarch, not to expect any such thing as a Life from me, but to accept so much onely as is here intended. If Mr. Hales were unknown unto thee, be pleased to beleive what I know and affirm to be true of him; if he were known, then onely be satisfi'd, that what is published in his Name, did really proceed from him: and more then this needs not to be spoken in reference to the advancement.

## To the Reader.

vancement of this Work; because he which knew or believeth what an excellent person Mr. Hales was, and shall be also perswaded that he was the Authour of this Book, cannot chuse but infinitely desire to see and read him in it.

In order to the first of these, I shall speak no more then my own long experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, shall freely and sincerely prompt me to. Mr. John Hales, sometime Greek Professor of the University of Oxford, long Fellow of Eaton Colledge, and at last also Prebendary of Windfore, was a man, I think, of as great a sharpness, quickness, and subtilty of Wit, as ever this, or, perhaps, any Nation bred. His industry did strive, if it were possible, to equal the largeness of his capacity, whereby he became as great a Master of Polite, Various, and Universal Learning, as ever yet convers'd with Books. Proportionate to his Reading was his Meditation, which furnished him with a Judgment beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon unordinary Notions, rais'd out of strange observations, and comprehensive thoughts within himself. So that he really was a most prodigious Example of an acute and peircing Wit, of a vast and illimited Knowledge, of a severe and profound Judgment.

Although this may seem, as in it self it truly is, a grand Elogium; yet I cannot esteem him less in any thing which belongs to a good man, then in those Intellectual perfections: and had he never understood a Letter, he had other Ornaments sufficient to indear him. For he was of a Nature (as we ordinarily speak) so kind, so sweet, so courting all mankind, of an affability so prompt, so ready to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it near as easie a task for  
any



## To the Reader

any one to become so Knowing, as so Obligeing.

As a Christian, none more ever acquainted with the nature of the Gospel, because none more studious of the knowledge of it, or more curious in the search, which being strengthened by those great advantages before mentioned, could not prove otherwise then highly effectual. He took indeed to himself a liberty of judging, not of others, but for himself: and if ever any man might be allowed in these matters to judge, it was he who had so long, so much, so advantageously considered, and which is more, never could be said to have had the least worldly design in his determinations. He was not onely most truly and strictly Just in his Secular Transactions, most exemplary Meek and Humble notwithstanding his perfections, but beyond all example Charitable, giving unto all, preserving nothing but his Books, to continue his Learning and himself: which when he had before digested, he was forced at last to feed upon, at the same time the happiest and most unfortunate helluo of Books, the grand Example of Learning, and of the envy and contempt which followeth it.

This testimony may be truly given of his Person, and nothing in it liable to the least exception, but this alone, that it comes far short of him. Which intimation I conceive more necessary for such as knew him not, then all which hath been said.

In reference to the second part of my Design, I confess, while he lived none was ever more sollicitated and urged to write, and thereby truly to teach the world, then he; none ever so resolved (pardon the expression, so obstinate) against it. His facile and courteous Nature learnt onely not to yeild

## To the Reader.

to that solicitation. And therefore the World must be content to suffer the loss of all his learning with the deprivation of himself: and yet he cannot be accused for hiding of his Talent, being so communicative, that his Chamber was a Church, and his Chair a Pulpit.

Onely that there might be some taste continue of him, Here are some of his Remains recollected; such as he could not but write; and such as when written were out of his power to destroy. These consist of Sermons, Miscellanies, and Letters, and each of them proceeded from him upon respective obligations: This Impression is further augmented with the Addition of some Authentick Letters, relating to the same Transaction. His Letters, though written by himself, yet were wholly in the power of that Honourable Person to whom they were sent, and by that means they were preserv'd. The Sermons preached on several eminent occasions were snatch'd from him by his freinds, and in their hands the Copies were continued, or by transcription dispers'd. Of all which now published for His, there is need to say no more then this, That you may be confident they are His.

This, Reader, is all the trouble thought fit to be given, thee,

By JOHN PEARSON.

If any Person hath any more of the Writings of this Authour, he is desired that he would be pleased to communicate them to the Book-seller, Robert Pawlet, for whom this Book is Printed, upon Promise, or other Engagement, that he will take care to Print them by themselves.

Mr. Garthwait,

I Am very glad you chose so judicious an Overseer of those *SERMONS* of Mr. *HALES*, as Mr. *Gunning*, whom I always have had in high esteem, both for his Learning and Piety; and I am of his Opinion, that they may pass for extraordinary. That Sermon of, *Wresting hard places of Scripture*, may well begin your Collection. The other on *Rom. xiv. 1. Him that is weak in the faith, receive, &c.* was preach'd at *St. Paul's Cross*, and I moved him to Print it. That of, *My Kingdom is not of this world*, I once saw, and returned to Mr. *Hales*, with four more, which I saw him put into Mr. *Chillingworth's* hands: That of *Dixi Custodiam*, I have heard him often speak of it with a kind of complacency. That of, *He spake a Parable, that men ought always to pray*, I believe is his, by the passage of the *Spunge* and the *Knife*, which I have heard from his mouth. The Sermon which you had from D. *Hammond* upon, *Son, remember, &c.* was preach'd at *Eaton Colledge*. The other of *Duels* was either one or two, and preach'd at the *Hague* to Sir D. *Carlton* and his company. That you call a Letter on, *I can do all things*, is a Sermon. The Sermon of, *Peter went out and wept, &c.* — is under his own hand.

One caution I should put in, that you print nothing which is not written with his own hand, or be very careful in comparing them; for not long since one shewed me a Sermon, which he said was his, which I am confident could not be; for I saw nothing in it which was not *Vulgaris mone te*, of a vulgar stamp, common, and flat,  
and

## Mr. Farindon's Letter.

and low. There be some Sermons, that I much doubt of, for there is little of his spirit and *Gnius* in them, and some that are imperfect: That of *Genes. xvij. 1. Walk before me, &c.* is most imperfect, as appears by the *Autographum* which I saw at *Eaton* a fortnight since.

For his *LETTERS*, he had much trouble in that kind from several freinds, and I heard him speak of that friends Letter you mention, pleasantly, Mr. — He sets up *Tops*, and I must whip them for him. But I am very glad to hear you have gained those Letters into your hands, written from the *Synod of Dort*. You may please to take notice, that in his younger days he was a *Calvinist*, and even then when he was employed at that *Synod*, and at the well pressing *S Job. iij. 16.* by *Episcopius*. — There, I bid *John Calvin* good-night, as he has often told me. I beleive they will be as acceptable, or, in your phrase, as saleable, as his Sermons. I would not have you to venture those Papers out of your hands to me, for they may miscarry, and I fear it would be very difficult to find another Copy. Peradventure I may shortly see you, at the Term I hope I shall; and then I shall advise you further the best I can about those other Sermons you have.

I see you will be troubled yet a while to put things in a right way. I have drawn in my mind the *Model* of his *Life*, but I am like Mr. *HALES* in this, which was one of his defects, not to pen any thing, till I must needs.

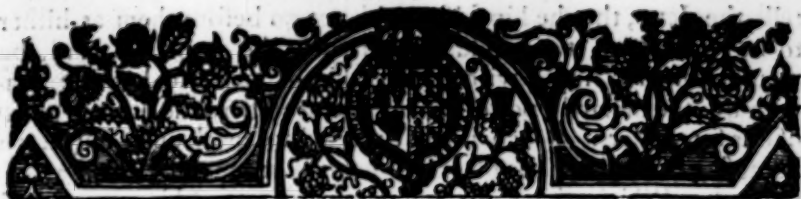
God prosper you in your work, and business you have in hand, that neither the Church, nor the Authour suffer.

Your assured Freind to his power,

Septemb. 17. 1697.

Anthony Farindon.

A SER.



2 Pet. III. 16.

*Which the Unlearned and Unstable Wrest, as they do the other Scriptures, unto their own Destruction.*



THE love and favour which it pleased God to bear our Fathers before the Law, so far prevail'd with him, as that without any Books and Writings, by familiar and friendly conversing with them, and communicating himself unto them, he made them receive and understand his Laws: their inward conceits and intellects being after a wonderful manner, as it were, *Figured and Character'd*, (as St. Basil expresses it) by his Spirit, so that they could not but see, and consent unto, and confess the truth of them. Which way of manifesting his will, unto many other gracious priviledges which it had, above that which in after ages came in place of it, had this added, that it brought with it unto the man, to whom it was made, a preservation against all doubt and hesitancy, a full assurance both who the Authour was, and how far his intent and meaning reacht. We that are their offspring ought, as St. Chrysostom tell us, so to have demeaned our selves, that it might have been with us as it was with them, that we might have had no need of writing, no other teacher but the Spirit, no other books: but our hearts, no other means to have been taught the things of God. *Nisi inspirationis divine internam suavitatemque doctrinam, ubi sine sonis sermonum & sine elementis literarum, eo dulcius quo secretius veritas loquitur;* as saith Fulgentius. *Εγχεῖμα γὰρ τῶν χαρμμάτων δίδασκai*, saith Isidorus *Pelusiota*: for it is a greater argument of our shame and imperfection, that the holy things are written in books. For as God in anger

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tells the Jews, that he himself would not go before them as hitherto he had done, to conduct them into the promised land, but would leave his Angel with them as his deputy: so hath he dealt with us, the unhappy posterity, degenerated from the antient purity of our forefathers. When himself refused to speak unto our hearts, because of the hardness of them, he then began to put his Laws in writing. Which thing for a long time amongst his own people seems not to have brought with it any sensible inconvenience. For amongst all those acts of the Jews, which God in his book hath registred for our instruction, there is not one concerning any pretended ambiguity or obscurity of the Text and Letter of their Law, which might draw them into faction and schism; the Devil belike having other sufficient advantages on which he wrought. But ever since the Gospel was committed to writing, what age, what monument of the Churches Acts is not full of debate and strife, concerning the force and meaning of those writings, which the holy Ghost hath left us to be the law and rule of faith? St. Paul, one of the first Penmen of the holy Ghost, who in Paradise heard words which it was not lawful for man to utter, hath left us words in writing, which it is not safe for any man to be too busie to interpret. No sooner had he laid down his pen, almost ere the ink was dry, were there found *Syllabarum aucupes*, such as St. Ambrose spake of, *qui nescire aliquid erubescunt, & per occasionem obscuritatis tendunt laqueos deceptionis*, who thought there could be no greater disparagement unto them, then to seem to be ignorant of any thing, and under pretence of interpreting obscure places, laid gins to entrap the uncautelous: who taking advantage of the obscurity of St. Pauls text, made the Letter of the Gospel of life and peace, the most forcible instrument of mortal quarrel and contention. The growth of which, the holy Ghost, by the ministry of St. Peter, hath endeavoured to cut up in the bud, and to strangle in the womb, in this short admonition which but now hath sounded in your ears, *Which the unlearned, &c.* In which words, for our more orderly proceeding, we will consider, First, the sin it self that is here reprehended, *Wrestling of Scripture*: where we will briefly consider what it is, and what causes and motions it finds in our corrupt understandings. Secondly, the persons guilty of this offence, discipher'd unto us in two Epithets, *unlearned, unstable*. Last of all, the danger, in the last words, *unto their own damnation*. And first, of the sin it self, together with some of the special causes of it.

*Expositio, They wrest.* They deal with Scripture as Chimicks deal with natural bodies, torturing them to extract that out of them, which God and Nature never put in them. Scripture is a rule which will not fit it self to the obliquity of our conceits, but our perverse and crooked discourse, must fit it self to the straightness of that rule. A learned Writer in the age of our fathers, commenting upon Scripture, spake most truly, when he said, *Faber. That his Comments gave no light unto the Text, the Text gave light unto his Comments.* Other Expositions may give rules and directions for understanding their Authors, but Scripture gives rules to Exposition it self, and interprets the Interpreter. Wherefore when we made in Scripture, *non pro sententia divinarum Scripturarum*, as St. Augustine speaks, *sed pro nostra ita dimicantes ut tam velimus Scripturarum esse que nostrae sit*: When we strive to give unto it, and not to receive from it the sense: when we factiously contend to fasten our conceits upon God; and, like the Harlot in the Book of Kings, take our dead and putrified fancies, and lay them in the bosome of Scripture, as of a mother; then are we guilty of this great sin of wrestling of Scripture. The nature of which will the better appear, if we consider a little, some of those motioners which drive us upon it. One very potent and strong mean, is the exceeding affection and love unto our own opinions and conceits. For grown we are unto extremities on both hands: we cannot with patience either admit of other mens opinions, or endure that our own should be withstood. As it was in the Lacedemonian army, almost all were Captains: so in these disputes, all will be leaders; and we take our selves to be much discountenanced, if others think not as we do. So that the complaint which one makes, concerning the dissention of Physicians about the diseases of our bodies, is true likewise in these disputes which concern the cure of our souls, *Hinc illa circa egros misera sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem Plin. consente, ne videatur accessio alterius.* From hence have sprung those miserable contentions about the distemper of our souls, singularity alone; and that we will not seem to stand as cyphers to make up the sum of other mens opinions, being cause enough to make us disagree. A fault anciently amongst the Christians so apparent, that it needed not an Apostolical spirit to discover it; the very heathen themselves, to our shame and confusion, have justly, judiciously, and sharply taxt us for it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* passing his censure upon *Constantinus* the Emperour: *Christianam religionem absolutam & sim-*

*plicem* (saith he: and they are words very well worth your marking) *Christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem anili superstitione confudit. In qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gratius, excitavit dissidia plurima, que progressa fufius aluit concertatione verborum, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium.* The Christian Religion, a Religion of great simplicity and perfection, he troubled with dotage and superstition. For going about rather perplexedly to search the controversies, then gravely to compose them, he raised great stirs, and by disputing spread them far and wide, whilst he went about to make himself sole Lord and Commander of the whole Profession. Now (that it may appear wherefore I have noted this) it is no hard thing for a man that hath wit, and is strongly posselt of an opinion, and resolute to maintain it, to find some places of Scripture, which by good handling will be woed to cast a favourable countenance upon it. *Pythagoras's* Scholars having been bred up in the doctrine of Numbers, when afterward they diverted upon the studies of Nature, fancied unto themselves somewhat in natural bodies like unto Numbers, and thereupon fell into a conceit, that Numbers were the principles of them. So fares it with him, that to the reading of Scripture comes fore-posselt with some opinion. As *Antipheron Orietes* in *Aristotle* thought, that every where he saw his own shape and picture going afore him: so in divers parts of Scripture where these men walk, they will easily perswade themselves, that they see the image of their own conceits. It was, and is to this day, a fashion in the hotter Countreys, at noon, when the Sun is in his strength, to retire themselves to their closets or beds if they were at home, to cool and shady places if they were abroad, to avoid the inconvenience of the heat of it. To this the Spouse in the *Canticles* alluding, calls after her Beloved as after a shepherd, *Shew me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest thy flock where thou dost rest at noon.* The *Donatists* conceiting unto themselves, that the Church was shut up in them alone, being urged by the Fathers to shew how the Church, being universal, came on a suddain thus to be confin'd to *Africk*: they had presently their Scripture for it, for so they found it written in the *Canticles*, *Indica, quem diligit anima mea, ubi pascas, ubi cubes in meridiæ.* In which Text, *meridies* doubtless, as they thought, was their Southern Countrey of *Africk*, where the Shepherd of *Israel* was, and no where else, to feed his flocks. I may not trouble you with instances in this kind: little observation is able to furnish the man of slenderest reading with abundance. The Texts of  
Scripture

Scripture which are especially subject to this abuse, are those that are of ambiguous and doubtful meaning. For as *Thucydides* observes of the fat and fertile places of *Greece*, that they were evermore the occasions of stirs and seditions: the neighbouring Nations every one striving to make it self Lord of them: so is it with these places that are so fertile, as it were, of interpretation, and yeild a multiplicity of sense: they are the *Palæstra* for good wits to prove masteries in, where every one desires to be Lord and Absolute.

A second thing occasioning us to transgress against Scripture, and the discreet and sober handling of it, is our too quick and speedy entrance upon the practise of interpreting it, in our young and green years, before that time and experience have ripened us, and settled our conceits. For that which in all other business, and here likewise doth most especially commend us, is our cautelous and wary handling it. But this is a flower seldome seen in youths garden. *Aristotle* differencing age and youth, makes it a property of youth, *πάρτα εἰδέναι ὅσους καὶ διακρίνειν*, to suppose they know all things, and to be bold in affirming: and the Heathen Rhetorician could tell us, that by this so speedy entring upon action, and so timely venting our crude and unconcocted studies, *quod est ubique perniciosissimum, prevenit vires fiducia*, a thing which in all cases is most pernicious. Presumption is greater then strength, after the manner of those, who are lately recovered out of some great sickness, in whom appetite is stronger then digestion. These are they who take the greatest mysteries of Christian Religion, to be the fittest arguments to spend themselves upon. So *Eckius* in his *Chrysopassus*, a work of his so termed, wherein he discusses the question of predestination, in the very entrance of his work tells us, That he therefore enterpris'd to handle this argument, because forsooth he thought it to be the fittest question in which he might *Juveniles calores exercere*. The antient Masters of Fence amongst the *Romans*, were wont to set up a Post, and cause their young Schollars to practise upon it, and to foine and fight with it, as with an adversary. Instead of a Post, this young Fencer hath set himself up one of the deepest Mysteries of our profession, to practise his freshmanship upon. Which quality, when once it finds Scripture for its object, how great inconvenience it brings with it, needs no large discourse to prove. St. *Jerome*, a man not too easily brought on to acknowledge the errours of his writings, among those few things which he doth retract, censures nothing so sharply as the mistake of his youth in this kind: *In adolescentia provocatus ardore & studio*



*studio Scripturarum, allegorice interpretatus sum Abdiam Prophetam, cujus historiam nesciebam.* He thought it one of the greatest sins of his youth, that being carried away through an inconsiderate heat in his studies of Scripture, he adventured to interpret *Abdias* the Prophet allegorically, when as yet he knew not the Historical meaning. Old men, saith our best natural Master, by reason of the experience of their often mistakes, are hardly brought constantly to affirm any thing, *ἀλλὰ περιστάσει αἰεὶ τὸ ἴσως καὶ τὸ μήνα*, they will always cautelously interline their speeches with *it may be*, and *peradventures*, and other such particles of wariness and circumspection. This old mens modesty, of all other things, best fits us in perusing those hard and obscure Texts of holy Scripture. Out of which conceit it is, that we see *St. Austine* in his books, *de Genesi ad literam*, to have written onely by way of questions and interrogations, after the manner of *Aristotle* in his Problemes, *That he might not* (for so he gives his reason) *by being ever positive prejudice others, and peradventure truer interpretations: that every one might choose according to his liking, & ubi quid intelligere non potest, Scripturæ Dei det honorem, sibi timorem:* and where his understanding cannot attain unto the sense of it, let him give that honour and reverence which is due unto the Scripture, and carry himself with that awe and respect which befits him. Wherefore not without especial providence it is, that the holy Ghost by *St. Paul*, giving precepts to *Timothy*, concerning the quality of those who were to be admitted to the distributing of Gods holy word, expressly prescribes against a young Schollar, *lest, saith he, he be puffed up.* For as it hath been noted of men, who are lately grown rich, that they differ from other rich men onely in this, *Arist. Rhet. 2. τὼ ἅπαντα πολλοὶ καὶ φαυλότερα κακὰ ἔχουσιν τοῖς νεοπλάτυσιν*, that commonly they have all the faults that rich men have, and many more: so is it as true in those who have lately attained to some degree and mediocrity of knowledge. Look what infirmities learned men have, the same have they in greater degree, and many more besides. Wherefore if *Hippocrates* in his Physician required these two things, *φοροπονίαν, καὶ πυλὺν χρόνον*, great industry, and long experience; the one as tillage to sow the seed, the other as time and season of the year to bring it to maturity: then certainly by so much the more are these two required in the spiritual Physician, by how much he is the Physician to a more excellent part.

I will adde yet one third motioner to this abuse of Scriptures, and that is, The too great presumption upon the strength and subtilty of our



our own wits. That which the Roman Priest sometimes told an over-pleasant and witty Vestal Virgin, *Coli Deos sancte magis quam scite*, hath in this great work of exposition of Scripture an especial place. The holy things of God must be handled *sanctè, magis quam scite*; with fear and reverence, not with wit and dalliance. The dangerous effects of this have appeared, not in the green tree onely, in young heads, but in men of constant age, and great place in the Church. For this was that which undid *Origen*, a man of as great learning and industry, as ever the Church had any; whilst in sublimity of his wit, in his Comments on Scripture, conceiving Meteors and airy speculations, he brought forth those dangerous errors, which drew upon his person the Churches heaviest censure, and upon posterity the loss of his works. Subtle witted men in nothing so much miscarry as in the too much pleasing themselves in the goodness of their own conceits; where the like sometimes befalls them which befell *Zexxis* the Painter, who having to the life pictured an old woman, so pleas'd himself with the conceit of his work, that he died with laughing at it. *Heliodor* Bishop of *Tricca* in *Thessaly*, the Author of the *Ethiopick Story*, a polite and elegant, I confess, but *Nicephorus.* a loose and wanton work, being summon'd by a Provincial Synod, was told, that which was true, That his work did rather endanger the manners, then profit the wits of his Reader, as nourishing loose and wanton conceits in the heads of youth: and having his choice given him, either to abolish his work, or to leave his Bishoprick; not willing to lose the reputation of wit, chose rather to resign his place in the Church, and, as I verily think, his part in heaven. And not in private persons alone, but even in whole Nations, shall we find remarkable examples of miscarriage in this kind. The *Grecians*, till barbarism began to steal in upon them, were men of wonderful subtlety of wit, and naturally over indulgent unto themselves in this quality. Those deep and subtle Heresies concerning the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and of the holy Ghost, the Union and Division of the Divine Substance and Persons, were all of them begotten in the heat of their wits; yea, by the strength of them were they conceived, and born, and brought to that growth, that if it had been possible for the gates of hell to prevail against the Church, they would have prevailed this way. Wherefore as God dealt with his own land, which being sometimes the mirror of the world for fertility and abundance of all things, now lies subject to many curses, and especially to that of barrenness: so at this day is it with *Greece*, where:

where sometimes was the flow and luxury of wit, now is there nothing but extream barbarism and stupidity. It is in this respect so degenerated, that it scarcely for some hundred of years hath brought forth a child that carries any shew of his fathers countenance: God as it were purposely plaguing their miserable posterity with extreme want of that, the abundance of which their fathers did so wantonly abuse. The reason of all, that hitherto I have in this point delivered, is this, Sharpness of wit hath commonly with it two ill companions, Pride, and Levity. By the first it comes to pass, that men know not how to yeild to another mans reasonable positions; by the second, they know not how to keep themselves constant to their own. It was an excellent observation of the wise Grecian, *φαιδότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, &c. *Sad and dull spirited men usually manage matters of State, better then quick and nimble wits.* For such for the most part have not learnt that Lesson, the meaning of that voice that came to the *Pythagorean*, that was desirous to remove the ashes of his dead friend out of his grave, *μὴ κινῆσαι τὰ ἀκινήτα*, *Things lawfully settled and composed must not be moved.* *ἡ περὶ τῆς αἰσῆς φύσει προσάδουν δὴμῳ πολυπραγμῶν ἄνθρωποι*, saith *Julian*, *Men over-busy are by nature unfit to govern: for they move all things, and leave nothing without question and innovation: τὸ δεῖν ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ τι δεξιότερον*, as *Nazianzen* speaks, *Out of desire to amend what is already well.* And therefore we see that for the most part such, if they be in place of Authority, by unseasonable and unnecessary tampering, put all things into tumult and combustion. Not the Common-wealth alone, but the Church likewise hath received the like blow from these kind of men. *Nazianzen* in his six and twentieth Oration, discoursing concerning the disorders committed in the handling of Controversies, speaks it plainly, *φύσας θερμὰ καὶ μεγάλα πάσης τῆς παρεχῆς αἰτίας*, &c. *Great wits, hot and fiery dispositions have raised these tumults. From these it is (saith he) that Christians are so divided. We are no longer a Tribe and a Tribe, Israel and Judah, two parts of a small Nation: but we are divided kindred against kindred, family against family, yea, a man against himself.* But I must hasten to my second general part, *The persons here accounted guilty of abuse of Scripture.*

The persons are noted unto us in two Epithets, *Unlearned*, *Unstable*. First, *Unlearned*. It was *St. Jerom's* complaint, that practitioners of other Arts could contain themselves within the bounds of their own Profession, *sola scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vendicant; Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc uni-*  
*versis*

versū præsument, lacerant, docent antequam discant: every one presumes much upon his skill, and therefore to be a teacher of Scripture: οἱ κηρύττοντες τερτίδιον εἶναι τὸ μυστήριον μου μυστήριον. (so Nazianzen speaks.) as if this great mystery of Christianity were but some one of the common, base, inferiour, and contemptible trades. I speak not this as if I envied, that all, even the meanest of the Lords people should prophesie: but onely that all kind of men may know their bounds, that no unlearned beast touch the hill, lest he be thrust through with a dart. It is true which we have heard, *Surgunt indocti & rapiunt Regnum celorum*: they arise indeed, but it is as St. Paul speaks of the resurrection, *every man in his own order*. Scripture is given to all, to learn: but to teach, and to interpret, onely to a few. This bold intrusion therefore of the unlearned into the chair of the Teacher, is that which here with our blessed Apostle I am to reprehend. *Learning* in general is nothing else, but the competent skill of any man in whatsoever he professes. Usually we call by this name onely our polite and Academical Studies; but indeed it is common to *every one, that is well skill'd*, well practised in his own mystery. The unlearned therefore, whom here our Apostle rebukes, is not he that hath not read a multiplicity of Authors, or that is not as *Moses* was, skilful in all the learning of the *Egyptians*: but he that taking upon him to divide the word of God, is yet but raw and unexperienced; or if he have had experience, wants judgment to make use of it. Scripture is never so unhappy, as when it falls into these mens fingers. That which old *Cato* said of the *Grecian* Physicians, *Quandocunque ista gens literas suas dabit, omnia corrumpet*, is most true of these men; whensoever they shall begin to tamper with Scripture, and vent in writing their raw conceits, they will corrupt and defile all they touch. *Quid enim molestiæ trititiæque temerarii isti præsumptores*, &c. as *S. Austin* *De Genesi ad literam*. complaineth: for what trouble and anguish these rash presumers (saith he) bring unto the discreeter sort of the brethren, cannot sufficiently be exprest, when being convinced of their rotten and ungrounded opinions; for the maintaining of that which with great levity and open falsehood they have averred, they pretend the authority of these sacred Books, and repeat much of them even by heart, as bearing witness to what they hold: whereas indeed they do but pronounce the words; but understand not either what they speak, or of what things they do affirm. Belike as he that bought *Orpheus* Harp, thought it would of it self make admirable melody, how unskilfully soever he touch'd it: so these men suppose, that

Scripture will sound wonderful musically, if they do but strike it, with how great infelicity or incongruity soever it be. The reason of these mens offence against Scripture, is the same with the cause of their miscarriage in civil actions: *αὐθάδεια μὲν θεῶσδε*, saith *Thucydides*, *λογισμὸς δὲ ὅσωνος πέπει*. *Rude men, men of little experience, are commonly most peremptory: but men experienced, and such as have waded in Business, are slow of determination.* *Quintilian* making a question, why unlearned men seem many times to be more copious then the learned (for commonly such men never want matter of discourse) answers, That it is, because whatsoever conceit comes into their heads, without care or choice they broach it, *cum doctis sit electio & modus*: whereas learned men are choice in their invention, and lay by much of that which offers it self. *Wise hearted men, in whom the Lord hath put wisdom and understanding, to know how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary, like Bezaleel and Aboliab, refuse much of the stuff which is presented them.* But this kind of men whom here our Apostle notes, are naturally men of bold and daring spirits, *Quicquid dixerint. hoc legem Dei putant*, as *St. Jerome* speaks; whatsoever conceit is begotten in their heads, the spirit of God is presently the father of it: *Nec scire dignantur quid Prophetae, quid Apostoli senserint, sed ad suum sensum incongrua aptant testimonia.* But to leave these men; and to speak a little more home unto mine own Auditory: Let us a little consider, not the weakness of these men, but the greatness of the business, the manage of which they undertake. So great a thing as the skill of Exposition of the Word and Gospel is, so fraught with multiplicity of Authors, so full of variety of opinion, must needs be confest to be a matter of great learning, and that it cannot, especially in our days, in short time, with a mediocrity of industry be attained. For if in the Apostles times, when as yet much of Scripture was scarcely written, when God wrought with men miraculously, to inform their understanding, and supplied by revelation what mans industry could not yield; if, I say, in these times *St. Paul* required *diligent reading*, and expressly forbad greenness of Scholarship: much more then are these conditions required in our times, wherein God doth not supply by miracle our natural defects, and yet the burden of our profession is infinitely increast. All that was necessary in the Apostles times, is now necessary, and much more. For if we adde unto the growth of Christian learning, as it was in the Apostles times, but this one circumstance (to say nothing of all the rest) which naturally befalls our times, and could not

not be required at the hands of those who guided the first ages of the Church: that is, the knowledge of the state and succession of doctrine in the Church from time to time; a thing very necessary for the determining the controversies of these our days: how great a portion of our labour and industry would this alone require? Wherefore if *Quintilian* thought it necessary to admonish young men, that they should not presume themselves *satis instructos, si quem ex iis, qui breves circumferuntur, artis libellum edidicerint, & velut decretis technicorum tutos putent*: if he thought fit thus to do in an Art of so inferiour and narrow a sphere, much more is it behoveful, that young Students in so high, so spacious, so large a profession, be advised not to think themselves sufficiently provided, upon their acquaintance with some *Notitia*, or Systeme of some technical divine. Looke upon those sons of *Anak*, those Giant-like voluminous Writers of *Rome*, in regard of whom, our little Tractates, and pocket Volumes in this kind, what are they but as *Grasshoppers*? I speak not this like some seditious or factious spie, to bring weakness of hands, or melting of heart upon any of Gods people: but *ὡς αἰνὰ ῥυπαρῆς*, to stir up and kindle in you the spirit of industry, to enlarge your conceits, and not to suffer your labours to be copst and mued up within the poverty of some pretended method. I will speak as *Joshua* did to his people, *Let us not fear the people of that land, they are as meat unto us, their shadow is departed from them: the Lord is with us, fear them not*. Onely let us not think, *sedendo & votis debellari posse*, that the conquest will be gotten by sitting still and wishing all were well: or that the walls of these strong Cities will fall down, if we onely walk about them, and blow rams horns. But as the voice of Gods people sometime was, *by the sword of God and of Gideon*, so that which here gives the victory must be the grace of God and our industry. For by this circumcised, narrow, and penurious form of study, we shall be no more able to keep pace with them, then a child can with *Hercules*. But I forbear, and pass away unto the second Epithet, by which these rackers of Scriptures are by *St. Peter* stiled *Unstable*. Livie.

**I**N the learning which the world teaches, it were almost a miracle to find a man constant to his own tenets. For not to doubt in things in which we are conversant, is either by reason of excellency and serenity of understanding, thoroughly apprehending the main principles on which all things are grounded, together with the def-



crying of the several passages from them unto particular conclusions, and the diverticles and blind by-paths which Sophistry and deceit are wont to tread; and such a man can nature never yield: or else it is through a senseless stupidity, like unto that in the common sort of men, who conversing among the creatures, and beholding the course of heaven, and the heavenly host, yet never attend them, neither ever sinks it into their heads to marvel, or question these things so full of doubt and difficulty. Even such a one is he, that learns Theology in the School of Nature, if he seem to participate of any settledness or composedness of conscience. Either it never comes into his head to doubt of any of those things, with which the world hath inured him: or if it doth, it is to no great purpose, he may smother and strangle, he can never resolve his doubt. The reason of which is this, It lies not in the worlds power to give in this case a text of sufficient authority to compose and fix the thoughts of a soul, that is dispos'd to doubt. But this great inconvenience, which held the world in uncertainty, by the providence of God is prevented in the Church. For unto it is left a certain, undoubted, and sufficient authority, able to exalt every valley, and lay low every hill, to smooth all rubs, and make our way so open and passable; that little enquiry serves. So that as it were a wonder in the School of Nature, to find one settled and resolved; so might it seem a marvel that in the Church any man is unstable, unresolved. Yet notwithstanding, even here is the unstable man found too, and to his charge the Apostle lays this sin of *Wresting* of Scripture. For since that it is confest at all hands, that the *sense* and meaning of Scripture is the rule and ground of our Christian tenets, whensoever we alter them, we must needs give a new sense unto the word of God. So that the man that is unstable in his Religion, can never be free from violating of Scripture. The especial cause of this levity and flitting disposition in the common and ordinary sort of men, is their disability to discern of the strength of such reasons, as may be framed against them. For which cause they usually start, and many times fall away, upon every objection that is made. In which too sudden entertainment of objections, they resemble the state of those, who are lately recovered out of some long sickness, *qui & si reliquias effugerint, suspicionibus tamen inquietantur, & omnem calorem corporis sui calumniantur*: Who never more wrong themselves, then by suspecting every alteration of their temper, and being affrighted at every little passion of heat, as if it were an ague-fit.

To bring these men therefore unto an ἐνθυμία, and to purchase them a settledness of mind; that temper that St. *Austine* doth require in him that reads his Book, *tales meorum Scriptorum velim iudices, qui responsonem non semper desiderent, quoniam his quæ leguntur audierint aliquid contradici*: The same temper must be found in every Reader of Scripture, he must not be at a stand, and require an answer to every objection that is made against them. For as the Philosopher tells us, that mad and fantastical men, are very apprehensive of all outward accidents, because their soul is inwardly empty and unfurnished of any thing of worth which might hold the inward attention of their minds: so when we are so easily dor'd and amated with every Sophism, it is a certain argument of great defect of inward furniture and worth, which should as it were ballance the mind, and keep it upright against all outward occurrents whatsoever. And be it that many times, the means to open such doubts be not at hand, yet, as St. *Austin* sometime spake unto his Scholar *Licentius*, concerning such advice and counsel as he had given him, *Nolo te causas rationesque rimari, quæ etiamsi reddi possint. fidei tamen, quæ mihi credis non eas debeo*: so much more must we thus resolve of those lessons which God teacheth us; the reasons and grounds of them, though they might be given, yet it fits not that credit and trust which we owe him, once to search into, or call in question. And so I come to the third general part, the Danger of Wrestling of Scripture, in the last words, *unto their own Damnation*.

The reward of every sin is Death. As the worm eats out the heart of the plant that bred it, so whatsoever is done amiss naturally, works no other end but destruction of him that doth it. As this is true in general, so is it as true, that when the Scripture doth precisely note out unto us some sin, and threatens Death unto it, it is commonly an argument, that there is more then ordinary, that there is some especial sin, which shall draw with it some especial punishment. This sin of Wrestling of Scripture in the eye of some of the Antients, seemed so ugly, that they have ranged it in the same rank with the sin against the holy Ghost. And therefore have they pronounced it a sin, *μεῖζον συγχώρητον*, *Isidorus Pelusota*: greater then can be pardoned. For the most part of other sins, are sins of infirmity or simplicity, but this is a sin of wit and strength: the man that doth it, doth it with a high hand; he knows, and sees, and resolves upon it. Again, Scripture is the voice of God: and it is confessed by all, that the sense is Scripture, rather

rather than the words. It cannot therefore be avoided, but he that wilfully strives to fasten some sense of his own upon it, other than the very nature of the place will bear, must needs take upon him the Person of God, and become a new inditer of Scripture: and all that applaud and give consent unto any such, in effect cry the same that the people did to *Herod*, *The voice of God, and not of man*. If he then that abases the Princes Coin deserves to die, what is his desert, that instead of the tried silver of Gods word, stamps the Name

2 Pet. 1. 20.

and Character of God upon *Nehushtan*, upon basebrassen stuff of his own? Thirdly, *No Scripture is of private interpretation*, saith the Apostle. There can therefore be but two certain and infallible interpreters of Scripture; either it self, or the holy Ghost the Author of it. It self doth then expound it self, when the words and circumstances do sound unto us the prime, and natural, and principal sense. But when the place is obscure, involved, and intricate; or when there is contained some secret and hidden mystery, beyond the prime sense; infallibly to shew us this, there can be no Interpreter but the holy Ghost that gave it. Besides these two, all other Interpretation is private. Wherefore as the Lords of the Philistines sometimes said of the king that drew the Ark unto *Bethshemesb*, *If they go of themselves then is this from God; but if they go another way, then is it not from God, it is some chance that hath happened unto us*: so may it be said of all pretended sense of Scripture. If Scripture come unto it of it self, then is it of God: but if it go another way, or if it be violently urged and goaded on, then is it but a matter of chance, of mans wit and invention. As for those marvellous discourses of some, framed upon presumption of the *Spirits* help in private, in judging or interpreting of difficult places of Scripture, I must needs confess, I have often wondred at the boldness of them. The *spirit* is a thing of dark and secret operation, the manner of it none can descry. As underminers are never seen till they have wrought their purpose so the Spirit is never perceived but by its effects. The effects of the Spirit (as far as they concern knowledge and instruction) are not particular information for resolution in any doubtful case (for this were plainly revelation) but, as the Angel which was sent unto *Cornelius* informs him not, but sends him to *Peter* to school: so the Spirit teaches not, but stirs up in us a desire to learn; desire to learn makes us thirst after the means: and pious sedulity and carefulness makes us watchful in the choice, and diligent in the use of our means. The promise to the

Apostles

Apostles of the Spirit which should lead them into all truth, was made good unto them by private and secret informing their understandings, with the knowledge of high and heavenly mysteries, which as yet had never entred into the conceit of any man. The same promise is made to us, but fulfilled after another manner. For what was written by revelation in their hearts, for our instruction have they written in their books. To us for information, otherwise then out of these books, the Spirit speaks not. When the Spirit regenerates a man, it infuses no knowledge of any point of faith, but sends him to the Church, and to the Scriptures. When it stirs him up to newness of life, it exhibits not unto him an inventory of his sins, as hitherto unknown; but either supposes them known in the Law of Nature, of which no man can be ignorant; or sends him to learn them from the mouth of his teachers. More then this in the ordinary proceeding of the holy Spirit, in matter of instruction, I yet could never descry. So that to speak of the help of the spirit in private, either in dijudicating, or in interpreting of Scripture, is to speak they know not what. Which I do the rather note, first, because by experience we have learnt, how apt men are to call their private conceits the Spirit: and again, because it is the especial error, with which S. *Anstine* long ago charged this kind of men: *Tanto sunt ad seditionem faciliores, quanto sibi videntur spiritu excellere*: by so much the more prone are they to kindle Schism and contention in the Church, by how much they seem to themselves to be endued with a more eminent measure of spirit then their brethren; whilst *ὡς περισσοτέρως ἐκνήνοῦσιν τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεσάρκην*; (as St. *Basil* speaks) under pretence of interpretation they violently broach their own conceits. Great then is the danger in which they wade, which take upon them this business of interpretation. *Temeritas asserenda incerta dubiaque opinionis*, saith St. *Anstine*, *difficile sacrilegii crimen evitat*: the rashness of those that aver uncertain and doubtful interpretations, for Catholick and Absolute, can hardly escape the sin of sacrilege.

But whereas our Apostle saith, *their own destruction*, is the destruction onely their own? this were well if it stretched no farther. The antients much complain of this offence, as an hinderer of the salvation of others. There were in the days of *Isidorus Pelusiota* some that gave out, that all in the Old Testament was spoken of Christ: belike out of extreme opposition to the *Manichees*, who on the other side taught, that no Text in the Old Testament did foretel of Christ. That Father therefore dealing with some of that opinion,

tells

tells them how great the danger of their tenet is: τὰ γὰρ μὴ εἶ;  
 αὐτὸν εἰρημένα ἐκβιάζομενοι, καὶ τὰ ἀβίατ' ὡς εἰρημένα ὑποτίθεσθαι πα-  
 ρασκευάζουσιν; for if, saith he, we strive with violence to draw and ap-  
 ply those Texts to Christ, which apparently pertain not to him, we shall gain  
 nothing but this, to make all the places that are spoken of him suspected;  
 and so discredit the strength of other testimonies, which the Church usually  
 urges for the refutation of the Jews. For in these cases, a wrested proof  
 is like unto a suborn'd witness; it never doth help so much whilest  
 it is presumed to be strong, as it doth hurt when it is discover'd to  
 be weak. St. *Austin* in his Books, *de Genesi ad litteram*, sharply re-  
 proves some Christians, who out of some places of Scripture mis-  
 understood, fram'd unto themselves a kind of knowledge in A-  
 stronomy and Physiology, quite contrary unto some part of hea-  
 then Learning in this kind, which were true and evident unto sense.  
 A man would think that this were but a small errour, and yet he  
 doubts not to call it, *turpe nimis & perniciosum & maxime cavendum*.  
 His reason warrants the roundness of his reproof; for he charges  
 such to have been a scandal unto the Word, and hinderers of the con-  
 version of some heathen men that were Scholars: For how, saith  
 he, shall they believe our books of Scripture, perswading the resurrection of  
 the dead, the kingdom of heaven, and the rest of the mysteries of our pro-  
 fession, if they find them faulty in these things, of which themselves have  
 undeniable demonstration? Yea, though the cause we maintain be ne-  
 ver so good, yet the issue of diseas'd and crazie proofs brought to  
 maintain it, must needs be the same. For unto all causes, be they  
 never so good, weakness of proof, when it is discovered, brings  
 great prejudice, but unto the cause of Religion most of all. St. *An-  
 stine* observ'd, that there were some, *qui cum de aliquibus, qui sanctum  
 nomen profitentur aliquid criminis vel falsi sonuerit, vel veri patnerit,  
 instant, satagunt, ambiunt ut de omnibus hoc credatur*. It fares no other-  
 wise with Religion it self, then it doth with the professors of it.  
 Divers malignants there are, who lie in wait to espie where our  
 reasons on which we build are weak, and having deprehended it in  
 some, will earnestly solicit the world to believe that all are so, if  
 means were made to bring it to light: ἐκ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν δόγμασι τὴν  
 ἰσχυρὴν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέρων σαθροῖς ταύτης ὑπερβύοντες, as  
*Nazianzen* speaks: using for advantage against us no strength of  
 their own, but the vice and imbecility of our defence. The book  
 of the Revelation is a book full of wonder and mystery: the Anci-  
 ents seem to have made a Religion to meddle with it, and thought  
 it



it much better to admire with silence, then to adventure to expound it: and therefore amongst their labours in exposition of Scripture, scarcely is there any one found that hath touch'd it. But our Age hath taken better heart. And scarcely any one is there, who hath entertained a good conceit of his own abilities, but he hath taken that Book as a fit argument to spend his pains on. That the Church of *Rome* hath great cause to suspect her self, to fear lest she have a great part in the Prophecies in that book, I think the most partial will not deny. Yet unto the Expositours of it, I will give this advice, that they look that that befall not them, which *Thucydides* observes to befall the common sort of men: who though they have good means to acquit themselves like men, yet when they think their best hopes fail them, and begin to despair of their strength, comfort themselves with interpretations of certain dark and obscure prophecies. Many plain texts of Scripture are very pregnant, and of sufficient strength to overthrow the points maintained by that Church against us. If we leave these, and ground our selves upon our private expositions of this Book, we shall justly seem in the poverty of better proofs, to rest our selves upon those prophecies; which, though in themselves they are most certain, yet our expositions of them must (except God give yet further light unto his Church) necessarily be mixt with much uncertainty, as being at the best but unprobable conjectures of our own. Scarcely can there be found a thing more harmful to Religion, then to vent thus our own conceits, and obtrude them upon the world for necessary and absolute. The Physicians skill, as I conceive of it, stands as much in opinion, as any that I know whatsoever; yet their greatest Master *Hippocrates* tells them directly, *ὁμοίη γὰρ μάστιγ' αἰ' ἰατρικῇ, &c.* Then the Physicians presumption upon opinion, there is not one thing that brings either more blame to himself, or danger to his patient. If it be thus in an art, which opinion taken away, must needs fall; how little room then must opinion have in that knowledge, where nothing can have place but what is of eternal truth, where if once we admit of opinion, all is overthrown? But I conclude this point, adding onely this general admonition, That we be not too peremptory in our positions, where express text of Scripture fails us; that we lay not our own collections and conclusions with too much precipitancy. For experience hath shewed us, that the error and weakness of them being afterwards discovered, brings great disadvantage to Christianity, and trouble to the Church. The Eastern Church

before St. *Basil's* time, had entertained generally a conceit, that those Greek particles, *εἰ, οὐ, δὲ*, and the rest, were so divided among the Trinity, that each of the Persons had his Particle, which was no way applicable to the rest. St. *Basil* having discovered this to be but a niceness and needless curiosity, beginning to teach so, raised in the Church such a tumult, that he brought upon himself a great labour of writing many tracts in apology for himself, with much ado, ere matters could again be settled. The fault of this was not in *Basil*, who religiously fearing what by way of consequence might ensue upon an error, taught a truth; but in the Church, who formerly had with too much facility admitted a conclusion so justly subject to exception. And let this suffice for our third part.

Now because it is apparent, that the end of this our Apostles admonition is to give the Church a *Caveat* how she behave her self in handling of Scripture, give me leave a little, in stead of the use of such doctrines as I have formerly laid down, to shew you, as far as my conceit can stretch, what course any man may take to save himself from offering violence unto Scripture, and reasonably settle himself, any pretended obscurity of the text whatsoever notwithstanding. For which purpose, the diligent observing of two rules shall be thoroughly available: First, *The literal, plain, and uncontroversable meaning of Scripture, without any addition or supply by way of interpretation, is that alone which for ground of faith we are necessarily bound to accept, except it be there where the holy Ghost himself treads us out another way.* I take not this to be any peculiar conceit of mine, but that unto which our Church stands necessarily bound. When we receded from the Church of *Rome*, one motive was, because she added unto Scripture her glosses as Canonical, to supply what the plain text of Scripture could not yield. If in place of hers, we set up our own glosses, thus to do, were nothing else but to pull down Baal, and set up an ephod; to run round, and meet the Church of *Rome* again in the same point, in which at first we left her. But the plain, evident, and demonstrative ground of this rule, is this: That authority which doth warrant our faith unto us, must every way be free from all possibility of error. For let us but once admit of this, that there is any possibility that any one point of faith should not be true; if it be once granted that I may be deceived in what I have believed, how can I be assured that in the end I shall not be deceived? If the Author of faith may alter, or if the evidence and assurance that he hath left us be not pregnant, and

and impossible to be defeated, there is necessarily opened an inlet to doubtfulness and wavering, which the nature of faith excludes. That faith therefore may stand unshaken, two things are of necessity to concur. First, That the Author of it be such a one, as can by no means be deceived, and this can be none but God. Secondly, That the words and text of this Author upon whom we ground, must admit of no ambiguity, no uncertainty of interpretation. *If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall provide himself to battel.* If the words admit a double sense, and I follow one, who can assure me that that which I follow is the truth? For infallibility either in judgment, or interpretation, or whatsoever, is annexed neither to the See of any Bishop, nor to the Fathers, nor to the Councils, nor to the Church, nor to any created power whatsoever. This doctrine of the literal sense was never grievous or prejudicial to any, but onely to those who were inwardly conscious, that their positions were not sufficiently grounded. When *Cardinal Cajetan*, in the days of our grandfathers, had forsaken that vein of posttilling and allegorising on Scripture, which for a long time had prevailed in the Church, and betaken himself unto the literal sense; it was a thing so distasteful unto the Church of *Rome*, that he was forc'd to find out many shifts, and make many apologies for himself. The truth is, (as it will appear to him that reads his writings) this sticking close to the literal sense was that alone, which made him to shake many of those tenets, upon which the Church of *Rome* and the Reformed Churches differ. But when the importunity of the Reformers, and the great credit of *Calvin's* writings in that kind, had forced the Divines of *Rome* to level their interpretations by the same line: when they saw that no pains, no subtilty of wit was strong enough to defeat the literal evidence of Scripture, it drave them on those desperate shelves, on which at this day they stick, to call in question, as far as they durst, the credit of the *Hebrew* text, and countenance against it a corrupt translation; to adde Traditions unto Scripture, and to make the Churches interpretation, so pretended, to be above exception. As for that restriction which is usually added to this Rule, that the literal sense is to be taken, if no absurdity follow, though I acknowledge it to be sound and good, yet my advise is that we entertain it warily. *St. Basil* thought the precept of Christ to the rich man in the Gospel, *Go sell all that thou hast, and give unto the poor*, to be spoken as a command universally and eternally binding all Christians

without exception. And making this objection, how possibly such a life could be amongst Christians, since where all are sellers, none could be buyers: *μη ερώτα με* (saith he) *την διάνοιαν τῶν δεσποτικών παραγγέλων*, &c. *Ask not me the sense of my Lords commands. He that gave the Law, can provide to give it possibility of being kept, without any absurdity at all.* Which speech howsoever we may suppose the occasion of it to be mistaken, yet it is of excellent use to repress our boldness, whereby many times, under pretence of some inconvenience, we hinder Scripture from that latitude of sense, of which it is naturally capable. You know the story of the *Roman Captain* in *Gellius*, and what he told the Ship-wright, that chose rather to interpret, then to execute his Lords command; *Corrumpi atque dissolvere omne imperantis officium, si quis ad id quod facere iussus est non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondeat.* It will certainly in the end prove safer for us to entertain Gods commandments, *obsequio debito*, then to interpret them *acumine non desiderato*. Those other ways of interpretation, whether it be by allegorising, or allusion, or whatsoever, the best that can be said of them, is that which *S. Basil* hath pronounced, *ὡς κεκομψευμένοι μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἀληθὴ δὲ εἶναι ὃ παρ' ὁμολογοῦμεν*: *We account of them as of trim elegant and witty speeches, but we refuse to accept of them, as of undoubted truths.* And though of some part of these, that may be said which one said of his own work, *Quod ad usum lusi, quod ad molestiam laboravi*, in respect of any profit comes by them, they are but sport, but in respect of the painstaking in making of them, they are labour and travel: yet much of them is of excellent use in private, either to raise our affections, or to spend our meditations, or (so it be with modesty) to practise our gifts of wit to the honour of him that gave them. For if we absolutely condemn these interpretations, then must we condemn a great part of antiquity, who are very much conversant in this kind of interpreting. For the most partial for antiquity cannot chuse but see and confess thus much, that for the literal sense the Interpreters of our own times, because of their skill in the Original Languages, their care of pressing the circumstances and coherence of the Text; of comparing like places of Scripture with like, have generally surpast the best of the Ancients. Which I speak not to discountenance Antiquity, but that all ages, all persons may have their due. And let this suffice for our first rule.

The Jewish Rabbins on their Comments on Scripture, so oft as they met with hard and intricate texts, out of which they could not wrest themselves, were wont to shut up their discourse with this, *Elias cum venerit, solvet dubia*, Elias shall answer this doubt when he comes. Not the Jews onely, but the learned Christians of all ages have found many things in Scripture, which yet expect *Elias*. For besides those texts of Scriptures, which by reason of the hidden treasures of wisdom, and depth of sense and mystery laid up in them, are not yet conceived, there are in Scripture of things that are *ὑστερα περτερα* seemingly confus'd, *εναρτοπαρι*, carrying semblance of contrariety, Anachronisms, Metachronisms, and the like, which brings infinite obscurity to the text: there are, I say, in Scripture more of them, then in any writing that I know, Secular or Divine. If we mean not to settle our selves till all these things are answered, let us us take heed lest the like be said to us, which St. *Austin* said to some of the Gentiles, who refused to beleive till all objections were satisfied, *sunt enim innumerales quæ non sunt finiende ante fidem, ne vita finiatur sine fide*. The *Arcopagites* in Athens, when they were troubled in a doubtful case, in which they durst not proceed to sentence, were wont *causam in diem longissimam differre*, to put it off till a day of hearing for some hundred years after, avoiding by this means the further being importun'd with the Suit. To quiet ourselves in these doubts, it will be our best way, *in diem longissimam differre*, to put them to someday of hearing afar off, even till that great day, till Christ our true *Elias* shall come, who at his coming shall answer all our doubts, and settle all our waverings. Mean while, till our *Elias* come, let us make use of this second rule, In places of ambiguous and doubtful, or dark and intricate meaning, it is sufficient if we religiously admire and acknowledge and confess: using that moderation of S. *Austin*, *Nentram partem affirmantes sive destruentes, sed tantummodo ab audaci affirmandi præsumptione revocantes. Qui credit*, saith one, *satis est illi quod Christus intelligat*. To understand belongs to Christ, the Authour of our Faith: to us is sufficient the glory of Beleiving. Wherefore we are to advise, not so much how to attain unto the understanding of the mysteries of Scripture, as how it best fits us to carry our selves, when either the difficulty of the text, or variety of opinions shall distract us. In the sixth General Council, *Honorius* Bishop of Rome is condemned for a *Monothelite*. Two Epistles there are of his, which are produced to give evidence against him. For the first, I have nothing to say. For the



the second, (I speak with submission to better judgments) notwithstanding the sharp proceeding of the Council against him, I verily suppose that he gives unto the Church the best counsel, that ever yet was given for the settling of doubts, and final decision of controverſie. For that which he teaches in that Epistle, at least in those parts of it, which there are brought, sounds to no other purpose but this, *That whereas there was lately raised in the Church a controverſie concerning the Duality or unity of wills in Christ; since that hitherto nothing in the Church concerning either part hath been expressly taught, his counsel was, That men would rather cease to doubt, then to be curious to search for any solution of their doubtings; and so abstain from teaching doctrinally either part, and content themselves with that express measure of faith, with which the Church hath hitherto rest satisfied.* This, to my conceit is the drift of his Epistle. How this advise of the Bishops was applicable, or how it fitted the question then in controverſie; or what reason moved the Council to think, that it was absolutely necessary for them, to give an express decision, and determine for the one part, belongs not to me to discuss. But I verily perswade my self, that if it had pleased those, who in all ages have been set to govern the Church of God, betimes to have made use of this advice, to have taught men rather not to have doubted, then to have expected still solution of their doubtings: to have stopt and damm'd up the originals and springs of controverſies, rather then by determining for the one part, to give them as it were a pipe and conduit to convey them to posterity, I perswade my self, the Church had not suffered that inundation of opinions, with which at this day it is over-run. Is it not St. Paul's own practise, when having brought in a question concerning Gods justice in Predestination, he gives no other answer but this, *O man, who art thou that disputest with God?* Is it not his plain purpose to advise the disputer, rather not to make the question, then to require a determination of it at his hands? How many of the questions even of our own times, even of those that are at home amongst us, might by this way long since have been determin'd? I have, I confess, the same disease that my first Parents in Paradise had, a desire to know more then I need. But I always thought it a very judicious commendation, which is given to *Julius Agricola*, that he knew how to bridle his desire in pursuit of knowledge, *retinuitque, quod est difficile illimum, ex scientia modum. Mallem quidem* (as St. *Austine* saith) *eorum quæ à me quaesivisti habere scientiam, quam ignorantiam; sed quia*

*quia id nondum potui, magis eligo tantam ignorantiam confiteri, quam falsam scientiam profiteri.* It shall well besit our Christian modesty to participate ~~of the service~~ <sup>of the service</sup> and ~~use their power~~ <sup>use their power</sup>, till the ~~usage~~ <sup>usage</sup> and remainder of our knowledge be supplied by Christ: *In quem credimus, ut si aliqua nobis non aperiat etiam pulsantibus, nullo modo adversus eum murmurare debeamus.* To conclude, St. *Anstine* in his eightieth Epistle, discourfing of the speedy or slow coming of our Saviour to judgement, to shew that it is the safest way to teach neither, but to suspend our belief, and confels our ignorance, ranging himself with men of this temper, *Obsecro te* (saith he to *Hefychius*, to whom he writes that Epistle) *obsecro te ut me talem non spernas.* So give me leave to commence the same suit to you: *Obsecro vos ut me talem non spernatis.* Let me request you bear with me, if I be such a one as I have St. *Anstine* for example. For it is not depth of knowledge, nor knowledge of antiquity, or sharpness of wit, nor authority of Councils, nor the name of the Church, can settle the restless conceits, that possess the minds of many doubtful Christians: onely to ground for faith on the plain uncontroversable Text of Scripture, and for the rest, to expect and pray for the coming of our *Elias*, this shall compose our waverings, and give final rest unto our souls.

Thus instead of a discourse which was due unto this time, concerning the glorious Resurrection of our blessed Saviour, and the benefits that come unto us by it, I have diverted my self upon another Theam, more necessary, as I thought, for this Auditory, though less agreeable with this solemnity. Those who have gone afore me in that argument have made so copious a harvest, that the issue of my gatherings must needs have been but small, except I had with *Ruth* glean'd out of their sheaves, or strain'd my industry which is but small, and my wits which are none, to have held your attentiveness with new and quaint conceits. In the mean time, whether it be I or they, or whatsoever ha'h been delivered out of this place, God grant that it may be for his honour, and for the Churches good, to whom both it and we are dedicate. *To God the Father, &c.*



## Rom. XIV. 1.

Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations.



Right it so have pleased God, that I had in my power the choice of my ways, and the free management of my own actions, I had not this day been seen, (for so I think I may better speak: seen may I be of many; but to be heard with any latitude and compass, my natural imperfection doth quite cut off: ) I had not I say in this place this day been seen; Ambition of great and famous Auditories I leave to those whose better gifts and inward endowments are Admonitioners unto them of the great good they can do, or otherwise thirst after popular applause. Unto my self have I evermore applied that of St. Hierom, *Mihi sufficit cum auditore & Lectore pauperculo in Angulo Monasterii susurrare*, A small, a private, a retired Auditory, better accords both with my will and my abilities. Those unto whose discretion the furniture of this place is committed, ought especially to be careful, since you come hither to hear, to provide you those who can be heard; for the neglect of this one circumstance, how poor soever it may seem to be, is no less then to offend against that Faith which cometh by hearing; and to frustrate as much as in them is, that end for which alone these meetings were ordained. We that come to this place, as God came to Elias in the mount, in a soft and still voice, to those which are near us, are that which the grace of God doth make us, unto the rest we are but Statues: such therefore as my Imperfection in this kind shall offend, such as this day are my spectators onely, know, I trust whom they are to blame. At my hands is onely required truth in sincerely discharging a common care, at others, care of profitably

profitably delivering a common truth. As for me, the end of whose coming is to exhort you to a gracious interpreting of each others imperfections; having first premised this Apology for my self, it is now time to descend to the exposition of that Scripture, which I have propos'd, Infirmitum in Fide recipite, &c. Him that is weak in the Faith receive, &c.

**G**oodness, of all the attributes, by which a man may be styled, hath cheif place and sovereignty; Goodness, I say, not that Metaphysical conceit which we dispute of in our Schools, and is nothing else but that perfection which is inwardly due unto the Being of every creature, and without which, either it is not at all, or but in part, that whose name it bears: but that which the common sort of men do usually understand, when they call a man Good; by which is meant nothing else, but *ὕψος καὶ μαλίσχον ἦθος*, a soft, and sweet, and flexible disposition. For all other Excellencies and Eminent qualities which raise in the minds of men some opinion and conceit of us, may occasion peradventure some strong respect in another kind; but impression of love and true respect, nothing can give but this: Greatness of place and authority may make us fear'd, Depth of Learning admir'd, Abundance of Wealth may make men outwardly obsequious unto us; but that which makes one man a God unto another, that which doth tie the Souls of men unto us, that which like the Eye of the Bridegroom, in the Book of Canticles, ravishes the heart of him that looks upon it, is Goodness: Without this, Mankind were but (as one speaks) *Commisiones mere*, & arena sine calce, stones heapt together without mortar, or peices of boards without any cement to combine and tie them together: For this it hath singular in it, above all other properties, of which our nature is capable, that it is the most available to Humane Society, incorporating, and as it were kneading us together by softness of disposition, by being compassionate, by gladly communicating to the necessity of others, by transfusing our selves into others, and receiving from others into our selves. All other Qualities, how excellent soever they are, seem to be somewhat of a melancholick and solitary disposition; They shine then brightest, when they are in some one alone, or attain'd unto by few; once make them common, and they lose their lustre: But Goodness is more sociable; and rejoyceth in equalling others unto it self, and loses its nature, when it ceases to be communicable. The Heathen speaking of God,

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usually stile him by two Attributes, *Optimus* & *Maximus*, the one importing his *Goodness*, the other his *Power*. In the first place they call'd him *Optimus*, a name signifying his *Goodness*, giving the *precedency* unto it; and in the second place *Maximus*, a name betokening his *Power*: yea, *Goodness* is that, wherein God himself doth most delight himself; and therefore all the *Acts* of our *Saviour*, while he conversed on earth among men, were purely the issues of his *tenderness*, without any aspersions of severity, two onely excepted: I mean his *chasing* the *Prophanes* out of the *Temple*, and the *Curse* laid upon the *innocent Fig-tree*: and yet in both these, *mercy* rejoyced against judgment, and his *goodness* had the preheminance. For the first brought some smart with it indeed, but no harm at all, as *Fathers* use to chastise their *Children* by means that fear them, more then hurt them. The second of it self was nothing, as being practis'd on a creature dull and senseless of all smart and punishment; but was meerly *exemplary* for us, *sterilitas nostra in sicu vapulat*. Christ whips our fruitlessness in the *innocent Fig-tree*; like as the *manner* was among the *Persians*, when their great men had offended, to take their *Garments* and beat them. Now that *gracious* way of *goodness*, which it pleased our *Saviour* thus to tread himself before us, the same hath he left behind him to be gone by us, and hath ordained us a course of *Religious* and *Christian* service unto him, known by nothing more then *goodness* and *compassion*. The very *Heathen* themselves though utter enemies unto it, have candidly afforded us this *Testimony*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* taxing *Georgius*, a factious and proud Bishop of *Alexandria*, for abusing the weakness of *Constantius* the Emperour, by base tale-bearing, and privy informations, notes precisely that he did it, *Oblitus professionis suæ, quæ nil nisi justum suadet & lenæ*; quite besides the meaning of his profession, whose especial notes were *Gentleness* and *Equity*. And *Tertullian* tells us, that antiently among the *Heathen*, the Professors of *Christianity* were called, not *Christiani*, but *Chrestiani*, from a word signifying *Benignity* and *sweetness* of disposition. The Learned of our times, who for our instruction have written *de Notis Ecclesiæ*, by what Notes and Signes we may know the Church of *Christ*, may seem to have but ill forgotten this, which the *Heathen* man had so clearly discovered. For what reason is there, why that should not be one of the chiefest notes of the Church of *Christ*, which did so especially *Characterise* a *Christian* man, except it were the decay of it at this day in the Church: of this thing therefore,



therefore, so excellent in it self, so useful, so principally commended by the precept and example of our blessed *Saviour*, one especial part is, if not the whole, which here by our *Apostle* is commended unto us, when he speaks unto us of kindly intreating, and making much of such, who are, as he calls them, *weak in faith*.

*Him that is weak in faith, &c.* To know the natural ground and occasion of which words, it shall be very pertinent to note unto you, that with the Church of Christ, as it signifies a *Company of men* on earth, it fares no otherwise, then it doth with other *Societies*, and *Civil Corporations*. One thing there is unavoidable, and natural to all Societies, which is the greatest occasioner, yea, the very ground of disunion and dissent; I mean, *Inequality of Persons and Degrees*. All are not of the same worth, and therefore all cannot carry the same esteem and countenance: yet all, even the meanest, are alike impatient of discountenance and contempt, be the Persons never so great from whence it proceeds. Wherefore we find that in States governed by the People, nothing did more exasperate the common sort, then the conceit of being contemned by men of greater place. For the taking away therefore of tumult and combustion, which through this Inequality might arise, it was anciently counted an excellent policy in the *Roman State*, that men of greater account and place, did, as it were, share the *Inferiour* sort amongst themselves, and every one according to his ability entertain'd some part of them as *Clients*, to whom they yielded all lawful favour and protection. Even thus it fares with the Church of God, it cannot be, that all in it should be of equal worth, it is likewise distinguished into *Plebem* and *Optimates*. Some there are, and those that either through abundance of Spiritual graces, or else of natural gifts, do far out-strip a great part of other *Christians*; these are the *Optimates*, the Nobles of the Church, whom our *Apostle* somewhere calls *Strong men in Christ*. Others there are, and those most in number, who either because God hath not so liberally blest them with gifts of understanding and capacity, or by reason of some other imperfections, are either not so deeply skill'd in the mysteries of Christ, and of Godliness, or otherwise weak in manners and behaviour; and these are the *Plebs*, the *Many* of the Church, whom our *Apostle* sometimes calls, *Brethren of low degree*, sometimes *Babes in Christ*, and here in my Text the *weak and sick in faith*. Men, by nature querulous, and apt to take exception, συζητοῦν γὰρ οἱ νοσῦντες ἀπορίας ὑπὸ, saith *Eleſtra* in the Tragedy; A sick

man is a pettish and wayward creature, hard to be pleased; as therefore with the sick, so are we now to deal with a Neighbour, weak and sick of his spiritual constitution, and much we are to bear with his frowardness, where we cannot remedy it. For as Varro sometimes spake of the Laws of Wedlock, *Uxoris vitium aut tollendum est, aut ferendum*, Either a man must amend, or endure the faults of his wife; he that amends them makes his Wife the better, but he that patiently endures them makes himself the better: so is it much more true in dealing with our weak Brethren, if we can by our behaviour remedy their imbecillities, we make them the better; if not, by enduring them we shall make ourselves the better; for so shall we encrease the virtue of our patience, and purchase to our selves at God's hand a more abundant reward. A great part of the lustre of a Christian mans vertue were utterly obscure, should it want this mean of shewing it self. For were all men strong, were all of sufficient discretion, to see and judge of Convenience, where were the glory of our forbearance? As well therefore to increase thereward of the strong man in Christ, as to stop the whining and murmuring of the weaker sort, and to give content at all hands, our Apostle like a good Tribune in this Text gives a Rule of Christian popularity, advising the man of worthier parts, to avoid all sleighting behaviour, to open the arms of tenderness and compassion, and to demerit by all courtesie the men of meaner rank, so to prevent all inconvenience, that might arise out of disdainful and respectless carriage; for God is not like unto mortal Princes, jealous of the man whom the people love. In the world, nothing is more dangerous for great men, then the extraordinary favour and applause of the people; many excellent men have miscarried by it. For Princes stand much in fear, when any of their Subjects hath the heart of the people. It is one of the commonest grounds upon which Treason is rais'd; Absalom had the Art of it, who by being plausible, by commiserating the peoples wrongs, and wishing the redress; *O that I were a Judge to do this people good!* by putting out his hand, and embracing, and kissing every one that came nigh him; so stole away the hearts of the people, that he had well-nigh put his Father besides his Kingdom. But what alters and undoes the Kingdoms of this world, that strengthens and encreases the Kingdom of God; Absalom the popular Christian, that hath the Art of winning mens souls and making himself belov'd of the people, is the best subject in the Kingdom of Grace, for this is that which our Apostle expresses in the phrase of *Receiving the weak*. Now

Now it falls out oftentimes, that men offend through *intemperate compassion* and tenderness, as much as by over much rigidity and severity; as much by familiarity, as by superciliousness and contempt: Wherefore even our love and courtesie must be managed by discretion. St. Paul saw this well, and therefore he prescribes limits to our affections; and having in the former part of my Text counselled us, as *Christ* did *S. Peter*, to let loose our nets to make a draught; to do as *Joseph* did in *Egypt*, open our garners and store-houses, that all may come to buy, to admit of all, to exclude none, from our indulgence and courtesie: in this second part, *But not to doubtful disputations*; he sets the bounds how far our love must reach. As *Moses* in the 19. of *Exodus*, sets bounds about *Mount Sinai*, forbidding the people, that they go not up to the Hill, or come within the borders of it; so hath the Apostle appointed certain limits to our love and favour, within which it shall not be lawful for the people to come. Inlarge we the *Phylacteries* of our goodness as broad as we list, give we all countenance unto the meaner sort, admit we them into all inwardness and familiarity; yet unto *Disputations* and *Controversies*, concerning profounder points of *Faith* and Religious Mysteries, the meaner sort may be by no means admitted. For give me leave now to take this for the meaning of the words; I know they are very capable of another sense: as if the Apostles counsel had been unto us, to entertain with all courtesie our weaker brethren, and not over-busily to enquire into, or censure their secret thoughts and doublings, but here to leave them to themselves, and to God who is the Judge of thoughts: For many there are, otherwise right good men, yet weak in judgment, who have fallen upon sundry private conceits, such as are unnecessary *Differencing of Meats and Drinks*, distinction of *Days*, or (to exemplifie my self in some conceit of our *Times*) some singular opinions concerning the *state of Souls departed*, private interpretations of *obscure Texts of Scripture*, and others of the same nature: Of these or the like thoughts, which have taken root in the hearts of men of shallow capacity, those who are more surely grounded, may not presume themselves to be judges; many of these things of themselves are harmless and indifferent, onely to him that hath some prejudicate opinion of them, they are not so; and of these things, they who are thus or thus conceited, shall be accomprable to God, and not to man, to him alone shall they stand or fall; Wherefore, bear (saith the Apostle) with these infirmities, and take

take not on you to be Lords of their thoughts, but gently tolerate these their unnecessary conceits and scrupulosities. This though I take to be the more natural meaning of the words, (for indeed it is the main drift of our Apostles discourse in this Chapter) yet chuse I rather to follow the former interpretation. First, because of the *Authority* of sundry learned *Interpreters*, and because it is very requisite that our age should have something said unto it concerning this over-bold intrusion of all sorts of men into the discussing of doubtful *Disputations*. For *Disputation*, though it be an excellent help to bring the truth to light, yet many times by too much troubling the waters, it suffers it to slip away unseen, especially with the meaner sort, who cannot so easily espy when it is mix'd with sophistry and deceit. *Infirmum autem in fide recipite*, but not to doubtful *disputations*.

This my Text therefore is a *Spiritual Regimen* and Diet for these who are of a weak and sickly constitution of mind, and it contains a *Recipe* for a man of crazie and diseased faith. In which by that which I have delivered, you may plainly see there are two general parts. First, An Admonition of courteous entertainment to be given to the weaker sort, in the first words, *Him that is weak in the Faith, receive, &c.* Secondly, The restraint and bound of this Admonition, how far it is to extend, even unto all Christian Offices, excepting onely the hearing of *doubtful disputations*. In the first part we will consider; First, who these weak ones are of whom the Apostle speaks, and how many kinds of them there be, and how each of them may be the subject of a Christian mans goodness and courtesy. Secondly, Who these persons are, to whom this precept of entertaining is given, and they are two; either the Private man, or the Publick Magistrate. In the second general part we will see what reasons we may frame to our selves, why these weak ones should not be admitted to questions and *doubtful disputations*. Which points severally, and by themselves, we will not handle, but we will so order them, that still as we shall have in order discover'd some kind of *weak man*, whom our Apostle would have received, we will immediately seek how far forth he hath a right to be an hearer of *Sacred Disputation*, and this as far onely as it concerns a private man: And for an upshot in the end, we will briefly consider by it self, whether, and how far this precept of *bearing with the weak* pertains to the man of *Publick place*, whether in the Church, or in the *Common-wealth*. And first concerning the  
weak,

weak, as he may be a subject of Christian courtesie in private. And here, because that in comparison of him that is strong in Christ, every man of what estate soever, may be said to be weak, that *strong man* onely excepted, we will in the number of the weak contain all persons whatsoever. For I confesse, because I wish well to all, I am willing that all should reap some benefit by my Text. As therefore the *Woman* in the Gospel, who in touching onely the *Hem of Christs garment*, did receive vertue to cure her disease; so all weak persons whatsoever, though they seem to come behind, and onely touch the *hem* of my Text, may peradventure receive some vertue from it to redress their weakness; nay, as the *King in the Gospel*, that made a *Feast*, and willed his servants to go out to the high-ways side, to the blind, and the lame, and force them in, that his house might be full: so what lame or weak person soever he be, if I find him not in my Text, I will go out and force him in, that the Doctrine of my Text may be full, and that the goodness of a Christian man may be like the *Widows Oyl*, in the Book of *Kings*, that never ceas'd *running* so long as there was a vessel to receive it. Wherefore to speak in general, there is no kind of man, of what life, of what profession, of what estate and calling soever, though he be an Heathen, and Idolater, unto whom the skirts of Christian compassion do not reach. St. Paul is my Authour, *Now whilst you have time* (saith he) *do good unto all men, but especially to the household of faith.* The household of faith indeed hath the preheminence; it must be chiefly, but not alone respected. The distinction that is to be made, is not by excluding any, but not participating alike unto all. God did sometimes indeed tie his love to the *Jewish Nation* onely, and gave his Laws to them alone: but afterward he enlarged himself, and instituted an Order of serving him promiscuously, capable of all the world. As therefore our Religion is, so must our compassion be, Catholick. To tie it either to Persons, or to Place, is but a kind of *moral Judaism*. Did not St. Paul teach us thus much, common reason would. There must of necessity be some free intercourse with all men, otherwise the passages of publick Commerce were quite cut off, and the Common Law of Nations must needs fall. In some things we agree, as we are men, and thus far the *ry Heathen* themselves are to be received. For the goodness of a man, which in *Solomon's* judgment, extendeth even to a beast, much more must stretch it self to a man of the same nature with him, be his condition what it will. St. Paul loved the *Jews*, because they were



were his brethren according to the flesh; We that are of the *Heathen* by the same Analogy, ought to be as tenderly affected to the rest of our brethren, who though they be not as we are *now*, yet now are that which we sometimes were. *Facile est atque proclive*, saith S. Austin, *malis odisse quia mali sunt; rarum autem & pium eosdem ipsos diligere, quia homines sunt*: It is an easie thing to hate evil men, because they are evil; but to love them as they are *men*, this is a rare and a pious thing. The offices of common hospitality, of helping distressed persons, feeding the hungry, and the like, are due not onely betwixt Christian and Christian, but between a Christian and all the world. Lot, when the Angels came to Sodom, and sate in the streets; Abraham, when he saw three men coming toward him, stood not to enquire who they were, but out of the sense of common humanity, ran forth and met them, and gladly entertained them, not knowing whom they should receive. St. Chrysostom considering the circumstances of Abraham's fact, that he sate at his tent door, and that in the heat of the day, that he came to meet them, thinks, he therefore sate in publick, and endured the inconvenience of the heat, even for this purpose, that he might not let slip any occasion of being hospital. The writings of the *Fathers*, run much in commendation of the ancient *Monks*; and were they such as they report, well did they deserve to be commended; for their manner was to sit in the fields, and by the high-way sides, for this end, that they might direct wandering passengers into the way, that they might relieve all that were distressed by want, or bruising or breaking of any member, and carry them home into their Cells, and perform unto them all Duties of Humanity. This serves well to tax us, who affect a kind of intempestive prudence, and unseasonable discretion in performing that little good we do, from whom so hardly after long enquiry and entreaty drops some small benevolence, like the Sun in Winter, long ere it rise, and quickly gone. How many occasions of Christian charity do we let slip, when we refuse to give our alms, unless we first cast doubts, and examine the persons, their lives, their necessities, though it be onely to reach out some small thing, which is due unto him, whatsoever it be. It was anciently a complaint against the Church, that the liberality of the *Christians* made many idle persons. Be it that it was so, yet no other thing befell them, then what befalls their Lord, who knows and sees that his *Sun-shine* and his *Rain* is every day abused, and yet the Sun becomes not like a Sack, nor the Heavens as Brass; unto him must

we, by his own command, be like : and whom then can we exclude, that have a pattern of such courtesie proposed to us to follow ? we read in our books of a nice *Athenian* being entertain'd in a place by one given to Hospitality, finding anon that another was receiv'd with the like courtesie, and then a third, growing very angry, I thought, said he, that I had found here ξενίῳ but I have found παρ' οἷον; I look'd for a *friends house*, but I am fallen into an *Inne* to entertain all Comers, rather then a Lodging for some private and especial friends. Let it not offend any that I have made Christianity rather an *Inne* to receive all, then a private house to receive some few. For so both the precepts and examples I have brought, teach us, *Beneficia præstare non homini, sed humano generi*, to extend our good, not to this or that man, but to mankind; like the Sun that ariseth not on this or that Nation, but on the whole world. *Julian* observes of the *Fig-tree*, that above all Trees it is most capable of Grafts and Siens of other kinds, so far, as that all variety will be brought to take nourishment from one Stock: Beloved, a Christian must be like unto *Julian's Fig-tree*, so universally compassionate, that so all sorts of Grafts, by a kind of Christian Inoculation, may be brought to draw life and nourishment from his root.

But I am all this while in a generality onely, and I must not forget, that I have many *particular sick Patients*, in my Text, of whom every one must have his *Recipe*, and I must visit them all ere I go. But withall, I must remember my *Method*, which was, still as I spake of *Receiving the weak*, to speak likewise of excluding them from Disputation. So must I needs, ere I pass away, tax this our age, for giving so general permission unto all, to busie themselves in doubtful cases of Religion. For nothing is there that hath more prejudiced the cause of *Religion*, then this *promiscuous* and careless *admission* of all sorts to the hearing and handling of Controversies, whether we consider the private case of every man, or the publick state of the Church. I will touch but one inconvenience which much annoys the Church, by opening this gate so wide to all comers; for by the great preas of people that come, the work of the Lord is much hindred. Not to speak of those, who out of *weakness* of understanding fall into many errours, and by reason of liberty of bequeathing their errours to the world by writing, easily find heirs for them. There is a sort that do harm by being *unnecessary*, and though they owe

not *Tares* in the field, yet fill the Lords floor with chaff : For what need this great breed of *Writers*, with which in this Age the world doth swarm ? how many of us might spare the pains in committing our Meditations to writing, contenting our selves to teach the people *viva voce*, and suffering our conceits quietly to die in their birth ? The teaching the people by voice is perpetually necessary, should all of us every where speak but the same things. For all cannot use Books, and all that can, have not the leisure. To remedy therefore the want of skill in the one, and of time in the other, are we set in this Ministry of Preaching. Our voices are confin'd to a certain compass, and tied to the Individuating properties of *Hic* and *Nunc* : our Writings are unlimited. Necessity therefore requires a multitude of Speakers, a multitude of Writers, not so. “ *G. Agricola writing de Animalibus subterraneis, reports of a certain kind of Spirits that converse in Minerals, and much infect those that work in them ; and the manner of them when they come, is, To seem to busie themselves according to all the custom of workmen ; they will dig, and cleanse, and melt, and sever Metalls ; yet when they are gone, the workmen do not find that there is any thing done : So fares it with a great part of the multitude, who thrust themselves into the Controversies of the Times ; they write Books, move Questions, frame Distinctions, give Solutions, and seem sedulously to do whatsoever the nature of the business requires ; yet if any skilful workman in the Lords Mines shall come and examine their work, he shall find them to be but Spirits in Minerals, and that with all this labour and stir there is nothing done. I acknowledge it to be very true, which S. Austin spake in his first Book, de Trinitate ; Utile est plures libros a pluribus fieri diverso stilo, sed non diversa fide, etiam de questionibus iisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat ad alios sic, ad alios vero sic.* It is a thing very profitable, that divers Tracts be written by divers men, after divers fashions, but according to the same Analogy of Faith, even of the same questions, that some might come into the hands of all, to some on this manner, to another after that. For this may we think to have been the counsel of the holy Ghost himself, who may seem even for this purpose, to have registred the self-same things of Christ by three of the *Evangelists* with little difference. Yet notwithstanding, if this speech of *S. Austin* admit of being qualified, then was there no time which more then this Age required, should be moderated,

moderated, which I note, because of a noxious conceit spread in our Universities, to the great hindering of true proficiency in Study, springing out from this Root. For many of the Learned themselves are fallen upon this preposterous conceit, That Learning consisteth rather in variety of turning and quoting of sundry Authours, then in soundly discovering and laying down the truth of things. Out of which arises a greater charge unto the poor Student, who now goes by number rather than weight, and the Books of the Learned themselves, by ambitiously heaping up the conceits and authorities of other men, increase much in the bulk, but do as much imbase in true value. Wherefore as *Gideon's Army* of two and thirty thousand, by precept from God, was brought unto three hundred; so this huge Army of Disputes might, without any hazard of the Lords Battles, be well contracted into a smaller number. *Justinian* the Emperour, when he found that the study of the *Civil Law* was surcharged, and much confused, by reason of the great heaps of unnecessary writings, he calls an Assembly of Learned men, caus'd them to search the Books, to cut off what was superfluous, to gather into order and method the sum and substance of the whole Law: Were it possible that some Religious *Justinian* might after the same manner employ the wits of some of the best Learned in Examining the Controversies, and selecting out of the best Writers what is necessary, defaulting unnecessary and partial Discourses, and so digest into order and method, and leave for the direction of Posterity, as it were, *Theological Pandects*, infinite store of our Books might well lie by, and peaceably be buried, and after Ages reap greater profit with smaller cost and pains. But that which was possible in the World, united under *Justinian*, in this great division of Kingdoms, is peradventure impossible. Wherefore having contented my self to shew what a great and irremediable inconvenience this free, and uncontrollable venturing upon *Theological Disputes* hath brought upon us, I will leave this Project as a Speculation, and pass from this general Doctrine unto some particulars. For this generality, and heap of sick persons, I must divide into their kinds, and give every one his proper *Recipe*.

The first in this order of weak persons, so to be received and cherish'd by us, is one of whom question may be made, whether he may be called *weak* or no; he may seem to be rather dead: for

no pulse of infused grace beats in him. I mean, such a one who hath but small, or peradventure no knowledge at all in the mystery of Christ, yet is otherwise, a man of upright life and conversation, such a one as we usually name *A moral man*. Account you of such a one as dead, or how you please, yet me-thinks I find a *Recipe* for him in my Text. For this man is even to be woed by us; as sometimes one Heathen man wish'd of another, *Talis cum sis utinam noster eses*. This man may speak unto a Christian, as *Ruth* does unto *Boaz*, *Spread the skirt of thy garment over me. for thou art a near kinsman*. Two parts there are that do compleatly make up a *Christian* man, A true *Faith*, and an honest *Conversation*. The first, though it seem the worthier, and therefore gives unto us the name of Christians, yet the second in the end will prove the surer. For true profession without *honest conversation*. not onely saves not, but increases our weight of punishment: but a good life without true profession, though it brings us not to Heaven, yet it lessens the measure of our judgment: so that *A moral man so called, is a Christian by the surer side*. As our Saviour saith of one in the Gospel, that had wisely and discreetly answered him, *Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven*; so may we say of these men, Suppose that as yet they be not of, yet certainly far from the *Kingdom of heaven* they cannot be. Yea, this sincerity of life, though sever'd from true profession, did seem such a jewel in the eyes of some of the Ancient *Fathers*, that their opinion was. and so have they in their Writings (erroneously doubtless) testified it, That God hath in store for such men not onely this mitigating mercy, of which but now I spake, but even saving grace, so far forth as to make them possessors of his Kingdom. Let it not trouble you, that I intit'le them to some part of our Christian Faith, and therefore without scruple to be received as weak, and not to be cast forth as dead. *Salvianus* disputing what Faith is, *Quid est igitur credulitas vel fides?* saith he, *opinor fideliter hominum Christo credere, id est, fidelem Deo esse, hoc est fideliter Dei mandata servare*. What might this faith be? (saith he) I suppose it is nothing else, but faithfully to believe Christ, and this is to be faithful unto God, which is nothing else but faithfully to *keep the commandments of God*. Not therefore onely a bare belief, but the fidelity and trustiness of Gods servants, faithfully accomplishing the will of our Master, is required as a part of our Christian Faith. Now all those



those good things which moral men by the light of Nature do, are a part of Gods will written in their hearts; wherefore so far as they were conscientious in performing them (if *Salvianus* his reason be good) so far have they title and interest in our Faith. And therefore *Regulus*, that famous *Roman*, when he endured infinite torments, rather then he would break his *Oath*, may thus far be counted a Martyr, and witness for the truth. For the Crown of Martyrdom sits not onely on the heads of those who have lost their lives, rather then they would cease to profess the Name of Christ, but on the head of every one that suffers for the testimony of a good conscience, and for righteousness sake. And here I cannot pass by one very general gross mistaking of our Age. For in our discourses concerning the Notes of a Christian man, by what *signes* we may know a man to be one of the visible company of Christ, we have so tied our selves to this outward profession, that if we know no other vertue in a man, but that he hath Confessed his Creed by heart, let his life be never so profane, we think it argument enough for us to account him within the Pale and Circuit of the Church: on the contrary side, let his life be never so upright, if either he be little seen in, or peradventure quite ignorant of the Mystery of Christ, we esteem of him but as dead; and those who conceive well of those moral good things, as of some tokens giving hope of life, we account but as a kind of *Maricheers*, who thought the very Earth had life in it. I must confess that I have not yet made that proficiency in the Schools of our Age, as that I could see, why the Second Table, and the Acts of it, are not as properly the parts of Religion and Christianity, as the Acts and Observations of the first. If I mistake, then it is *St. James* that hath abus'd me; for he describing Religion by its proper Acts, tells us, that *True Religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is, To visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted of the world.* So that the thing which in an especial refine Dialect of the new Christian Language signifies nothing but Morality and Civility that in the Language of the Holy Ghost imports true Religion. Wherefore any difference that the holy Ghost makes notwithstanding, the man of vertuous dispositions, though ignorant of the Mystery of Christ, be it *Fabricius*, or *Regulus*, or any ancient Heathen man, famous for sincerity and uprightness of carriage, hath as sure a claim and interest in the Church.

Church of Christ, as the man deepest skill'd in, most certainly believing, and openly professing all that is written in the holy Books of God, if he endeavour not to *shew his faith by his works*. The Antients therefore, where they found this kind of men, gladly received them, and conversed familiarly with them, as appears by the friendly entercourse of Epistles of *S. Basil* with *Libanius*, of *Nazianzen* and *Austin*, with sundry others; and Antiquity hath either left us true, or forged us false Epistles betwixt *S. Paul* himself and *Seneca*. Now as for the admitting of any of these men to the discussing of the doubts in our Religious Mysteries, who either know not, or peradventure condemn them, there needs not much be said: by a *Canon* of one of the *Councils of Carthage* it appears, it had sometimes been the erroneous practise of some Christians to Baptize the dead, and to put the Sacrament of Christs Body into their mouths. Since we have confest these men to be in a sort dead, as having no supernatural quickening grace from above, to put into their hands the handling of the word of life at all, much more of discussing of the doubtful things in it, were nothing else, but to Baptize a carcase, and put the Communion bread into the mouth of the dead. Wherefore leaving this kind of weak person to your courteous acceptance,

Let us consider of *another*, one quite contrary to the former; a true Professor, but a man of *prophane* and wicked life, one more dangerously ill then the former: have we any *Recipe* for this man? May seem for him there is no Balm in *Gilead*, he seems like unto the *Lep*er in the Law, unto whom no man might draw near. And by so much the more dangerous is his case, because the condition of conversing with Heathen men, be they never so wicked, is permitted unto Christians by our Apostle himself, whereas with this man, all commerce seems by the same Apostle to be quite cut off. For in the *1 Cor. 6.* *St. Paul* having forbidden them formerly all manner of conversing with *Fornicators*, *infamous* persons, and men subject to grievous crimes; and considering at length how impossible this was, because of the Gentiles with whom they lived, and amongst whom necessarily they were to converse and trade, he distinguishes between the *fornicators* of this world, and the *fornicators* which were Brethren. I meant not (saith the blessed Apostle) expounding himself, *that ye should not admit of the fornicators of this world*; that is, such as were Gentiles, for then must ye have sought a new world.

world. So great and general a liberty at that time had the world assumed for the practise of that sin of *Fornication*, that strictly to have forbidden them the company of fornicatours, had almost been to have excluded them the society of mankind. But, saith he, *If a brother be a fornicatour, or a thief, or a railer; with such a one partake not, no not so much as to eat.* Wherefore the case of this person seems to be desperate; for he is not onely mortally sick, but is bereft of all help of the Physician. Yet notwithstanding all this, we may not give him over for gone; for when we have well search'd our boxes, we shall find a *Recipe* even for him too. Think we that our Apostles meaning was, that we should acquaint our selves onely with the good, and not the bad; as Physicians in the time of *Pestilence* look onely to the sound, and shun the diseas'd? Our *Saviour Christ* familiarly convers'd, eat, and drank with *Publicanes* and sinners, and gives the reason of it, *because he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.* Is Christ contrary to *Paul*? This reason of our Saviour concerns every one on whom the duty of saving of Souls doth rest. It is the main drift of his message, and unavoidably he is to converse, yea, eat and drink with all sorts of sinners, even because he is to call, not the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Necessary it is that some means be left to reclaim notorious offenders, let their disease be never so dangerous. *Nescio an in extremis aliquid tentare medicina sit, certe nihil tentare perditio est;* Who can tell whether in this extremity, were it at the last cast, it may some way profit to receive him; but this we all know, that altogether to cast him out of the society of good men, is to cut him off from all outward means of health. The *Leper* in the Law, though he were excluded the multitude, yet had he access unto the Priest. Beloved, the Priest in the new Law hath much greater priviledge then the Ancient had; he was onely a Judge, and could not cure: But this is both a Judge and a Physician, and can both discern and cure the Leprosie of our souls; wherefore he is not to be excluded from the most desperately sick person. Neither doth this duty concern the Priest alone; for, as *Tertullian* sometimes spake in another case, *In majestatis reos & publicos hostes omnis homo miles est,* Against Traitors and publick enemies every man is a souldier; so is it true in this. Every one who is of strength to pull a Soul out of the fire, is for this business, by counsel, by advice, by rebuking a Priest, neither must he let him lie

lie there to expect better help. Again, no man so ill, but hath some good thing in him, though it breaks not out, as being clouded and darkened with much corruption. We must take heed, that we do not *pro solis comprehendere frequentissima*, mistake in thinking there is nothing else but evil, where we often see it. We must therefore entertain even near friendship with such a one to discover him. *Nemo enim nisi per amicitiam cognoscitur*, saith St. *Austin*; No man is perfectly discovered, but by his inward acquaintance. As therefore they who seek for treasure, give not over by reason of clay and mire, so long as there is any hope to speed; so may we not cast off our industry, though it labour in the most polluted Soul, *ut ad quædam sana in quorum delectatione acquiescamus per charitatis tolerantiam perducamur*; that so at length, through charitable patience and long-suffering we may discover in him some good things which may content us for the present, and give hope of better things to come. For as they that work in Gold and costly matter, diligently save every little piece that falls away; so goodness wheresoever it be, is a thing so precious, that every little spark of it deserves our care in cherishing. Many miscarry through the want of this patience, in those who undertake them, whilst they despair of them too soon: *Dum ita objurgant quasi oderint*, Whilst they rebuke us, as if they hated, and upbraid rather than reprehend. *Transit convitium & intemperantia culpatur, uterque qui perire arguuntur*. As unskilful Physicians, who suffer their Patients to die under their hands, to hide their error, blame their Patients intemperance: so let us take heed, lest it be not so much the strength of the disease, as the want of skill in us which we strive to cover, and vail over with the names of Contumacy, Intemperance, or the like. *David* received an express message from the Prophet, that the Child conceived in adultery should surely die; yet he ceased not his Prayers, and Tears, and Fasting, as long as there was life in it. We receive no such certain message concerning any mans miscarriage, and why then should we intermit any Office which Christian patience can afford. Wherefore, what *Mæcenæs* sometime spake loosely in another sense, *Debilem facito manu, debilem pede, coxa: lubricos quate dentes: vita dum superest bene est*; that we may apply more properly to our purpose, Let our weak person here be lame, hand and foot, hip and thigh, sick in head and heart; yet so long as there is life in him, there is no cause we should

should despair. How knowest thou how potent the Word of God may be through thy Ministry, out of these stones to raise up children unto *Abraham*? I cannot therefore perswade my self, that this prohibition of *St. Paul*, of which we but now spake, so far extended, as that it quite interdicted good men the company of the sinners, be they never so gross. For when he delivered men unto Satan, (the greatest thing that ever he did in this kind) it was *ad interitum carnis*, to the mortifying of the flesh, that so the spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord. But this is worse, for by this peremptory excluding the gross sinner from the good, a greater gap is opened to the liberty of the flesh, and a more immediate way could not be found to bring final destruction on him at that day. The extent therefore of *St. Paul's* precept, though given in shew to all, I take to reach no farther then the weak, and such as are in danger of Infection; for the weaker sort of men are always evermore the most, and a charge given unto the most, is commonly given under the style of all. Our Apostle therefore jealous of the tenderer sort, whom every unwholesome blast doth easily taint, seems, what he intended for the most, to make general to all. The reason which the Apostle gives, does warrant this restraint; *See ye not* (saith he) *that a little leaven sowres the whole lump*? If therefore there be any part of the lump, *ἑξω βέλους*, out of shot and danger of sowing and contagion, on it this precept can have no extent: and surely some wrong it were to the Church of Christ, to suppose that all were necessarily subject to sowing and infection, upon supposal of some admission of leaven. Evil indeed is infectious, but neither necessarily, nor yet so, that it need fright us from those who are diseased with it. Contagious diseases which seize on our bodies, infect by natural force and means, which we cannot prevent: but no man drinks down this poison, whose Will is not the Hand that takes the Cup: So that to converse with men of diseas'd minds, infects us not except we will. Again, *Aristotle* in his Problems makes a question, *Why health doth not infect as well as sickness*. For we grow sick many times by incautiously conversing with the diseas'd, but no man grows well by accompanying the healthy. Thus indeed it is with the healthiness of the body; it hath no transient force on others. But the strength and healthiness of the mind carries with it a gracious kind of infection: and common experience tells us, *That nothing profits*



*evil men, more then the company of the good.* So that strength of mind, accompanied with the preservative of the grace of God, may not onely without fear of contagion, safely converse with ungracious sinners, but by so doing, as it were infect them, and make them such as himself is. No cause therefore hitherto, why the true Professors, though notorious sinners, should not be partakers of our Christian Courtesies. And therefore as of the former, so of this my conclusion is, We must receive him. Onely let me adde St. Paul's words in another place, *Te that are strong, receive such a one.*

**H**AVING thus far spoken of his *Admission*, let us now a little consider of his *Restraint*, and see whether he may have any part in hearing and handling Religious Controversies; where plainly to speak my mind, as his admission before was, so his exclusion here is much more necessary: the way to these Schools should be open to none, but to men of upright life and conversation: and that as well in regard of the profane and wicked men themselves, as of the Cause which they presume to handle: for as for themselves, this is but the *Field*, wherein they sowe and reap their own infamy and disgrace. Our own experience tells us, how hard a thing it is for men of behaviour known to be spotless, to avoid the lash of those mens tongues; who make it their cheif fence to disgrace the persons, when they cannot touch the cause. For what else are the Writings of many men, but *mutual Pasquils* and *Satyrs* against each others lives, wherein digladiating like *Eschines* and *Demosthenes*, they reciprocally lay open each others filthiness to the view and scorn of the world. The fear therefore of being stained, and publickly disgraced, might be reason enough to keep them back from entering these contentions. And as for the cause it self, into which this kind of men do put themselves, needs must it go but ill with it: for is it possible that those respects, which sway and govern their ordinary actions, should have no influence upon their pens? It cannot be, that they who speak, and plot, and act wickedness, should ever write uprightly. *Nam ut in vita, ita & in causis quoque spes improbas habent*: Doubtless, as in their lives, so in the causes they undertake, they nourish hopes full of improbity. Besides all this, the opinion of the common sort is not to be contemned, whom no kind of reason so much abuses, and carries away, as when

when the discredit of the person is retorted on the cause; which thing our adversaries here at home amongst us know very well, a master-piece of whose policy it is, to put into the hands of the people such Pamphlets which hurt not our cause at all, but onely discredit our persons. St. *Chrysostom* observes out of the ancient Customes of the *Olympick Games*; that whensoever any man offered himself to contend in them, he was not to be admitted till publick Proclamation had been made throughout the multitude to this purpose. Whether any man knew him to be either a Servant, or a Thief, or otherwise of infamous life. And if any imputation in this kind were proved against him, it was sufficient to keep him back. Had the Heathen this care, that their vanities should not be discredited? how great then must our care be, that they which enter into these Exercises, be of pure and upright condition? Let mens skill and judgment therefore be never so good, yet if their lives be notoriously subject to exception, let them know, that there is no place for them in these *Olympicks*. Men indeed in civil business have found out a distinction, between an *Honest man*, and a good *Common-wealths-man*: And therefore *Fabritius* in the *Roman Story* is much commended, for nominating to the *Consulship*, *Ruffinus*, a wicked man, and his utter enemy, because he knew him to be serviceable to the *Common-wealth*, for those Wars which were then depending. But in the business of the Lord, and *Common-wealth of God*, we can admit of no such distinction. For God himself in the Book of *Psalms*, staves them off with a, *Quid tua ut enarres mea?* &c. *What hast thou to do to take my words into thy mouth, since thou hatest to be reformed?* The world for the managing of her matters, may employ such as her self hath fitted: But let everyone who names the name of God, depart from iniquity. For these reasons therefore it is very expedient, that none but right good men should undertake the Lords quarrels, the rather, because there is some truth in that which *Quintilian* spake, *Cogitare optima simul & deterrima, non magis est unius animi, quam ejusdem hominis bonum esse ac malum.* As impossible it is that good and bad thoughts should harbour in the same heart, as it is for the same man to be joyntly good and bad. And so from the consideration of this sick person, let us proceed to visit the next. The weak persons, I have hitherto treated of, are the fewest, as consisting in a kind of extreme. For the greatest sort of men are

in a mediocrity of men, eminently Good, or extremely ill, the number is smallest; but this rank of sick persons, that now we are to view, is an whole army, and may be every one of us, if we do well examine our selves, shall find our selves in it: For the weak, whom we now are to speak of, is he that hath not that degree and perfection of faith, and strength of spiritual constitution that he ought to have. Wherefore our *Recipe* here must be like the *Tree of Life* in the Book of the *Revelation*, it must be Medicine to heal whole Nations. For who is he amongst men that can free himself from this weakness? Yea, we our selves that are set over others for their cure, may speak of our selves and our Charge, as *Iolans* in *Enripides* doth of himself and *Hercules children*, *Σωζω τὰ δ' αὐτῶν δεόμεθα σωτηρίας*, We take care of these, our selves standing in need of others care for us. *Hippocrates* counsels his Physician, to look especially, that himself be healthy to be *εὐχρως, καὶ εὐσάρκως*, fair of colour, and full of flesh. For otherwise, saith he, how can he give comfort and hope of success to a sick patient, who by his ill colour and meagreness, bewrays some imperfection of his own. But what Physician of Soul and Manners is capable of this counsel? or who is it, that, taking the cure of others, doth not in most of his actions bewray his own disease? Even thus hath it pleased God to tie us together with a mutual sense of each others weakness; and as our selves receive and bear with others; so for our selves interchangeably must we request the same courtesie at others hands. Notwithstanding, as it is with the health of our bodies, no man at any time is perfectly well, onely he goes for an healthy man, who is least sick: so fares it with our souls. God hath included all under the name of *Weak*, some peradventure are less weak then others, but no man is strong. *Infelicissimum Consolationis genus est de miseris hominum peccatorum capere solatia*. It is but a miserable comfort to judge our own perfections onely by others defects, yet this is all the comfort we have. Let us leave therefore those, who by reason of being less crazie, pass for healthy, and consider of those whom some sensible and eminent imperfection above others hath rank'd in the number of the weak. And of those there are sundry kinds, especially two. One is *Weak*, because he is not yet fully informed, not so sufficiently Catechized in the Mysteries of Faith, whom farther Institution may bring to better Maturity: The other peradventure is sufficiently Grounded for

Principles

Principles of Faith, yet is Weak, by reason either of some Passion, or of some irritatory and troublesome Humour in his behaviour. *Nullum unquam ingenium placuit sine venia*; There is no man so perfect, but hath somewhat in his behaviour that requireth pardon. As for the imperfection of the former of these, It is the weakness of infancy and childhood in Faith, rather than a disease: And with this weak man we are especially to bear above all others. For as for him that is Weak through gross and wilfull ignorance, or contumacy, or the like, it is pardonable, if sometimes we yield him not that measure of courtesie, which were meet; but to be cruel against Infancy and Childhood were inhumanity. The manner of our *Recipe* for these men, our Apostle somewhere expresses, where he tells us of some that must be fed with milk, and not strong meat: Unto these we must rather be as Nurses, then Physicians; *Submittendo nos ad mensuram discantis, & manum dando & gradum nostrum minuendo*; by gently submitting our selves to the capacity of the Learner, by lending our hand, by lessening our steps to keep them in equipace with us till they come up to their full growth. As Christ being God emptied himself, and became Man like to us, so must we lay down our Gifts of Wit, in which we flatter our selves, and take our selves to be as Gods. and in shew and fashion become like one of them. Grave men have thought it no disparagement, to have been seen with their little sons, *Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa*, toying and practising with them their childish sports: and if any take offence at it, they are such as know not what it is to be Fathers. Those therefore who bear the office of Fathers amongst other men, to bring up the Infancy of Babes in Christ, must not blush to practise this part of a Father, and out of St. Paul's lesson of *Becoming all to all*, learn to become a Child to Children; do it he may very well, without any impeachment to himself. He that helps one up that is fallen, *non se projicit, ut ambo jaceant; sed incurvat tantum, ut jacentem erigat*, throws not himself down to lie by him, but gently stoops to lift him up again; but of this Weak person, I have little need, I trust, to speak. For no man in these days can be long Weak, but by his own default, so long and careful Teaching as hath been and every day is, must needs take from men all pretence of Weakness in this kind: *Nam quid aliud agimus docendo vos, quam ne semper docendi sitis*: For what is the end of all this labour and pains in Teaching,

Teaching, but that ye might at length not need a Teacher. Wherefore from this I come unto that other Weak person, strong in Faith, but *Weak in Carriage and Behaviour*.

Having before proved, that Christian Courtesie spreads it self to all sorts of men, to the *Infidel*, to the gross *notorious sinner*, then will it without any straining at all come home to all the *infirmities* of our weaker Brethren: For that which can endure so great a tempest, how can it be offended with some small drops. Is Christian Patience like unto St. Peter's resolution, that durst manfully encounter the High Priest's servant, yet was daunted at the voice of a silly Maiden; whatsoever it is that is irksome unto us in the common Behaviour of our Brethren, it were strange we should not be able to brook. *Epictetus* considering with himself, the weakness which is usual in men, still to make the worst of what befalls us, wittily tells us, That every thing in the world hath two handles, one turn'd toward us, which we may easily take, the other turn'd from us, harder to be laid hold of; the first makes all things easie, the second not so; The instance that he brings is my very purpose; "Be it, saith he, thy Brother hath offended thee, here are two hand-fasts, one of the offence, the other of thy Brother. If thou take hold of that of the offence, it will be too hot for thee, thou wilt not easily endure the touch of it: but if thou lay hold of that of thy Brother, this will make all Behaviour tolerable. There is no part of our Brother's carriage towards Us, but if we search it, we shall find, some hand-fast, some circumstance, that will make it easie to be born. If we can find no other, the circumstance of our Saviour Christ's example will never fail: An example which will not onely make us to endure the importunity of his ordinary Behaviour, but all his outrageous dealing whatsoever. For, saith St. *Chrysostom*, Didst thou know that thy Brother intended particular mischief against thee, that he would embrace his hand in thy blood, ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τὴν δεξιάν σου, yet kisse that hand; for thy Lord did not refuse to kisse that mouth that made the bargain for his blood. It is storied of *Protagoras*, that being a poor youth, and carrying a burthen of sticks, he so piled them, and laid them together, with such art and order, that he made them much more light and easie to be borne. Beloved, there is an Art among Christians, like unto that of *Protagoras*, of so making up and ordering our burthens, that they may lie with much less weight upon our shoulders; this

Art



Art, if we could learn it, would make us take all in good part at our Brother's hand, were he as bad as *Nabal* was, of whom his own servant complain'd, that he was such a man of *Belial*, that no man could speak unto him.

Wherefore leaving you to the study, and learning of this most Christian Art, I will a little consider for what reasons we may not admit of these two sorts of Weak men to *Controversie*. For as for the Unlearned, in private, nothing more usual with them then to take offence at our dissentions, and to become more uncertain and unjoynted upon the hearing of any question discuss: It is their usual voice and question to us, Is it possible that we should be at one in these points in which your selves do disagree? thus cast they off on our backs the burthen of their back-sliding and neutrality; wherefore to acquaint them with Disputation in Religion, were as it were to blast them in their infancy, and bring upon them some improsperous Disease to hinder their growth in Christ. Secondly, What one said of other contentions, *In bellis civilibus audacia etiam valet singulorum*, In civil wars no man is too weak to do a mischief, we have found too true in these our *Sacra Bella*; no man is too weak (I say not) to do mischief, but to be a principal Agent and Captain in them. Simple and unlearned souls, train'd up by men of contentious spirits, have had strength enough to be Authours of dangerous Heresies; *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, silly women laden with iniquity, were the cheif Ring-leaders in the errors of the *Monnatists*; and as it is commonly said, *Bellum inchoant inertes, fortes finiunt*, Weaklings are able to begin a quarrel, but the prosecution and finishing is a work for stronger men; so hath it fared here. For that quarrel which these poor souls had raised, *Tertullian*, a man of great Wit and Learning, is drawn to undertake: so that for a *Barnabas* to be drawn away to error, there needs not always the example and authority of a *Peter*. A third reason is the marvellous violence of the weaker sort in maintaining their conceits, if once they begin to be Opinionative. For one thing there is that wonderfully prevails against the reclaiming of them, and that is, The natural jealousy they have of all that is said unto them by men of better wits, stand it with reason never so good, if it sound not as they would have it. A jealousy founded in the sense of their weakness, arising out of this, that they suspect all to be done for no other end, but to circumvent and abuse them. And therefore

therefore when they see themselves to be too weak in reasoning, they easily turn them to violence. The *Monks of Egypt*, otherwise devout and religious men anciently, were for the most part unlearned, and generally given over to the error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, who held, that God had hands and feet, and all the parts that a man hath, and was in outward shape and proportion like to one of us. *Theophilus*, a learned Bishop of *Alexandria*, having fallen into their hands, was so roughly used by them, that ere he could get out of their fingers, he was fain to use his wits, and to crave aid of his Equivocating Sophistry, and soothly to tell them, *I have seen your face as the face of God*. Now when Christian and Religious doubts, must thus be managed with wilfulness and violence, what mischief may come of it is already so plain, that it needs not my finger to point it out. Wherefore let every such Weak person say unto himself, as *St. Austin* doth, *Tu ratiocinare, ego mirer; disputa tu, ego credam*: Let others reason, I will marvel; let others dispute, I will believe.

As for the man strong in passion, or rather weak, for the strength of passion is the weakness of the passionate; great reason hath the Church to except against him. For first of all, from him it comes, that our Books are so stuf with contumelious malediction, no Heathen Writers having left the like example of choller and gross impatience. An hard thing I know it is, to write without affection and passion in those things which we love, and therefore it is free so to do, to those who are Lords over themselves. It seems our Saviour gave some way to it himself. For somewhat certainly his Kinsmen saw in his behaviour, when as *St. Mark* reports, they went forth to lay hold upon him, *thinking he was beside himself*. But for those who have not the command of themselves, better it were they laid it by; *St. Chrysostom* excellently observeth, that the *Prophets of God*, and *Satan*, were by this notoriously differenced, that they which gave *Oracles* by motion from the *Devil*, did it with much impatience and confusion, with a kind of *fury* and *madness*; but they which gave *Oracles from God* by *Divine Inspiration*, gave them with all *mildness* and *temper*; If it be the cause of God which we handle in our writings, then let us handle it like the *Prophets of God*, with quietness and moderation, and not in the violence of passion, as if we were possess'd, rather than inspir'd. Again, what equity or indifferency can we look for in the carriage of that cause, that falls

falls into the handling of these men: *Quis conferre duces meminit qui pendere causas?* *Qua stetit inde favet*, What man overtaken with passion remembers impartially to compare cause with cause, and right with right; *Qua stetit inde favet*—— on what cause he happens, that is he resolute to maintain; *ut gladiator in arnam*; as a Fencer to the Stage, so comes he to write, not upon conscience of quarrel, but because he proposes to contend, yea, so potently hath this humour prevail'd with men that have undertaken to maintain a faction, that it hath broken out to the tempting of God, and the dishonour of Martyrdom. Two Friars in Florence, in the action of *Savonarolla*, voluntarily in the open view of the City, offer'd to enter the fire: so to put an end to the controversie, that he might be judged to have the right, who, like one of the three children in *Babylon*, should pass untouch'd through the fire. But I hasten to visit one weak person more, and so an end.

He whom we now are to visit, is a man Weak through *Hercetical* and *erring Faith*; now whether or no we have any Receit for him, it may be doubtful: For *St. Paul* advises us to avoid the man, that is a maker of Sects, knowing him to be Damned. Yet, if as we spake of not admitting to us the notorious sinner, no not to eat, so we teach of this, that it is delivered respectively to the weaker sort; as justly for the same reasons we may do: we shall have a *Recipe* here for the man that *errs in Faith*, and rejoyceth in making of Sects: which we shall the better do, if we can but gently draw him on to a moderation to think of his conceits onely as of opinions; for it is not the variety of opinions, but our own perverse wills, who think it meet, that all should be conceited as our selves are, which hath so inconvenienced the Church, were we not so ready to Anathematize each other, where we concur not in opinion, we might in hearts be united, though in our tongues we were divided, and that with singular profit to all sides. *It is the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, and not *Identity of conceit*, which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians. I will give you one instance, in which at this day our Churches are at variance; The *will of God*, and his manner of proceeding in *Predestination* is undiscernable, and shall so remain until that day, wherein all knowledge shall be *made perfect*; yet some there are, who with probability of Scripture teach, that the *true* cause of the *final miscarriage* of them that

perish, is that original corruption that befell them at the beginning, increased through the neglect or refusal of grace offered. Others with no less favourable countenance of Scripture, make the cause of Reprobation onely the will of God, determining freely of his own work, as himself pleases, without respect to any second cause whatsoever. Were we not ambitiously minded, *familiam ducere*, every one to be Lord of a Sect, each of these Tenets might be profitably taught and heard, and matter of singular exhortation drawn from either; for on the one part, doubtles it is a pious and religious intent, to endeavour to free God from all imputation of unnecessary rigour, and his Justice from seeming Injustice and Incongruity: and on the other side, it is a noble resolution, so to humble our selves under the hand of Almighty God, as that we can with patience bear, yea, think it an honour, that so base creatures as our selves should become the instruments of the glory of so great a Majesty, whether it be by eternal life, or by eternal death, though for no other reason, but for Gods good will and pleasures sake. The Authours of these conceits might both freely (if peaceably) speak their minds, and both singularly profit the Church: for since it is impossible, where Scripture is ambiguous, that all conceits should run alike, it remains, that we seek out a way, not so much to establish an unity of opinion in the minds of all, which I take to be a thing likewise impossible, as to provide, that multiplicity of conceit, trouble not the Churches peace. A better way my conceit cannot reach unto, then that we would be willing to think, that these things, which with some shew of probability we deduce from Scripture, are at the best but *our Opinions*: for this peremptory manner of setting down our own conclusions, under this high commanding form of *necessary truths*, is generally one of the greatest causes, which keeps the Churches this day so far asunder; when as a gracious receiving of each other, by mutual forbearance in this kind, might peradventure in time bring them nearer together.

This peradventure, may some man say, may content us in case of opinion indifferent, out of which no great inconvenience by necessary and evident proof is concluded: but what *Recipe* have we for him that is fallen into some known and desperate *Heresie*? Even the same with the former. And therefore anciently, Heretical and Orthodox Christians, many times even in publick holy

holy exercise converse together without offence. It's noted in the Ecclesiastick stories, that the *Arrians* and *Right Believers* so communicated together in holy Prayers, that you could not distinguish them till they came to the *δοξολογία*, the *Gloria Patri*, which the *Arrians* used with some difference from other Christians. But those weretimes *quorum lectionem habemus, virtutem non habemus*; we read of them in our books, but we have lost the practise of their patience. Some prejudice was done unto the Church by those, who first began to intermingle with publick Ecclesiastical duties, things respective unto private conceits. For those Christian offices in the Church ought as much as possible they may be common unto all, and not to descend to the differences of particular opinions. Severity against, and separation from Heretical companies, took its beginning from the Hereticks themselves: and if we search the stories, we shall find, that the Church did not at their first arising thrust them from her, themselves went out: and as for severity, that which the *Donatists* sometimes spake in their own defence, *Illam esse veram Ecclesiam quæ persecutionem patitur, non quæ facit*; She was the true Church, not which raised, but which suffered persecution, was *de facto* true for a great space. For when Heresies and Schisms first arose in the Church, all kinds of violence were used by the erring Factions; but the Church seem'd not for a long time to have known any use of a Sword, but onely of a Buckler, and when she began to use the Sword, some of her best and cheifest Captains much misliked it. The first Law in this kind that ever was made, was Enacted by *Theodosius* against the *Donatists*, but with this restraint, that it should extend against none, but onely such as were tumultuous, and till that time they were not so much as touch'd with any *multa*, though but pecuniary, till that shameful outrage committed against Bishop *Maximian*, whom they beat down with bats and clubs, even as he stood at the *Altar*: So that not so much the error of the *Donatists*, as their Riots and Mutinies were by Imperial Laws restrained. That the Church had afterward good reason to think, that she ought to be *salubrior quam dulcior*, that sometimes there was more mercy in punishing, then forbearing, there can no doubt be made. *St. Austin* (a man of as mild and gentle spirit as ever bare rule in the Church) having, according to his natural sweetness of disposition, earnestly written against violent and sharp dealing with Hereticks, being taught by experience,



did afterward retract, and confess an excellent use of wholesome severity in the Church. Yet could I wish that it might be said of the Church, which was sometimes observed of *Augustus*, *In nullius unquam suorum nocem duravit*: He had been angry with, and severely punish'd many of his kin, but he could never endure to cut any of them off by death. But this I must request you to take onely as my private wish, and not as a censure, if any thing have been done to the contrary. When *Absolom* was up in arms against his Father, it was necessary for *David* to take order to curb him, and pull him on his knees; yet we see how careful he was he should not die, and how lamentably he bewail'd him in his death: what cause was it that drove *David* into this extreme passion? Was it doubt of Heir to the Kingdom? that could not be; for *Solomon* was now born, to whom the promise of the Kingdom was made: Was it the strength of natural affection? I somewhat doubt of it; three years together was *Absolom* in banishment, and *David* did not very eagerly desire to see him: The Scripture indeed notes, that the King long'd for him; yet in this longing was there not any such fierceness of passion, for *Absolom* saw not the Kings face for two years more after his return from banishment to *Hiernsalem*: What then might be the cause of his strength of passion, and commiseration in the King? I perswade my self it was the fear of his sons final miscarriage, and *reprobation*, which made the King (secure of the mercies of God unto himself) to wish he had died in his stead, that so he might have gain'd for his ungracious child some time of repentance. The Church who is the common Mother of us all, when her *Absoloms*, her unnatural sons, do lift up their hands and pens against her, must so use means to repress them, that she forget not that they are the sons of her womb, and be compassionate over them as *David* was over *Absolom*, loth to unsheathe either sword, but most of all the Temporal; for this were to send them quick dispatch to Hell.

And here I may not pass by that *singular moderation* of this Church of ours, which she hath most Christianly express'd towards her adversaries of *Rome*, here at home in her bosom above all the reformed Churches I have read of. For out of desire to make the breach seem no greater, then indeed it is, and to hold communion and Christian fellowship with her, so far as we possibly can; we have done nothing to cut off the Favourers of that Church.

Church. The reasons of their love and respect to the Church of Rome we wish, but we do not command them to lay down: their Lay-brethren have all means of instruction-offered them. Our Edicts and Statutes made for their restraint, are such as serve onely to awaken them, and cause them to consider the innocency of that cause for refusal of communion, in which they endure (as they suppose) so great losses. Those who are sent over by them, either for the retaining of the already perverted, or perverting others, are either return'd by us back again to them, who dispatch'd them to us, or without any wrong unto their persons, or danger to their lives, suffer an easie restraint, which onely hinders them from dispersing the poison they brought. And had they not been stickling in our state business, and meddling with our Princes Crown, there had not a drop of their blood fallen to the ground; unto our Sermons, in which the swarvings of that Church are necessarily to be taxt by us, we do not bind their presence, onely our desire is, they would joyn with us in those *Prayers* and *holy Ceremonies*, which are common to them and us. And so accordingly, by singular discretion was our *Service-book* compiled by our fore-fathers, as containing nothing that might offend them, as being almost meerly a *Compendium* of their own *Breviary* and *Missal*; so that they shall see nothing in our Meetings, but that they shall see done in their own, though many things which are in theirs, here I grant they shall not find. And here indeed is the great and main difference betwixt us. As it is in the controversie concerning the *Canonical Books of Scripture*: whatsoever we hold for Scripture, that even by that Church is maintained, onely she takes upon her to add much, which we cannot think safe to admit: so fares it in other points of Faith and *Ceremony*; whatsoever it is we hold for Faith, she holds it as far forth as we: our Ceremonies are taken from her; onely she over and above urges some things for Faith, which we take to be Errour, or at the best but opinion; and for Ceremony which we think to be Superstition: So that to participate with us, is, though not throughout, yet in some good measure to participate with that Church; and certainly were that spirit of charity stirring in them, which ought to be, they would love and honour us, even for the resemblance of that Church, the beauty of which themselves so much admire. The glory of these our proceedings, even our adversaries themselves do much envy;  
So.

So that from hence it is, that in their writings they traduce our Judiciary proceedings against them, for sanguinary and violent, striving to perswade other Nations, that such as have suffered by course of publick Justice for Religion onely, and not for Treason have died, and pretend we what we list, our actions are as bloody and cruel as their own : wherefore if a perfect pattern of dealing with Erring Christians were to be sought, there were not any like unto this of ours, *In qua nec seviendi, nec errandi pereundique licentia permittitur*, which as it takes not to it self liberty of cruelty, so it leaves not unto any the liberty of destroying their own souls in the error of their lives. And now that we may at once conclude this point concerning *Hereticks*, for prohibiting these men access to Religious Disputations, it is now too late to dispute of that ; for from this, that they have already unadvisedly entred into these battels, are they become that which they are : Let us leave them therefore as a sufficient example and instance of the danger of intempestive and immodest meddling in Sacred Disputes.

I see it may be well expected, that I should according to my promise adde instruction for the *publick Magistrate*, and show how far this precept in receiving the weak concerns him.

I must confess I intended, and promised so to do, but I cannot conceive of it, as a thing befitting me to step out of my Study, and give Rules for Government to Common-wealths, a thing befitting men of greater experience to do. Wherefore I hope you will pardon me if I keep not that promise, which I shall with less offence break then observe : And this I rather do, because I suppose this precept to concern us especially, if not onely as private men, and that in case of publick proceeding, there is scarce room for it. Private men may pass over offences at their pleasure, and may be, in not doing it, they do worse : but thus to do, lies not in the power of the Magistrate, who goes by Laws, prescribing him what he is to do. Princes and men in Authority do many times much abuse themselves, by affecting a reputation of Clemency, in pardoning wrongs done to other men, and giving protection to sundry offenders, against those who have just cause to proceed against them. It is mercy to pardon wrong done against our selves, but to deny the course of Justice to him that calls for it, and to protect offenders, may peradventure be some inconsiderate pity, but mercy it cannot be. All therefore that

that I will presume to advise the *Magistrate*, is, *A general inclinableness to merciful proceedings.*

And so I conclude, wishing unto them who plentifully sowe mercy, plentifully to reap it at the hand of God, with an hundred fold encrease, and that blessing from God the Father of mercies, may be upon them all, as on the sons of mercy, as many as are the sands on the Sea-shore in multitude. The same God grant, that the words which we have heard this day, &c.

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*A Sermon*

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*A Sermon Preached on Easter day at Eaton Colledge.*

Luke XVI. 25.

*Son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivdest thy good things.*



Have heard a *Proverb* to this sound, *He that hath a debt to pay at Easter, thinks the Lent but short*: How short this *Lent* hath seemed to me, who stand indebted to you for the remainder of my Meditations upon these words, is no matter of consequence; to you peradventure it may have seemed so long, that what you lately heard at *shrovetide*, now at *Easter* you may with pardon have forgotten. I will therefore recall into your memories so much of my former Meditations, as may serve to open unto me a convenient way to pursue the rest of those Lessons, which then, when I last spake unto you, the time and your patience would not permit me to finish. But ere I do this, I will take leave a little to fit my Text unto this time of Solemnity.

This time, you know, calls for a Discourse concerning the Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; of this you hear no sound in the words which I have read, and therefore you conclude it a Text unbecoming the day. Indeed, if you take the *Resurrection* for that glorious Act of his *Omnipotency*, by which, through the power of his eternal Spirit, he redeems himself from the hand of the grave, and triumphs over death and hell, you shall in these



theſe words find nothing pertinent: But if you take this Reſurrection for that act, by which, through the power of ſaving grace, Chriſt the Sun of righteouſneſs riſes in our hearts, and raiſes us from the death of ſin, unto the life of righteouſneſs, here in theſe words you may perchance find a notable branch of it. For to raiſe our thoughts from this earth, and clay, and from things beneath (and ſuch are thoſe which here *Abraham* calls, *The good things of our life*) and to ſet them above, where *Chriſt ſits at the right hand of God*, this is that praſtick Reſurrection, which above all concerns us; that other of *Chriſt in Perſon*, in regard of us, is but a *Reſurrection in ſpeculation*; for to him that is dead in ſin and treſpaſſes, and who places his good in the things of this life, Chriſt is, as it were, not riſen at all, to ſuch a one he is ſtill in the grave, and under the bands of death: But to him that is riſen with Chriſt, and ſeeks the good things that are above, to him alone is Chriſt riſen: To know and believe perfectly the whole ſtory of Chriſt's Reſurrection, what were it, if we did not praſtiſe this Reſurrection of our own? *Cogita non exacturum à te Deum, quantum cognoveris, ſed quantum vixeris*; God will not reckon with thee, how much thou knoweſt, but how well thou haſt lived. *Epiſtetus*, that great Philoſopher, makes this pretty Parable, Should a ſhepherd, ſaith he, call his ſheep to account how they had profited, would he like of that ſheep, which brought before him his hay, his graſs, and fodder; or rather that ſheep, which having well digeſted all theſe, expreſt himſelf in fat, in fleſh, and wooll? Beloved, you are the flock of Chriſt, and the ſheep of his hands; ſhould the great Shepherd of the flock call you before him, to ſee how you have profited, wou'd he content himſelf with this, that you had well Con'd your *Catechiſm*, that you had diligently read the *Gospel*, and exactly knew the whole ſtory of the Reſurrection? would it not give him better ſatisfaction to find Chriſt's Reſurrection expreſt in yours, and as it were digeſted into fleſh and wooll? & γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐστὶ, Χρύσιππος ἀνεγνωέναι, To have read *Chryſippus his Book*, this is not virtue: To have read the *Gospel*, to have gathered all the circumſtances of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, this is not Chriſtianity: to have riſen, as Chriſt hath done, ſo to have digeſted the Reſurrection of Chriſt, as that we have made it our own, this is rightly to underſtand the Doctrin of the Reſurrection of Chriſt. For this cauſe have I reſused to treat this day of that Reſurrection, in the Doctrin of which I know you are per-

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fiſt,

first, and have reflected on that, in the knowledge of which I fear you are imperfect: which that I might the better do, I have made choice to prosecute my former Meditations, begun when I last spake unto you in this place; For so doing, I shall open unto you one of the hardest points of your *Spiritual Resurrection*, even to raise your thoughts from the things of this life, and seat them with Christ above.

To make my way more fair to this, I will take leave to put you in mind, in short, how I proceeded in the opening of these words, when I last spake unto you out of this place: You may be pleased to remember, that after some instruction drawn from the first word, *Son*, I proceeded to consider the ensuing words, wherein having by an *Alchimy*, which then I used, changed the word [*Recordare*] *Remember*, into [*Cave*] *Beware*, and so read my Text thus, *Beware thou receive not thy good things in this life*, I shewed you, that we had never greater cause to consult our best wits, what we are to do, and how we are to carry our selves, then when the world, and outward blessings come upon us; Upon this I moved this Question, *Whether or no, if the things of this world should by some providence of God knock and offer themselves to us, we are bound to exclude them and refuse them? or, we might open and admit of them?* I divided my answer according to the divers abilities and strengths of men: First, *Qui potest capere, capiat*; he that hath strength and spiritual wisdom to manage them, let him receive them: But in the second place, he that is weak, let him let strong diet alone, and feed on herbs, let him not intangle himself with more then he can manage; Let him try, *Quid ferre recusent, Quid valeant humeri*—To the first the sum of what I spake was this, Receive them we may, and that without danger of a *Recepisti*; first, if we so received them, as if we received them not; secondly, if we esteemed them not good; thirdly, if we did not esteem them ours: And here the time cut me off, and suffered me not to descend unto the second part, upon which now I am about to fall, *Cave ne recipias, Take heed thou receive not thy good things*.

In this matter of *Receiving* and entertaining these outward and foreign good things, there have been two ways commended to you, the one the more glorious, *to receive them*; of this we have spoken. The other the more safe, *not to receive them*; of this we are now to speak. These ways are trodden by two kinds of persons;

sons; the one is the *strong* man, and more virtuous; the other is *weaker*, but more cautelous; the one encounters temptation, the other avoids it: We may compare them to the two great Captains, *Hannibal* and *Fabius*, the one ever calling for the battel, the other evermore declining it. In one of these two ranks must every good man be found; if we compare them together, we shall find, that the one is far more excellent, the other far more in number: For to be able to meet and check our enemy, to encounter occasions, to act our parts in common life upon the common stage, and yet to keep our uprightness; this indeed is truly to *live*, truly to *serve God*, and men, and therefore God the more, because men. On the contrary to avoid occasions, to follow that other *vincendi genus*, *non pugnare*, to overcome the world by contemning and avoiding it, this argues a wise, indeed but a weak and fainting spirit: I have often wondred at *Antiquity*, which doting extremely upon a sequestred, a *solitary*, retired, and Monkish life, sticks not to give out, that all *perfection* is in it, whereas indeed there is no greater argument of imperfection in good men, *quam non posse pati solem, non multitudinem*; not to be able without offence to walk the *publick* ways, to entertain the common occasions, but to live onely to God and to *themselves*: *Utilis ipse sibi fortassis, inutilis orbi*; Men of no great publick use, but excellent for themselves; *Saints* indeed in *private*, but being called forth into common life, are like *Batts* in the *Sun*, utterly ignorant of publick practise; like *Schenbelius* a great *Mathematician*, but by book onely, and not by *practise*, who being required sometime in an Army to make use of his *Quadrant*, knew not the difference between *umbra recta*, and *umbra versa*: Yet, Beloved, because this kind of good men is by far the greatest in number; and *secondly*, because it is both an *usual* and a dangerous error of many men, to pretend to strength, when they are but weak, and so forgetting their place, range themselves among the *first*, whereas they ought to have kept station among the *second* sort, I will take leave both to advise my self, and all that hear me, to like better of the safer, though the weaker side, and to avoid the *exprobration* of a *Recepiſti* here in my Text, simply *non recipiendo*, by not receiving, not admitting at all of the outward, lower, and temporal good things, rather then by an improvident fool-hardiness to thrust our selves upon occasions which we are unable to manage without offence. This I am the more willing to do, because there

is not among men a greater error committed, and more frequent, then in this kind ; for in most things in the world, men that have no skill in them, will be content to acknowledge their ignorance, and to give place to better experience: should we put the discussion of some point of *Scholarship* to the *Plough-hind*, or a Case in *Law* to the *Physician*, or a point in *Physick* to the *Lawyer*, none of these will offer to interpose, but will advise to consult with every one in his proper mystery ; but let offer be made of moneys, lands, places of honour, and preferment, and who will excuse himself, who will acknowledge his ignorance, or weakness to manage them ? Whereas in all the Arts and Sciences there are not so many errors committed, as in the unskilful use of these things, *cum tamen nusquam periculosius erretur*, and yet our errors are no where so dangerous : It is therefore a thing most necessary, that in this behalf we advise men, either to *know* their *weakness*, or to *suspect* their *strength*. *Malo cautior esse quam fortior ; fortis saepe captus est, cautus rarissime* ; better to be cautelous and wary, then strong and hardy ; the strong man hath been often captivated, but the wary man very seldom. We read in many places of *Moses* and *Samuel* of a race of men, *greater* in bulk and stature, then the ordinary men, unto whom men of common inches seemed but as *Grasshoppers* ; such were the *Anakims*, the *Enims*, the *Horims*, the *Zamzummins*, the *Rephaims*, and the like : but if you read the Scriptures, you shall find it observed unto your hand, that the men of lesser bodies always drove them out ; if you demand the reason, experience will answer you, that the one went upon the opinion of strength and hardiness, the other of wary wit and policy : It fares no otherwise with these two orders of men, of which I have spoken, there is the *Anakim*, the man that goes forth in the conceit of his strength and valour ; there is the man of *mean stature*, whose strength is his wariness ; were there a survey taken of both these, it would be found, that more by far have perished by unadvised adventuring upon the things of this world, then by discreet and sober retiring.

Wherefore, dost thou find that thou comest on, and thrive in the world ? that the good things of this world woo thee, and cast themselves into thy lap ? that wealth, that honours, that abundance waits upon thee ? take heed how thou presume of thy strength to manage them, look well upon them, and see if there be not written in the fore-head of every one of them, *Recepisti.*

*cepiſti*. But, Beloved, I perceive I deceive my ſelf, for theſe gay things of the world carry not their *Recepiſti* in their fore-heads, as they come towards us, they are ſmooth and fair : you can prognosticate nothing by their countenance, but serene and summer weather : Our great master *Aristotle* hath told us, That if our pleasures did look upon us when they come to us, as they do when they turn their back and leave us, we would never entertain them ; theſe goodly things have their *Recepiſti* written in their back, it is never discovered, till it be too late to mend it, when death summons us, when the world, the flesh, the glory and pomp of life turns its back and leaves us, then shall you read *Recepiſti*. Cave therefore, presume not, but be wary, and that thou mayest avoid a *Recepiſti*, *cave ne recipias*, be ſure that thou receive not : How many of thoſe, think you, who out of their opinion of ſkill and ſtrength, have given free entertainment to the world, have made large uſe of the world, lived abundantly, ſared coſtly, dwelt ſumptuouſly, clothed themſelves richly, when their time and hour came, would rather have gone out of ſome poor cottage, then out of a Princely Palace, and lived with no noiſe in the world, that ſo they might have died in ſome peace ? See you not, what ſome great Perſons in the Church of Rome have often done ? Charles 5, the Prince of Parma, ſundry others, though they lived in all pomp and ſtate, yet at their death they deſired to be buried in a poor Capuchin's hood ; miſerable men ! If to die in a ſtate of perfect ſequeſtration from the world were ſo precious, ſo available a thing ; how much more precious, more available had it been to live in it ? For thus to die, not having thus lived, is nothing elſe, but to give ſentence againſt their own life ; for we ſhall not appear before God as we died, but as we lived. To profeſs hate and diſſertion of the world at our death, as moſt do ; to put on humiliation at our death, that live at eaſe and in ſtate all our life ; this is but to be buried in a Capuchin's hood : What is it, beloved, that thus reforms our judgment, and clears our ſight at that hour ? Nothing but this, all our pleasures, all our honours, all the May-games of our life, they now ſhall ſhew themſelves unto us, and every one cry out unto us, *Recepiſti*, Then haſt received thy good things.

Now, Beloved, that I may a little the better ſtrengthen with good reaſon this my advice, *de non recipiendo*, of retiring from, and rejecting the goodly things of the world, give me leave a little



to consult with my Topicks, and to try out of what place I may draw some arguments, to bring you on the easier.

And first of all, were there no other reason to perswade you, yet the very reading of this story, where I have taken my Text, would afford arguments enough ; for what meant *Abraham*, I beseech you, when he told the *rich man*, *he had received his good things* ? Did he use some obscure and unknown phrase, which no circumstance of the story could open ? It stands not with the goodness of the *Holy Ghost*, to tell us of our danger in unknown Language ; something therefore certainly we shall find, to open the meaning : cast back your eye upon the *description* of the person, whom *Abraham* charges with this error, and see if you find not a paraphrase there ; the man to whom this phrase is applied, is described by the *properties*, of which I understand not that any one is a *virtue* ; first, it is said, *he was Rich* ; secondly, *he wore scarlet*, and *soft linen* ; thirdly, he was *εὐφροσύνης*, *he was jovial*, and feasted liberally every day : doth not this accurate description of the person shew his error ? For to what other purpose else could this description serve ? Either here is his error, or this character is in vain ; it seems therefore we must conclude, that to be *rich*, to *cloath* our selves *costly*, to *fare deliciously*, thus to do, is *to receive the good things in our life*, except some favourable interpretation do help us out ; but we must take heed how we do *descripturis interpretationibus ludere*, dally with, and elude Scripture by interpretations, *ροῦδω ὡς γέγραπται*. When St. *John* describes the world, which he forbids us to follow, he makes *three* parts of it, the *lust of the flesh*, the *lust of the eye*, and the *pride of life* : Do not all these *three* appear here in the character of our man ? Where is the *lust of the eye*, if it be not in *gaudy apparel* ? Where is the *lust of the flesh*, at least one great branch of it, if it be not in the use of *dainty diet* ? Where is the *pride of life*, if not in *riches* ? And what reason have you now to doubt, what should be the meaning of *Recepisti*, *thou hast Received thy good things* ? He then that fears to hear a *Recepisti*, if he be *rich*, let him not forget to distribute, and empty those *bags* which lie up by him ; if he be *costly clad*, let him turn his *scarlet* into *sackcloth* ; if he *feed deliciously*, let him turn his *costly dishes* into *temperance* and *fasting* : otherwise, what can we plead for our selves, that we should not, as well as this man in my Text, when our time comes, hear our *Recepisti* ?

But

But I see what it is, peradventure, that troubles you, you will ask me, Whether I will avouch it to be a sin to be *Rich*? I must walk warily, lest I lay my self open to exception: *Pelagius* grounding himself upon that of our *Saviour*, [*It is impossible for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*] taught that lesson indeed, as the words do lie, and would by no means grant, that *a rich man could be saved*; but for this the Church noted him for an *Heretick*, for among his Heresies this is scored up for one, together with that, that *it is not lawful to swear*; but if *Pelagius* had never otherwise erred, the Church might very well have pardoned him that Heresie. Many times it falls out, by the reason of the hardness of our hearts, that there is more danger in pressing some truths, then in maintaining some errors: that it is lawful sometime to *sport* our selves, that it is lawful to *feast* at *Christmas*, that it is lawful to *swear*, and many other things of the like nature, are all *truths*; yet there is no necessity we should press them in our Sermons to the people, for there is no fear the people will ever forget these, *Cavendum est ne nimium meminerint*, better to labour that they do not too much remember them; he that will labour in repressing the abuses, which people ground upon these truths, must remember the old rule, *Iniquum petendum est, ut æquum feras*, he must go very near to teach for truth the contrary falsehood. To return then from this digression to our *rich man*; *Pelagius*, I grant, was deceived, when he shut all rich men out of the Kingdom of Heaven: but suppose we that he had prevailed in this doctrine, that he had wrought all the world to this bent, that the Church had received it for Catholick doctrine, shew me, he that can, what inconvenience would have attended this error? If every *rich man* should suddenly become *liberal*, and disburse his moneys where his charity directed him; if every *painted Gallant* did turn his Peacocks feathers into *sack-cloth*; if every *glutton* left his *full dishes*, and betook himself to *temperance* and *fasting*, yea, and thought himself in conscience bound so to do, out of fear, lest he might hear of *Receivisti*, I perswade my self the *state of Greece* would never suffer the more for this. but the *state of Christianity* would have thrived the more. Well had it been for our *rich man* here, if he had been a *Pelagian*; for this point of *Pelagianism* is the surest remedy, that I know, against a *Receivisti*; whereas on the contrary side, by reason of the truth, many rich and covetous persons flatter themselves

elves in their sin, whereof they die well conceited, from which they had been freed, had it been their good fortune to have been thus far deceived, and been *Pelagians*. Let men therefore either quite *refuse riches*, if they *offer themselves*, which is the advice I give, or if they will give them acceptance, let them believe, that if they be *rich*, they may be *saved* ; but let them so *live*, as if they could not ; for the one shall keep them from *error* in their *Faith*, the other from *sin* in their *Actions*.

A second reason, perswading us to the neglect of these so much admired things of the *world*, is the consideration of certain *abuses*, which they put upon us, certain *fallacies*, and *false glosses*, by which they delude us ; for I know not how, the world hath cried them up, and hath given them goodly titles, *Ut vel lacus gallinacci sperare possis haustum*, as *Pliny* speaks ; men call them blessings, and favours, and rewards, and think those men most blest of God, who enjoy most of them ; these goodly titles serve for nothing, but to set men on longing after them, and so fill those that have them with false perswasions, and those that have them not with despair and discontents. Were they indeed blessings, were they rewards, then were our case very ill, and we our selves in greater danger of a *Recepisti* then before : for as *Abraham* here tells the man of *recepisti bona*, *thou hast received thy good things*, so our *Saviour* tells more then once of some *qui habent mercedem*, have their reward ; if then we shall beg, and receive these things at the hands of God, as a reward of our service, we shall be no more able, when we come to appear before our God, to shelter our selves from an *habetis mercedem*, you have your reward, then the *rich man* here could defend himself from a *Recepisti*. They may indeed pass for rewards, and blessings, and that truly too, but to a *sad* and disconsolate end ; for there is no man, though never so wicked, but that some way or other doth some good, some *cup* of *cold water* hath been given, some small service enterprized even by the worst of men : now God who leaves no service unrewarded, no good office unrespected, therefore preserves these sublunary blessings of purpose, *ut paria faciat*, to clear accounts with men here, who otherwise might seem to claim something at his hand at that great day. It is the question *Abasuerus* makes, *What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this ?* God is more careful of his honour then *Abasuerus* was ; none more careful then he to reward

ward every service with some honour: *Nebuchadnezzar* was no Saint, I trow, yet because of his long-service in the subduing of Tyre, God gives him *Egypt* for his reward, they are the Prophet *Ezechiel's* words: when therefore thou seest God willing to bring the world upon thee, to enrich thee, to raise thee to honours, *suspectam habere hanc Domini indulgentiam*, as *Tertullian* saith, be jealous of this courtesie of God; or rather cry out with *St. Bernard*, *Misericordiam hanc nolo Domine*, O Lord, I will none of this kind of mercy: for how knowest thou whether he reward not thee, as he did *Nebuchadnezzar*, onely to even accounts with thee, and shew thee that he is not in thy debt, that thou mayest hear at the last either a *Recepisti*, or an *habes mercedem*, thou hast thy reward? O *quanta apud Deum merces. si in presenti premium non sperarent*, saith *St. Hierom*, O how great a reward might many men receive at the hand of God, if they did not anticipate their reward, and desire it in this life? Why do we capitulate with him for our services? Why not rather out of pious ambition desire to have God in our debt? He that doth God the greatest service, and receives here from him the least reward, is the happiest man in the world. There goes a story of *Aquinas*, that praying once before the Crucifix, the Crucifix miraculously speaks thus unto him, *Eene de me scripsisti Thomas, quam ergo mercedem accipies?* Thou hast written well of me, *Thomas*, what reward dost thou desire? To whom *Aquinas* is made to answer, *Nullam, Domine, præter Teipsum*; No reward, Lord, but thy self: 'Tis great pity this Tale is not true, it doth so excellently teach, what to ask of God for our reward in his service. Let God but assure thee of this reward, *cætera omnia vota Deo remittas*, thou mayest very well pardon him all the rest. Let us therefore amend our language; and leave off these solecisms, and misapplied denominations of blessings, and favours, and rewards, names too high for any thing under the Moon; and at our leisure find out other names to express them; as for this great esteem which we make of the things below, it comes but from this, that we know not the value of things above; did we believe our selves to be the heirs, and the sons of God, and knew the price of our inheritance in heaven, it could not be, that we should harbour so high and honourable conceits of earthly things. It is a famous speech of *Martin Luther*, *Homo perfecte credens se esse heredem & filium Dei, non diu superstes maneret, sed statim inmodico gaudio absorberetur*: Did a man indeed believe that

he is a son and heir unto God, it could not be, that such a man should long live, but forthwith he would be swallowed up, and die of immoderate joy. And certainly either our not beleiving, or not rightly valuing the things of God. or howsoever, not knowing them, is the cause of this our languishing, and impatient longing after earthly things. 'Tis but a plain comparison which I shall use, yet because it fits the person to whom I will apply it, and because it is Theophylact's in his Comments on St. Luke's Gospel, I will not be ashamed to make use of it, *swine*, saith he, *have their eyes so fram'd, that they cannot look up to Heaven ; their Keepers therefore when they find themselves troubled with their crying, are wont to cast them upon their backs, & μεταποστρεφειν πρὸς ὀπίσθον, and so make them cease their crying ;* for that Beast being amazed to see the frame and beauty of Heaven, which before he had never seen, ἐκπλήττεται & σιγᾷ, being stricken with admiration, forgets his crying: The eyes of many men seem to be framed like those of *swine*, they are not able to cast them up to Heaven ; for would they but cast themselves upon their backs, turn their face from earth, and view the beauty of things above, it could not be, but all this claim, or rather clamour after earthly things should utterly cease.

Again, (yet the more to quicken one to the neglect of these things below ) among many other fallacies, by which they delude us, I have made choice of one more : They present themselves unto us, sometimes as *Necessaries*, sometimes as *Ornaments* unto us in our course of virtue and happiness ; whereas they are but meer impertinences, neither is it any way material whether we have them yea or no : *Virtus censum non requirit, nudo homine contenta est ;* Virtue and happiness require nothing else but a man : Thus says the *Ethnick*, and *Christianity* much more : For it were a strange thing that we should think, that Christ came to make *Virtue* more chargeable : In regard of *Virtue* and *Piety*, all estates, all conditions, high and low, are alike. It is noted by *Petronius* for the vanity of rich men, *Qui solas divitias extruere curant, nihil volunt inter homines melius credi, quam quod ipsi tenent ;* Those men whose minds are set upon wealth and riches, would have all men beleive that it is best so to do. But riches and poverty make no difference, for we beleive him that hath told us, there is no difference, *Jew and Gentile, high and low, rich and poor, all are one in Christ Jesus. Non naturæ paupertas, sed opinionis est,* saith *S. Ambrose*, *Poverty*, as men call it, is but a phantse, there is no such thing indeed, it



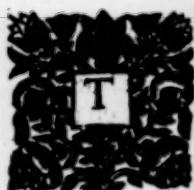
it is but a figment; an Idol, men first framed, and set it up, and afterward feared it; *Oculi nostri tota hac luxuria est*, as some Naturalists tell us, that the Rain-bow is *oculi opus*, a thing framed onely by the eye; so this difference betwixt rich and poor is but the creature of the eye, *Smyndyrides* the *Sybarite* was grown so extremely dainty, that he would grow weary with the sight of another mans labour, and therefore when sometime he saw a poor man digging, and painfully labouring, he began to faint, and pant, and requires to be removed: Beloved, when we are thus offended to see another man meanly clad, meanly housed, meanly traded, all this is but out of a *Sybaritish* ridiculous daintiness, for all this is but to grow weary at the sight of another man's labour: Would we follow our Saviour's precept, and put out this eye of ours, the greatest part of all this vanity were quite extinguish'd; for what were all outward state and pomp imaginable, were no eye to see or regard it?

Now, Beloved, yet to see this more plainly, what is the main end of our life? what is it, at which with so much pain and labour we strive to arrive? It is, or should be nothing else but *Virtue* and *Happiness*: now these are alike purchasable in all estates; Poverty, disease, distress, contumely, contempt; these are as well the object of *Virtue* as *Wealth*, liberty, honour, reputation, and the rest of that forespoken rank: *Happiness* therefore may as well dwell with the poor, miserable, and distressed persons, as with persons of better fortune, since it is confest by all, that *happiness* is nothing else but *actio secundum virtutem*, a leading of our life according to virtue. As great art may be exprest in the cutting of a *Flint*, as in the cutting of a *Diamond*, and so the work-man do well exprest his skill, no man will blame him for the baseness of the matter, or think the worse of his work: Beloved, some man hath a *Diamond*, a fair and glittering fortune; some man hath a *Flint*, a hard, harsh, and despicable fortune; let him bestow the same skill and care in polishing and cutting of the latter, as he would or could have done on the former, and be confident it will be as highly valued (if not more highly rewarded) by God, who is no acceptor of persons, but accepteth every man according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not; To him let us commit ourselves: To him be all honour and praise, now and for ever. Amen.



Numb. XXXV. Verse 33.

*And the Land cannot be cleansed of blood that is shed in it ;  
but by the blood of him that shed it.*



These words are like unto a *scorpion* : for as in that, so in these, the self-same thing is both *Poison* and *Remedy* : Blood is the *poison*, Blood is the *remedy* ; he that is stricken with the *scorpion*, must take the *oyl* of the *scorpion* to cure him. He that hath *poison'd* a Land with the sin of *Bloud*, must yeild his own *Bloud* for *Antidote* to cure it. It might seem strange, that I should amongst Christians thus come and deliver a speech of *Bloud*. For when I read the notes and characters of a Christian in holy Scriptures, me-thinks it should be almost a sin for such a one to name it. *Possess your souls in patience. By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another. Peace I leave with you. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace in the Holy Ghost. Let your softness be known to all men. The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be entreated, full of mercy.* It is reported by *Avenzoar* a great Physician, that he was so tender-hearted, that he could not endure to see a man let-blood : He that should read these passages of Scripture, might think that Christians were like *Avenzoar*, that the sight of blood should be enough to affright them. But is the common Christian so soft, so tender-hearted ? is he so peaceable, so tame and tractable a creature ? You shall not find two things of more different countenance and complexion, then that Christianity which

is commended unto us in the writings of the Apostles, and Evangelists, and that which is current in use and practise of the times. He that shall behold the true face of a Christian, as it is deciphered and painted out unto us in the Books of the New Testament, and unpartially compare it with that copy or counterfeite of it, which is exprest in the life and demeanour of common Christians, would think them no more like, then those *shields of gold* which *Solomon* made, were unto those of *brass* which *Rehoboam* made in their stead: and might suppose that the Writers of those Books had brought *vota magis, quam præcepta*, had rather fancied to themselves some admirable pattern of a Christian, such as they could *wish*, then delivered Rules and Laws, which seriously and indeed ought or could be practised in common life and conversation. *St. James* observes, that *he which beholds his natural face in a glass, goes his way, and immediately forgets what manner of man he was*. Beloved, how careful we are to look upon the Glass, the Books of holy Scriptures, I cannot easily pronounce; But this I am sure of, we go our ways, and quickly forget what manner of shape we saw there. As *Jacob* and *Esau* had both one father, *Isaac*; both one mother, *Rebecca*; yet the one was smooth and plain, the other rough and hairy, of harsh and hard countenance and condition: so these two kinds of Christians, of which but now I spake, though both lay claim to one Father and Mother, both call themselves the sons of God, and the sons of the Church, yet are they almost as unlike as *Jacob* and *Esau*; the one smooth, gentle, and peaceable, the other rough and harsh. The notes and characters of Christians, as they are described in holy Scriptures, are *patience*, easily putting up and digesting of wrongs; *humility*, preferring all before our selves: And *St. James* tells us, that *the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be entreated*. *St. James* indeed hath given the first place unto purity, and it were almost a sin to compare Christian virtues together, and make them strive for precedency and place. For what *Solomon* saith upon another occasion, is here much more true, *Say not, Why is this thing better then that? for every thing in its time is seasonable*. Yet he that shall mark how every where the Scriptures commend unto us gentleness and meekness, and that peace is it, *quam nobis Apostoli totis viribus Spiritus sancti commendant*, as *Tertullian* speaks, which the Apostles endeavour with all the strength and force of the holy

holy Ghost to plant amongst us, might a little invert the words of St. James, and read them thus, *The wisdom that is from above, is first peaceable, then pure.* The Son of God, who is the Wisdom of the Father, and who for us men came down from Heaven, first, and before all other virtues commended this unto the world: For when he was born, the song of the Angels was, *Peace upon earth, and good will towards men.* All his doctrine was peace, his whole life was peaceable, and no man heard his voice in the streets; His last legacy and bequest left unto his disciples was the same; Peace, saith he, *I leave unto you, my peace I give unto you:* As Christ, so Christians. In the building of Solomon's Temple, there was no noise of any hammer, of any instrument of Iron; so in the spiritual building and frame of a Christian, there is no sound of Iron, no noise of any weapons, nothing but peace and gentleness. *Ex præcepto fidei non minus rea ira est, sine ratione suscepta, quam in operibus legis homicidium,* saith St. Austin, Unadvised anger by the Law of Faith is as great a sin, as murder was by the Law of Moses. As some Physicians have thought, that in man's body, the spleen hath very little use, and might well be spared; and therefore in dealing with fundry diseased persons, they endeavour by Physick to abate, and take away that part in them, as much as may be; so if we look into a Christian man, as he is proposed to us in the Gospel, we may justly marvel to what purpose God hath planted in him this faculty and passion of anger; since he hath so little use of it; and the Gospel in a manner doth spiritually diet and physick him for it, and endeavours much to abate, if not quite to purge out that quality. Beloved, we have hitherto seen who Jacob is, and what manner of man the Christian is, that is described unto us in holy Scripture. Let us a little consider his brother Esau, the Christian in passage, and who commonly in the account of the world goes for one. Is he so gentle and tractable a creature? Is his countenance so smooth, his body so free from gall and spleen? To try this, as the Devil sometimes spake unto Job, *Touch him in his goods, touch him in his body, and see if he will not curse thee to thy face:* so touch this man a little in his goods, touch him in his reputation and honour; touch him in anything that he loves, (for this is the onely way to try how far these commands of peace, and forbearance, and long suffering prevail with us) and see if he will not forget and loose all his patience. Which of us is there that understands the words

words and precepts of our Saviour in their literal sense, and as they lie? The precepts of suffering wrong, rather than to go to Law; of yielding the coat to him that would take the cloak, of readiness to receive more wrongs, than to revenge one: these and all the Evangelical commands of the like nature *Interpretamento detorqueamus*, we have found out favourable interpretations and glosses, restrictions and evasions, to wind our selves out of them, to shift them all off, and put them by, and yet pass for sound and currant Christians: We think we may be justly angry, continue long Suits in Law, call to the Magistrate for revenge, yea, sometimes take it into our own hands: all this and much more we think we may lawfully, and with good reason do, any precept of Christ to the contrary notwithstanding. And as it usually comes to pass, the permitting and tolerating lesser sins, opens way to greater, so by giving passage and inlet to those lesser impatiences and discontents, we lay open a gap to those fouler crimes, even of *murder* and *bloodshed*. For as men commonly suppose, that all the former breaches of our patience, which but now I mentioned, may well enough stand with the duties of Christians: so there are who stay not here, but think, that in some cases it may be lawful, yea, peradventure necessary, at least very pardonable for Christians, privately to seek each others blood, and put their lives upon their swords, without any wrong to their vocation; out of this have sprung many great inconveniences, both private and publick. First, *Laws* made too favourable in case of *bloodshed*. Secondly, a too much facility and easiness in Princes and Magistrates, sometimes to give pardon and release for that crime. Thirdly and chiefly, (for it is the special cause indeed that moved me to speak in this Argument) an *over promptness* in many *young men*, who desire to be counted men of valour and resolution, upon every sleight occasion to raise a quarrel, and admit of no other means of composing and ending it, but by sword and *single Combat*. Partly therefore to shew the grievousness and greatness of this sin of *Bloodshed*, and partly to give the best counsel I can for the restraint of those conceits and errors which give way unto it, I have made choice of these few words out of the Old Testament which but now I read. In the New Testament there is no precept given concerning *Bloodshed*. The Apostles seem not to have thought, that Christians ever should have had need of such a prohibition;



hibition; For what needed to forbid those to seek each others *Bloud*, who are not permitted to speak over hastily one to another. When therefore I had resolv'd with my self to speak something concerning the sin of *Bloud-shed*, I was in a manner constrain'd to reflect upon the Old Testament, and make choise of these words; *And the Land cannot be purged of Bloud that is shed in it, but by the Bloud of him that shed it.*

In which words, for my more orderly proceeding, I will observe these two general parts: *First*, the greatness of the sin, *Secondly*, the means to cleanse and satisfie for the guilt of it. The first, that is, the greatness of the sin, is expressed by two circumstances. First, by the generality, extent, and largeness of the guilt of it: and secondly, by the difficulty of cleansing it. The largeness and compass of the guilt of this sin, is noted unto us in the word *Land*, and the *Land cannot be purged*. It is true in some sense of all sins, *Nemo sibi uni errat*, no man sins in private, and to himself alone; For as the Scripture notes of that action of *Jephthe*, when he vowed his daughter unto God, *That it became a Custom in Israel*, so is it in all sins: The error is onely in one person, but the example spreads far and wide, and thus every man that sins, sins against the whole *Land*, yea, against the whole world. For who can tell how far the example and infection of an evil action doth spread? In other sins the infection is no larger then the disease, but this sin like a plague; one brings the infection, *ὁ ἕκαστος δὲ λαοί*, but thousands die for it; yet this sin of *Bloud* diffuses and spreads it self above all other sins; for in other sins, *noxa sequitur caput*, the guilt of them is confined to the person that committed them; God himself hath pronounced of them, *The son shall not bear the sins of the father, the soul that sinneth shall die the death*: But the sin of *Bloud* seems to claim an exception from this Law; if by time it be not purged, like the *frogs of Egypt*, the whole land stank of them; it leaves a guilt upon the whole land in which it is committed. Other sins come in like Rivers, and break their banks to the prejudice and wrong of private persons; but this comes in like a Sea, raging and threatening to overwhelm whole Countreys. If *Bloud* in any land do lie unrevenged, every particular soul hath cause to fear, lest part of the penalty fall on him. We read in the *Books of Kings*, that long after *Saul's* death, God plagued the Land of *Jewry* with three years famine; because *Saul* in his life-time had without any just cause shed the

*Bloud*

*Bloud* of some of the *Gibeonites*: neither the famine ceased, till seven of *Saul's* nephews had died for it. In this story there are many things rare, and worth our observation. First, the generality and extent of the guilt of *Bloud-shed*, (which is the cause for which I urg'd it) it drew a general famine on the whole Land. Secondly, the continuance and length of the punishment; it lasted full three years and better. Thirdly the time of the plague; it fell long after the person offending was dead. Fourthly, whereas it is said in my Text, *That Bloud is cleansed by the Bloud of him that shed it*: here the *Bloud* of him that did this sin, sufficed not to purge the Land from it; that desperate and woful end, that befell both *Saul* and his *sons* in that last and fatal Battel upon Mount-Gilboa, a man may think had freed the Land from danger of *Bloud*: yet we see that the *Bloud* of the *Gibeonites* had left so deep a stain, that it could not be sponged out without the *Bloud* of seven more of *Saul's* off-spring. So that in some cases it seems we must alter the words of my Text, *The Land cannot be purged of Bloud, but by the Bloud of him and his Posterity that shed it*. St. Peter tells us, that *some mens sins go before them unto judgment, and some mens sins follow after*. Beloved, here is a sin that exceeds the members of this division for howsoever it goes before or after us unto judgment, yet it hath a kind of Ubiquity, and so runs afore, so follows us at the heels, that it stays behind us too, and calls for vengeance long after that we are gone. *Bloud* unrevenge'd passes from Father to Son like an Heirloom or Legacy: and he that dies with *Bloud* hanging on his fingers, leaves his off-spring and his Family as pledges to answer it in his stead. As an Engineer that works in a Mine lays a train, or kindles a Match, and leaves it behind him, which shall take hold of the powder long after he is gone; so he that sheds *Bloud*, if it be not betimes purged, as it were kindles a Match, able to blow up not onely a Parliament, but even a whole Land, where *Bloud* lies unrevenge'd.

Secondly, another circumstance serving to express unto us the greatness of this sin, I told you, was the difficulty of cleansing it, intimated in those words, *cannot be cleansed but by the Bloud of him that shed it*. Most of other sins have sundry ways to wash the guilt away; As in the *Levitical Law*, the woman that was unclean by reason of *Child-bearing*, might offer a pair of *Turtle-doves*, or two young *Pigeons*: so he that travels with other sins, hath either

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a Turtle or a Pigeon, he hath more ways then one to purifie him: prayer unto God, or true repentance, or satisfaction to the party wronged, or bodily affliction, or temporary muilt. But, he that travels with the sin of *Bloud*, for him there remains no sacrifice for sin, but a fearful expectation of vengeance, he hath but one way of cleansing, onely his *Bloud*, the *Bloud of him that shed it*.

The second general part which we considered in these words, was, that one mean which is left to cleanse *Bloud*, exprest in the last words, *the bloud of him that shed it*. The Apostle to the *Hebrews* speaking of the sacrifices of the Old Testament, notes, that without *Bloud* there was no cleansing, no forgiveness. He spake it onely of the *Bloud* of beasts, of Bulls and Goats, who therefore have their *Bloud*, that they might shed it in mans service, and for mans use. But among all the Levitical Sacrifices, there was not one to cleanse the manslayer: For the *Bloud* of the cattle upon a thousand hills was not sufficient for this, yet was that sin to be purged with *Bloud* too, and that by a more constant and perpetual Law then that of Sacrifices. For the cleansing of other sins by *Bloud* is done away, the date of it is out; but to cleanse *Bloud* by *bloud* remains as a Law to our times, and so shall unto the worlds end: *Sanguine querendi reditus*, out of *Bloud* no way to get but by *Bloud*. Ἐξοιστας ὑπερὶ ἁμαρτίας, saith St. Basil, hast thou shed *Bloud*? wouldst thou be free from the guilt of it? Thy best way is to be a Martyr, and shed thy *Bloud* for Christ's sake. Now that what I have to say may the better be conceived and lodged up in your memories, I will comprehend and order all that I will speak under three heads. First, I will in general yet a little further, breisly shew how great a sin the sin of *Bloud* is. Secondly, I will speak of the redress of some misorders very frequent in our age, which give way to this sin, especially private revenge and single combat. Thirdly, I will touch at the means of taking the guilt of *Bloud* away, which here the holy Ghost commends to those which are set in Authority to that purpose. And first of the greatness of the crime and sin of *Bloud*.

Of sins in holy Scripture there be two sorts recorded. One sort is a silent, dumb, and quiet sin; God doth as it were seek after it to find it, as the people did after *saul*, when he was hidden among the stuff: Of this nature are the ordinary sins of our life,

life, which do more easily find pardon at the hands of God; but there is a second sort of sin, which is a vocal and a crying sin, a sin like that *importunate widow* in the Gospel, that will not suffer the Judge to be quiet, till he hath done justice; and those are the more heavy and grievous sins of our lives: Of this second sort, there are two sins, to which the Scripture doth attribute this crying faculty. First, the sin of *sodom*; for so God tells *Abraham*, *The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is come up before me.* The second is the sin of which I am now to speak, the sin of *Bloud-shed*; for so God tells *Cain*, *The voice of thy brothers bloud cries unto me from the earth.* The sin of *Adam* in Paradise doubtless was a great and heinous sin, which hath thus made us all the *children of death*; yet it seems to be but of the rank of *mute sins*, and to have had no voice to betray it; God comes unto *Adam*, convents him, examines him, as if he had not known it, and seems not to beleive any such thing was done, till himself had confessed it, But *bloud* is an unmannerly, importunate, and clamorous sin, God shall not need to come and enquire after it, it will come up unto him, and cry as the souls do under the Altar in the *Revelation*, *How long, Lord, how long? Nec patimur iracunda Dextera ponere fulmina*, suffers not God to forget judgment, or entertain a thought of mercy, To satisfy therefore the cry of this importunate sin, and to shew men the grievousness of it, the Laws of God and men have wonderfully conspired in the avenging of *bloud*, by what means, or by what creature soever it were shed. Beasts, unreasonable creatures, though whatsoever they do, they cannot be said to sin: for whatsoever they do, they do by force of that natural instinct, by which they are guided, and led as by their proper Law: yet man's *bloud* if they shed it, is revenged upon them: God himself is the Authour of this Law, (*Gen. ix.*) where he tells *Noah*, *The bloud of your lives I will require, at the hands of every beast will I require it:* And accordingly in the xxi. of *Exodus*, he precisely enacts a Law, *De Bove petulco*, *If an Ox gore a man that he die, the Ox shall be slain, and the flesh cast away as an abomination.* The Laws of natural men, who had no knowledge of God, come little behind this; yea, they may seem to have gone before it in severe revenging of *bloud*: For amongst the Laws by which *Athens*, that famous City of *Greece* was governed, there was one, that if a *Wall* by chance had fallen down, and slain a man as the tower of *Siloam* did, of

which we read in the Gospel; that then the Judges should sit, and formally arraign that *Wall*, condemn it, and throw the stones of it out of the Countrey. This so formal proceeding against unreasonable, against dull and senseless creatures, hath been thus joyntly both by God and man practised onely for our example, to teach us how precious the life of man ought to be in our eyes: and it resembles that action of Christ in the Gospel, where for our instruction he curses the barren fig-tree: *Sterilitas nostra in ficu vapulat, &c.*

Now as exemplary justice is severely done on these creatures for mans instruction; so much more if man himself kept not his hands clean from *bloud*, did the Laws of God proceed with much strictness and severity: for to say nothing of gross, malicious, and wilful *murder*; if a man onely in *his haste* strook another with a weapon, or with a stone, so that he died, though the striker intended but to hurt, yet he was to die for it. That he did it in anger, that he did it in his drink, that he did it provok't, that he did it in defence of his honour and reputation, none of all these pretences might excuse him. Nay, which is yet more, God himself propounds the case; *If, saith he, a man cleaving wood, his ax head shie off, and hit his neighbour, so that he kills him, except he could recover one of the Cities of Refuge, he was to die, and having recovered a City of Refuge, if before the death of the High Priest he were taken without the walls of the City, he was to die.* So strict was God in the case of chance-medly, (as they call it) in a case which he takes unto himself, and makes himself the Authour of. For in the xxi. of *Exodus*, speaking of the man that thus sheds *bloud* by chance and unwittingly, his words are these, *If a man lie not in wait, sed Deus objecerit manni ejus*, but God put him into his hands, I will appoint him a *City of Refuge* to flie unto. In which words God acknowledges, that he who thus dies by chance, dies by his providence, and not by the sin of him that slew him. *If God* (saith he) *shall put him into his hands*; yet you see what a penalty he lays upon the innocent instrument of such *Bloudshed*. The *bloud* that is shed in Battel, and in times of lawful War, you all suppose as lawfully shed; yet notwithstanding, *Moses* in the xvi. of *Numbers*, gives charge, that the *souldiers* returning from battel, should stay a while without the camp, even seven days, until they were cleansed: Again, when *David* advised with himself about the building of  
an



an house unto God, he sends him word to lay by all thought of that, he was no fit person to do it; and he gives the reason of it, *Quia vir bellorum & sanguinum es tu*, For thou art a man hast shed much blood, and fought many battels. Beloved, the Battels which David fought were called the *Lord's Battels*, and therefore whatsoever he did in that kind, he had doubtless very good warrant to do; and yet you see, that it is an imputation to him, that he shed blood, though lawfully, *ut fundi sanguis ne iuste quidem, sine aliqua iniustitia possit*; so that it seems blood cannot be justly shed, but that it brings with it some stain and spot of injustice.

All this I have said to raise up in you as much as possibly I can, a right conceit of the height and heinousness of this sin, and further, yet to effect this in you, as in the beginning and entrance into my discourse, I briefly toucht at two reasons, shewing the greatness of this sin, occasion'd thereunto by the words of my Text: so will I as briefly touch at the two more tending to the same purpose; one drawn from the respect of the *Wrong*, which by this sin is done unto God; another from the *Wrong* done to our selves.

And first, what *wrong* is done unto God: God himself shews us in the ix. of *Genesis*; where giving this for an everlasting Law, [ *He that sheddeth mans blood, by man let his blood be shed*; ] he presently adds the reason of it, [ *For in the image of God made he man* ] We shall the better understand the force of this reason, if we look a little into *civil actions*. It is the usual manner of subjects, when they rebel against the Prince, to think they cannot more effectually express their hate, then by disgracing, breaking, throwing down the *Statues* and *Images* erected to his honour: The Citizens of *Antioch*, in a sedition against *Theodosius* the Emperour, in one night disgracefully threw down all his Statues; which fact of theirs caus'd St. *Chrysostom*, at that time Preacher to that City, to make those famous Sermons, which from that action to this day are called his *'Aveuglantes*, his Statues. This by so much the more is counted a great offence, because next unto wronging and disgracing the very person of the Prince, a greater insolence cannot be offered: For it expresseth with what welcome they would entertain him, if they had him in their power. Beloved, Man is the Image of his Maker, erected by him as a *Statue* of his honour: He then that shall despitefully handle, batter,

batter, and deface it, how can he be counted otherwise then guilty of the highest Treason against his Maker. *Rebellion*, saith *Samuel* to *Saul*, is like the sin of superstition and idolatry; The sin of *Bloud* therefore equals the sin of *Idolatry*, since there cannot be a greater sin of *Rebellion* against God, then to deface his Image. *Idolatry*, through ignorance, sets up a false image of God, but this sin, through malice, defaces, pulls down the true. Amongst the Heathen, sometimes the Statues of the Emperours were had in such respect, that they were accounted Sanctuaries, and such as offence fled unto them, it was not lawful to touch. Beloved, such honour ought we to give unto a man, that if he have offended us, yet the Image of God which shines in him ought to be as a Sanctuary unto him, to save him from our violence, an admonitioner unto us, that we ought not to touch him.

A second reason, yet further shewing the hainousness of this sin, is drawn from the *Wrong* which is done to *our selves*. All other wrongs whatsoever they be, admit of some recompence; Honours, Wealth, Preferments, if they be taken from us, they may return as they did unto *Job* in far greater measure, and the party wronged may receive full and ample satisfaction; but, *What recompence may be made to a man for his life?* When that is gone, all the Kingdoms which our Saviour saw in the Mount, and the glory of them. are nothing worth, neither is all the world, all the power of Men and Angels, able to give the least breath to him that hath lost it. Nothing under God is able to make satisfaction for such a wrong: the revenge that is taken afterward upon the party that hath done the wrong, cannot be counted a recompence; That is done *In terrorem viventium, non in subsidium mortuorum*, It serves to deter the living from committing the like outrage, but it can no way help him that is dead: *David* at the same time committed two sins, great sins, *Murder* and *Adultery*; the reward of either of which by Gods Law, is nothing else but death; yet for his *Adultery* he seems to make some satisfaction to the party wronged; for the Text notes, that *David* took her to his *Wife*, made her his *Queen*, and that he *went* in unto her, and *comforted* her: all which may well be counted at least a part of recompence. But for dead *Urias*, what means could *David* make to recompence, to comfort him? For this cause I verily suppose it is, that in his *Penitential Psalm*, where-in he bewails his sin, he makes no particular confession, no mention

tion of his *Adultery*; but of the other, of *Bloud*, he is very sensible, and expressly prays against it: *Deliver me from Bloud-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation*; as if *Adultery* in comparison of *Murder* were no crime at all.

I am sorry I should have any just occasion amongst Christian men, so long to insist upon a thing so plain; and shew that the sin of *Bloud* is a great and hainous sin: But, he that shall look into the necessities of these times, shall quickly see that there is a great cause, why this doctrine should be very effectually prest: For many things are even publickly done, which in part argue that men esteem of this sin much more sleightly then they ought. *Aristotle* observed it of *Phaleas*, (one that took upon him to prescribe Laws, by which a Common-wealth might, as he thought, be well governed) that he had taken order for the preventing of smaller faults, but he left way enough open to greater crimes. Beloved the error of our Laws is not so great as that of *Phaleas* was, yet we offend too, though on the contrary, and the less dangerous side; for great and grievous sins are by them providently curbed, but many inferiour crimes find many times too free passage. *Murther*, though all be abominable, yet there are degrees in it, some is more hainous then other. Gross, malicious, premeditated, and *wilful Murther*, are by our Laws, so far as humane wisdom can provide, sufficiently prevented: but *Murders done in haste*, or besides the *intent* of him that did it, or in point of *honour*, and reputation, these find a little too much favour; or Laws in this respect are somewhat defective, both in preventing that it be not done, and punishing it when it is done; men have thought themselves wiser then God, presuming to moderate the unnecessary severity (as they seem to think) of his Laws. And hence it comes to pass, that in Military Companies, and in all great Cities and places of *Mart* and concourse, few moneths, yea, few weeks pass without some instance and example of *Bloudshed*, either by sudden quarrel, or by challenge to *Duel* and single Combat. How many examples in a short space have we seen of young men, men of hot and fiery disposition, mutually provoking and disgracing each other, and then taking themselves bound in high terms of valour, and honour, to end their quarrels by their swords? That therefore we may the better discover the unlawfulness of *Challenge* and *private Combat*, let us a little enquire and examine in what cases *Bloud* may lawfully, and without offence

be shed; that so we may see where, amongst these, *single Combat* may find its place.

The *Manichees* were of opinion, that it was not lawful to violate any thing in which there was life, and therefore they would not pull a branch from a tree, because forsooth there was life in it. To think that mans life may in no case be taken from him, is but a branch of *Manichism*: and the words of my Text do directly cross it, where it is laid down, that for the *cleansing of blond, blond may and must be shed*. For the avoiding therefore of the extreme, we are to note, that the lawful causes of *Bloudshed* are either Publick or Private; Publick cases are two: First, in case of *Justice*, when a malefactor dies for his sin by the hand of the Magistrate. Secondly, in case of *publick War* and defence of our Countrey; for the Doctrine of Christ is not (as some have supposed) an enemy to Souldiership, and Military Discipline. When *John the Baptist* began to preach Repentance, and amendment of life; amongst those that came forth to understand and learn their duty, the Text saith, that the *souldiers* came and ask'd him. *Master, what shall we do?* And *John* wills them not to lay down their weapons, or to take another course of life (which he ought and would have done, if that course had been unlawful) but he instructs them rather in their calling; for, he gives them these two Lessons, *Do no man wrong; and, Be content with your pay, your wages*; then which there could not have been better, or more pertinent counsel given to *souldiers*, these being the two principal vices of *souldiers*, to wrong places where they live, by forage and pillage, and to mutiny in dislike of their pay. When *St. Peter* came to preach to the *Centurion* in the *Acts*, we find not a syllable in all that Sermon prejudicial to a *souldier's* profession. And therefore accordingly in the times of the Primitive Church, Christians served even under Heathen Emperours, and that with the approbation of God himself.

For in the Ecclesiastick story we read of the *Legio fulminatrix*, of a Band of Souldiers called the *Thundring Band*, because that at what time *Marius* the Emperour lying with his Army in *Germany*, was afflicted with a great drought, and in great danger of the Enemy, when they were now about to joyn battel, the Christian Souldiers (*that Band*) fell flat on their faces, and by their instant prayers obtained of God a great Tempest, which to the Emperour and his Army brought store of cold refreshing water;  
but

but upon the Enemy nothing else but fire and whirl-wind. The Emperour's Epistle in which this story is related, is this day extant, recovered by *Justin Martyr*, who lived about the time the thing was done: Wherefore we may not doubt of the lawfulness of that profession, which it hath pleased God thus to grace, and honour with such a miracle. Besides these two, there are no other publick causes of *Bloudshed*. As for the causes in private, I know but one, and that is, when a man is set upon, and forced to it, in his own defence. If a thief be robbing in the night, and be slain, the Law of God acquits him that did it: and by the Roman Laws, *Nocturnum furem quomodo libet, diurnum si se telo defenderet*, It was lawful to kill a thief by night at any hand, and by day if he used his weapon. Of private *Bloudshed* there is no cause but this, and this we must needs allow of. For in all other private necessities into which we may be driven, the Law and Magistrate have place to whom we must repair for remedy: but in case of defence of life against sudden on-set, no Law can be made, except we would make a Law to yeild our throats to him that would cut them, or our Laws were like the *Prophet* that came to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel*, and could dry up mens arms that offered violence. Wherefore all cause of death, one onely excepted, is publick, and that for great reason. For to die is not a private action to be undertaken at our own, or at any other private mans pleasure and discretion: For, as we are not born unto our selves alone, but for the service of God, and the Common-wealth in which we live; so no man dies to himself alone, but with the damage and loss of that Church or Common-wealth of which he is a member: Wherefore it is not left to any private man's power to dispose of any man's life, no not to our own, onely God and the Magistrate may dispose of this. As Souldiers in the Camp must keep their standing, neither may they move or alter, but by direction from the Captain; so is it with us all: Our life is a warfare, and every man in the world hath his station and place, from whence he may not move at his own, or at another man's pleasure, but onely at the direction and appointment of God, his General, or of the Magistrates, which are as Captains and Lieutenants under him. Then our lawful times of death are either when our day is come, or to fall in battel, or for misdemeanour to be cut off by the publick hand of Justice, *Ut qui vivi prodesse noluerunt, eorum more respub. utatur*: He which otherwise



wife dies, comes by surreption and stealth, and not warrantably unto his end.

And though we have spoken something in Apology and defence of War, yet you may not think, that in time of War your hands are loose, and that you may at your pleasure shed the blood of your Enemy: *Misericorditer etiam bella gerantur*, saith St. *Austin*, even in War and Battel there is room for thoughts of peace and mercy; and therefore many of the ancient *Heroes*, renowned Souldiers and Captains, were very conscientious of shedding the blood of their Enemies, except it were in Battel, and when there was no remedy to avoid it. In that mortal Battel, *Sam. 2.* between the servants of *David*, and the servants of *Ishbosheth*, the Scripture reports that *Abner* fled, and *Azabel*, *Joab's* brother, following him hard at heels to kill him, *Abner* advises him twice, *Turn aside*, saith he, *why should I smite thee to the ground*; but when *Azabel* would not hearken, but followed him still for his blood, then he stroke him with his spear that he died: In the time of War, when he might lawfully have done it, in the fury of the Battel *Abner* would not shed blood, but by constraint, *Xenophon* would make us beleive, that the Souldiers in *Cyrus* his Army were so well disciplin'd, that one of them in time of the Battel, having lift up his arm to strike his enemy, hearing the Trumpet to begin to sound the Retreat, let fall his arm, and willingly lost his blow, because he thought the time of striking was now past: So far were these men from thinking it lawful to shed the blood of a Subject in time of peace, that they would not shed the blood of an Enemy in time of War, except it were in the Field. *Julius Cesar* was one of the greatest and stoutest Captains that ever was in the world, he stood the shock of fifty set Battels, besides all Seiges and Out-rides; he took a thousand Cities and walled Towns; he over-run three hundred several Countreys, and in his Wars were slain well near twelve hundred thousand men, besides all those that died in the Civil Wars, which were great numbers; yet this man protested of himself, and that most truly, that he never drew blood but in the Field, *nunquam nisi in acie stantem*, never slew any man, but in a set battel: I have been a little the bolder, in bringing these instances of Heathen men; First, because the doctrine of Christ, through error, is counted an enemy to policy of War and Martial Discipline; Secondly, because we have found out many distinctions and evasions to elude

elude the precepts of our blessed Saviour and his Apostles : For as it hath been observed of the God-makers, I mean the *Painters* and *Statuaries* among the Heathen, they were wont many times to paint their *Goddesses* like their *Mistresses*, and then think them most fair, when they were most like what they best loved : so is it with many *Professours* of Christian Religion, they can temper the precepts of it to their liking, and lay upon them glosses and interpretations as it were colours, and make it look like what they love : Thirdly, because it is likely that the examples of these men will most prevail with those to whom I speak, as being such to whom above all they affect to be most like ; Except therefore it be their purpose to hear no other Judgment, but onely their own unruly and disorderly affections, it cannot but move them to see the examples of men, guided onely by the light of reason, of men, I say, the most famous in all the world for valour and resolution, to run so mainly against them.

To come then unto the question of *Duels* ; both by the light of reason, and by the practise of men it doth appear, that there is no case, wherein subjects may privately seek each others lives : There are extant the Laws of the *Jews*, framed by God himself ; The Laws of the *Roman* Empire, made partly by the *Ethnick*, partly by *Christian* Princes ; A great part of the Laws of *Sparta* and *Athens* (two warlike Common-wealths, especially the former) lie dispersed in our Books : yet amongst them all is there not a Law or Custom, that permits this liberty to Subjects : The reason of it, I conceive, is very plain ; The principal thing, next under God, by which a Common-wealth doth stand, is the Authority of the Magistrate, whose proper end is to compose, and end quarrels between man and man, upon what occasion soever they grow ; For were men peaceable, were men not injurious one to another, there were no use of Government : Wherefore to permit men in private to try their own rights, or to avenge their own wrongs, and so to decline the sentence of the Magistrate, is quite to cut off all use of Authority. Indeed it hath been sometimes seen, that the event of a Battel, by consent of both Armies, hath been put upon single Combat, to avoid further effusion of blood ; but Combats betwixt Subjects for private causes, till these latter Ages of the world was never allowed : yet, I must confess, the practise of it is very ancient : For *Cain*, the second man in the world, was the *first Duellist*, the first that

ever challenged the *Feild* (in the fourth of *Genesis*) the Text saith, That *Cain* spake unto his Brother, and when they were in the *Feild*, he arose and slew him. The *Septuagint*, to make the sense more plain, do add another clause, and tell us what it was he said unto his brother, *διελθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον*, Let us go out into the *feild*; and when they were in the *feild*, he arose and slew him: Let us go out into the *feild*, it is the very form and proper language of a *Challenge*. Many times indeed our Gallants can formalize in other words, but evermore the substance, and usually the very words are no other but these of *Cain*, *Let us go out into the Feild*. *Abel* I perswade myself understood them not as a challenge; for had he so done, he would have made so much use of his discretion, as to have refused it; yet can we not chuse but acknowledge a secret judgment of God in this, that the words of *Cain* should still be so Religiously kept till this day, as a Proem and Introduction to that action, which doubtless is no other, then what *Cain's* was. When therefore our Gallants are so ready to challenge the *Feild*, and to go into the *Feild*, let them but remember whose words they use, and so accordingly think of their action. Again, notwithstanding *Duels* are of so antient and worshipful a Parentage, yet could they never gain so good acceptance as to be permitted, much less to be counted lawful in the civil part of the world, till *Barbarism* had over-ran it. About five or six hundred years after Christ, at the fall of the *Roman Empire*, abundance of rude and barbarous people brake in and possess the civiller part of the world; who abolishing the ancient Laws of the Empire, set up many strange Customs in their rooms. Amongst the rest, for the determining of quarrels that might arise in case of doubtful title, or of false accusation, or the like, they put themselves upon many unusual forms of Trial; as, to *handle red hot Iron*, to *walk bare-foot on burning coals*, to put their hands and feet in *scalding water*, and many other of the like nature, which are reckoned up by *Hottoman* a French Lawyer: For they presumed so far on Gods providence, that if the party accused were innocent, he might do any of these without any smart or harm. In the same cases, when by reason of insufficient and doubtful evidence, the Judges could not proceed to Sentence, as sometimes it falls out, and the parties contending would admit of no reasonable composition, their manner was to permit them to try it out by their swords; that so the Conquerour might be

bethought to be in the right. They permitted, *I say*, thus to do ; for at the best 'twas but a permission to prevent farther mischief ; for to this end sometimes some known abuses are tolerated : So God permitted the Jews upon slight occasions to put their wives away, because he saw, that otherwise their exorbitant lusts would not be bounded within these limits, which he in Paradise in the beginning had set.

And it is observed of the wise men which had the managing and bringing up of Nero the Emperour, that they suffered him to practise his lusts upon *Acte*, one of his Mothers Chamber-maids, *Ne in stupra sœminarum illustrium perrumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur*, Let it if he were forbidden that, he should turn his lust upon some of the Noble-women. Permission and toleration warrants not the goodness of any action. But, as *Caiaphas* said, *Better one man die, then all the people perish* ; so they that first permitted *Duels* seem to have thought, better one or two mutinous persons, and disorderly, die in their folly, then the whole Common-wealth to be put into tumult and combustion : yet even by these men it was never so promiscuously tolerated, that every hasty couple, upon the venting of a little choler, should presently draw their swords, but it was a publick or solemn action, done by order, with inspection, either of the Prince himself, or of some other Magistrate, appointed to order it. Now certainly there can be no very great reason for that action, which was thus begun by *Cain*, and continued onely by *Goths and Vandals*, and meer *Barbarism*.

Yet that we may a little better acquaint our selves with the quality of it, let us a little examine the causes and pretences which are brought by them who call for *trial by single Combat*. The causes are usually two ; First, disdain to seem to do or suffer any thing for fear of death : Secondly, point of honour, and not to suffer any contumely and indignity, especially if it bring with it dis-reputation, and note of cowardise. For the first, *Disdain to fear death* ; I must confess I have often wondred with my self, how men durst die so ventrously, except they were sure they died well : *In aliis rebus siquid erratum est, potest post modum corrigi*, in other things which are learnt by practising, if we mistake, we may amend it : for the error of a former action may be corrected in the next : we learn then by erring, and men come at length not to err, by having often erred : but no man learns to die by practising

Rising it; we die but once, and a fault committed then, can never afterward be amended, *quia pœna statim sequitur errorem*, because the punishment immediately follows upon the error. To die is an action of that moment, that we ought to be very well advised, when we come to it: *Ab hoc momento pendet aeternitas*, you may not look back upon the opinion of honour and reputation which remains behind you: but rather look forward upon that infinite space of Eternity, either of bliss or bale, which befalls us immediately after our last breath. To be loath to die upon every sleight occasion, is not a necessary sign of fear and cowardise: He that knew what life is, and the true use of it, had he many lives to spare, yet would he be loth to part with one of them upon better terms, then those our Books tell us, that *Aristippus* a Philosopher being at Sea in a dangerous *Tempest*, and bewraying some fear, when the weather was cleared up, a desperate Russian came and upbraided him with it, and tells him, That it was a shame that he professing wisdom should be afraid of his life, whereas himself having had no such education, exprest no agony or dread at all. To whom the Philosopher replied, there was some difference between them two: *I know*, saith he, *my life may be profitable many ways, and therefore am I loth to lose it; but because of your life you know little profit, little good can be made, you care not how easily you part with it.* Beloved it may be justly suspected, that they who esteem thus lightly of their lives, are but worthless and unprofitable men: our own experience tells us, that men who are prodigal of their money in Taverns and Ordinaries, are close-handed enough, when either pious uses, or necessary and publick expence requires their liberality; I have not heard that *Prodigals* ever built *Churches*. So these men that are so prodigal of their lives in base quarrels, peradventure would be cowardly enough, if either publick service, or Religion did call for their help; I scarcely believe any of them would die Martyrs, if the times so required it. Beloved, I do not go about to perswade any man to fear death, but not to contemn life; life is the greatest blessing God gives in this world, and did men know the worth of it, they would never so rashly venture the loss of it: But now lightly prizing both their own and others *Bloud*, they are easily moved to shed it; as fools are easily won to part with jewels, because they know not how to value them. We must deal with our lives, as we do with  
 our



our money, we must not be covetous of it, desire life for no other use but to live, as covetous persons desire money, onely to have it: neither must we be prodigal of life, and trifle it away upon every occasion; but we must be liberal of our lives, know upon what occasion to spare, upon what occasion to spend them. To know where, and when, and in what cases to offer our selves to die, is a thing of greater skill, then a great part of them suppose; who pretend themselves most forward to do it; *Nam impetu quodam & instinctu currere ad mortem cum multis commune est*; For brutishly to run upon and hasten unto death, is a thing that many men can do; and we see that bruit beasts many times will run upon the spears of such as pursue them: *Sed deliberare & causas expendere utque suaserit ratio vita mortisque consilium suscipere, vel ponere ingentis animi est*; but wisely to look into, and weigh every occasion, and as judgment and true discretion shall direct; so to entertain a resolution either of life or death, this were true fortitude and magnanimity. And indeed, this prodigality and contempt of life, is the greatest ground of this quarrellous and fighting humour; *Qui suam vitam contempsit, dominus est alienæ*; There is a kind of men, who because they contemn their own lives, make themselves Lords and Commanders of other mens, easily provoking others to venture their *Bloud*, because they care not how they lose their own. Few places of great resort are without these men, and they are the greatest occasioners of *Bloudshed*, you may quickly know them; there are few quarrels wherein they are not either principals, or seconds, or some way or another will have a part in them. Might there be publick order taken for the restraint of such men, that make a practise of quarrelling, and because they contemn their own lives, carry themselves so insolently and imperiously towards others: It will prevent much mischief, and free the Land of much danger of *Bloud-guiltiness*.

The second cause which is much alledged in defence of *Duels*; I told you was *point of Honour*, a conceit that it is dishonourable for men of place and fashion quietly to digest and put up contumely and disgrace; and this they take to be a reason of that authority and strength; as that it must admit of no dispensation: For answer, First, the true fountain and original of quarrel are of another kind, and *Honour* is abused as a pretence: The first occasioners of a great part of them are indeed very dishonourable,

table, let there an *Inventory* be taken of all the Challenges that have been made for sometime past, and you shall find that the greatest part by far were raised either in *Taverns*, or *Dicing-houses*, or in the *Stews*: Pardon me, if in a case of this nature I deal a little plainly; *Drinking*, *Gaming*, and *Whores*, these are those rotten bones that lie hid under this painted *Sepulchre* and title of *Honour*.

Lastly, to conclude, It is a part of our profession, as we are Christians to suffer wrong and disgrace. Therefore to set up another doctrine, and teach that *Honour* may plead prescription against Christ's precepts, and exempt you from patient enduring of contumely and disgrace, you withstand Christ, and deny your vocation; and therefore are unavoidably Apostates. But we lose our labour, who give young men and unsetled persons good advice and counsel; the civil Magistrate must lay to his hand and pity them, who want discretion to pity themselves: For as *Bees*, though they fight very fiercely, yet if you cast a little dust amongst them, are presently parted; so the Enacting and Executing some few good Laws, would quickly allay this greatness of stomach and fighting humour. How many have been censured for Schismatics and Hereticks, onely because by probable consequence, and afar off they seemed to overthrow some Christian principle? but here are men, who walk in our streets, and come to our Churches, who *ὑμῶν κεφαλῇ*, openly oppose that great point of Christianity, which concerns our patience, and yet for their restraint, no Synod is called, no Magistrate stirs, no Church-censure is pronounced. The Church of *Rome* hath long ago, to the disgrace of the Reformed Churches, shut them out of the number of Christians, and pronounced them all *Excommunicated* persons, who upon what pretence soever durst enter the *Feild* for *Duel* and *single Combat*.

*Theodosius* the Emperour enacted it for a Law, and it is extant at this day in the *Code*, a *Book of Laws*, that if any man spake disgracefully of the Emperour, *Si ex levitate contemnendum, si ex infamia miseratione dignum, si ex injuria remittendum*.

*Lactantius*, *Summa virtus habenda patientia est quam ut caperet homo justus voluit illum Deus pro inerte contemni*.

So great a virtue is patience, that for the attaining of it, it is Gods will we should suffer our selves to be contemned as Cowards.

*Christ*

*Christ* is an Example to us of suffering disgrace ; let us as the Israelites look up to this *serpent*, and all the stinging of fiery Serpents shall do us no harm.

We must forsake all and follow *Christ* : therefore *Honour* and *Reputation* too ; If we be ashamed of this pattern of patience, *Christ* will be ashamed of us.

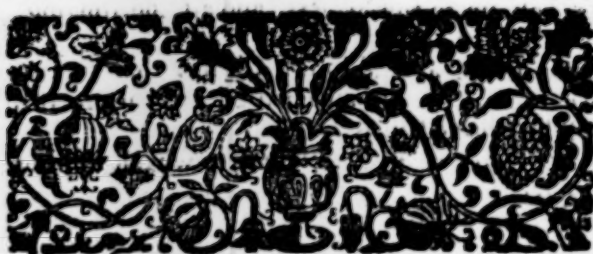
Now that God may give a blessing to what hath been delivered, let us, &c.

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*Matth.*

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Matth. XXVI. Verse 75.

*And he went forth, and wept bitterly.*



Hus to commit to writing, as here our Evangelist hath done, and so to lay open to all posterity the many slips and errors which have much blemish'd and disgrac'd the lives and actions of the best, and most excellent men, may seem in the judgment of a reasonable man to participate of much envy and uncharitableness: so that their good life had remained upon record for our example, we might very well have suffer'd their errors to have slept and been buried with their bodies in their graves. St. Paul makes it the property of charity to hide the multitude of sins; whose property then is it thus to blazon them at mid-day, and to fill the ears of the world with the report of them? *Constantine*, the first-born among Christian Emperours, so far mislik'd this course, that he professed openly, if he found any of his Bishops and Clergy, whom it especially concerned to have a reputation pure and spotless, committing any greivous sin, to hide it from the eye of the world, he would cover it with his own garment; he knew well that which experience had long ago observ'd, *Non tam juvare quæ bene dicta sunt, quam nocere quæ pessime*; things well said, well done, do nothing so much profit and further us, as the examples of ill speeches, ill actions do mischeif

miscellaneous and inconvenience us: and men are universally more apt from the errors and escapes of good men to draw apologies for their own, then to propose their good deeds for examples and patterns for themselves to follow. Neither is this my own speculation, St. *Austin* observed it long since, who discoursing upon the fall of *David*, complains, that from his example, many framed unto themselves this apology, *Si David, cur non & ego?* If *David* did thus, then why not I? *Preparas te ad peccandum*, saith he, *disponis peccare*; *Librum Dei ut pecces inspicis*; *Scripturas Dei ad hoc audis, ut facias quod displicet Deo*: Thou dost prepare thy heart to sin; thou providest thy self of purpose; thou dost look into the Book of God, even therefore that thou mightest sin; the Scriptures of God thou dost therefore hear, that by the example of those that fell, thou mayest learn to do that which is displeasing unto God. Yea, the greater is the person offending, the more dangerous is the example; For Greatness is able of it self, as it were, to legitimate foul acts, to add authority and credit unto ill doings: *Facilius efficit quisquis objecerit, crimen honestum, quam turpem Catonem*, saith *Seneca* of *Cato*; Whosoever he be, saith he, that objects drunkenness to *Cato*, shall more easily prove drunkenness to be a virtue, then that *Cato*, who used it, was to blame. When St. *Peter* (*Galath. ij.*) had halted in his behaviour betwixt the Gentiles and those of the Circumcision, St. *Paul* notes, that many of the *Jews*, yea, *Barnabas* himself, was carried away with their dissimulation: and to speak truth, whom would not the authority and credit of St. *Peter* have drawn into an error? So easily the faults of great men, *adulescunt in exempla*, grow up and become exemplary, and so full of hazard is it, to leave unto the world a memorial of the errors and escapes of worthy persons. Yet notwithstanding all this, the holy Spirit of God, who bringeth light out of darkness, and worketh above and against all means, hath made the Fall of his Saints an especial means to raise his Church: and therefore hath it pleased him by the Pen-men of the lives of his Saints in holy Scripture, to lay open in the view of the world many gross faults and imperfections, even of the most excellent instruments of his glory. That which he tells the woman in the Gospel, who anointed him before his passion, that whosoever the Gospel shall be preached, this fact of hers should be recorded in memorial of her: the same, as it



seems was his intent concerning his Saints; that wheresoever the word of life should be taught, there likewise should be related the grievous sins of his servants. And therefore accordingly, scarcely is there any one Saint in the whole Book of God, who is not recorded in one thing or other to have notably overshoot himself. Sometimes he hath made the Saints themselves the proclaimers of their own shame: So he makes *Moses* to register his own infidelity; so *David* in his *one and fiftieth Psalm*, by the instinct of God's Spirit, leaves unto the Church under his own hand, an evidence against himself for his *Adultery* and *Murder*: Sometimes he makes their dearest freinds the most exact chroniclers of their faults; for so *St. Chrysostom* observes of *St. Mark*, the companion and Scholar of *St. Peter*, who hath more particularly registred the Fall of his Master, then any of the other Evangelists, *τίς ἔκ ἀν' ἐκπαλαίης, &c. Who would not marvel*, saith he, *that St. Mark not enely concealed not the gross escape of his Master; but, hath more accurately then any of the rest recorded the particulars of it, αὐτῷ τῷ μεγιότης; εἶναι, even because he was his Disciple*; as if he could have done his Master no better service, then to deliver a most exact relation of his fault. There are yet two things further to be noted in this dispensation of Almighty God; the first, in regard of us; the second, in regard of the Saints, whose errours are recorded: For the first, who can but marvel, that since all things that are written, are written for our instruction, that if they be good, they may serve for our imitation; if otherwise, for warning to us: yet, many sinister actions of the Saints of God are so exprest in Scripture, without censure, without note, that it were almost some danger to pronounce of them? *Abraham's* equivocating with *Abimelech*, *Jacob's* deluding his blind Father, *Rachel* abusing *Laban* with a lie, *Jephthe* his sacrificing his daughter, *Sampson* killing himself with the *Philistines*; these and many other besides are so set down, that they may seem to have been done rather by divine instinct, then out of humane infirmity. Wherein the holy Ghost seems to me *tantumquam adoriri nos ex insidiis*, to set upon us out of ambush, to use a kind of guile, to see whether we have *τὴν οὐρεσις πνευματικῆς, spiritual discretion*, to try whether we will attribute more to mens examples, then to his precepts. Secondly, in regard of the Saints themselves: It is worth our noting, that God seems to have had more care to discredit them, then to honour them, in  
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that their faults are many times particularly registred, but their repentance is wrapt up in silence : so the story of *Noah* is concluded with his *drunkenness*; after the report of *Lot's Incest*, there is not a word of him throughout the Scriptures; as soon as the story of *Solomon's Idolatry* is related, it immediately follows in the Text, *And Solomon died*. We should very much wrong these men, if we should think that they past out of this life without repentance, because their repentance is conceal'd. Doubtless if we were worthy to search the mysteries of the Spirit, we should find that the holy Ghost hath left something for our instruction even in this particular; for nothing in Scripture is done by chance: But, as *St. Chrysostom* is wont sometime to tell his Auditory, that he will not resolve all doubts, but leave some to meditate on by themselves; so will I now deal with you, I will leave this to your private considerations, to practise your wits in the depths of Christianity, and so to frame reasons unto your selves of this proceeding of the holy Spirit.

In the New Testament, the holy Ghost constantly holds the same course of relating the Fall of the Saints : and so accordingly by all four Evangelists sets down at large, the fearful sin of *St. Peter* in *denying* and *forswearing his Master*. But as it pleased him in mercy to give him repentance, so in these words which I have read unto you, hath it pleased him to leave unto the Church a memorial of it. Our first note therefore, before we come to the words, shall be a note of that exceeding use and profit, which hath redounded to the Church by the registering of *St. Peter's* repentance; for this is done by the holy Ghost, to signifie unto us the necessity and force of repentance, and sorrow for sin. The concealing of *Solomon's* reclaim, hath occasioned some, upon acknowledgment of the necessity of repentance, to suppose, that *Solomon* past away without it, and so received the final reward of the impenitent. But he that should have read this story of *St. Peter*, and observed what authority he had afterwards, what especial favour our Saviour did him after his Resurrection, notwithstanding his Fall, if the manner of his Recovery had not been recorded, might easily have entertained a conceit very prejudicial to Repentance, *Quid non speremus?* Who might not hope to regain the favour of God without shedding a tear, if *St. Peter*, notwithstanding so grievous a crime, without repentance

tance should again be reconciled? We might therefore with excuse have presumed upon a non-necessity of repentance, as if it had been enough in case of sin to practise that which common morality teaches, barely to relinquish it without any more ado. That therefore which we learn by this Registering of St. Peter's repentance, is this, That for the clearing of a Christian man's account unto God, it is not sufficient barely to cease from doing ill, to satisfy the Law which we broke, either with our life, or with our goods; To make recompence to our neighbour for wrong done him; all this and much more washes not away the guilt of sin before God. These are things which the very light of nature teaches us to do. It was not to be thought that *David* to his former *Adulteries* and *Murthers*, would have added new: he that hath been forc'd to restore four-fold that which he had taken away by stealth, will peradventure take warning to steal no more: But, this doth not suffice him; there is a further duty, a duty of repentance required of every Christian man, a duty proper to him alone. For this doctrine of Repentance Nature never taught in her *Schole*, neither was it ever found in the Books of the Learned; it is particular to the *Book of God*, and to the doctrine that came down from Heaven. In the sins against the first Table we offend immediately and onely against God; but in the sins against the second Table, there is a double guilt contracted, one against God, another against our Neighbour; in these sins, as there is a double fault, so there is a double satisfaction to be made, one unto God, another to our Neighbour: for this second satisfaction between man and man, many Heathen Common-wealths have been very sufficiently furnished with store of excellent Laws; but, of an atonement over and above to be made to God, they scarce seem to have had any thought: and indeed to speak truth, to what purpose had it been to trouble their heads about it? it is impossible that it should ever fall within the conceit of any reasonable creature, to pronounce what satisfaction was to be made for offence committed against God: He is of infinite Majesty, holding no proportion, no correspondence with any created being; what recompence then can he receive from the hands of dust and ashes? Ten thousand worlds, were we able to give them all, could not make satisfaction for any part of the smallest offence we have committed against him: when therefore the inventions of men were

were thus at a stand, when all discourse, all reason were posed, it pleased God in mercy to open his pleasure in his word, and to accept of true and unfeigned repentance, as the onely means to wash away the guilt of sin against his Majesty: A thing in the eye of flesh and blood altogether ridiculous. And therefore Julian, that accursed Apostate, scorning Constantine the Emperour for betaking himself to the Christian Religion, in contempt and derision of Baptism and Repentance, thus speaks: "Ὅτις φθορεὺς, ὅτις μιαιφόνος, ὅτις ἐναγὴς καὶ βδελυγὸς, ἴτω θάραξον, &c. Hoe, whosoever is a corrupter and a defiler of women, whosoever is a man-slayer, whosoever is an impure and unclean person, let him from henceforth be secure, and care for nothing; I will shew him a little water, in which, if he do but dip himself, he shall be forthwith clean: yea, though he desperately run again into the same crimes; I will give him this gift, if he but knock his breast and strike his forehead (which are the gestures of the penitent) he shall without any more ado become as pure as glass. 'Tis true indeed, in spite of unbeleiving miscreants, it hath pleased God through the foolishness of Baptism and Repentance to save those that are his. The water of Baptism and the tears of true Repentance, creatures of themselves weak and contemptible, yet through the wonderful operation of the Grace of God annex unto them, are able, were our sins as red as twice-died scarlet, to makethem as white as snow. The sentence of God denounced unto Adam, *What day thou eatest of the Tree, thou shalt die*, certainly was absolute and irrevocable, neither could any repentance of Adam's totally have revert it: yet *Abulensis* cries out, *O quam felix humanum genus*, &c. O how happy should mankind have been, if Adam after his Fall had used the benefit of Repentance, and in time acknowledged his sin unto God: Yea, he goes further, and seemsto intimate, that it had been of force almost to restore us unto our primitive purity; for this way his words seem to look, when he saith, *Quod si seipsum accusasset, nos omnes ab accusatione & judicio liberasset*: If he had accused himself, doubtless he had freed us all from accusation and a curse: Whatsoever his meaning was, thus much without danger we may think, that if our first Parents had not so strangely shuffled their fault from the one to the other, the Man to the Woman, the Woman to the Serpent; but, had freely acknowledged it, and humbly begged pardon for it, God, whose mercies were then as many,

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and as ready as now they are, would, if not altogether have revok'd, yet doubtless much have qualified and mitigated the sentence of the curse; If *Adam* had used more ingenuity in confessing, God would have used less rigour in punishing. Out of all this I draw this one lesson for your instruction; Who-soever he be that thinks himself quit of some sins into which either through weakness or carelesness he hath fallen, let him not presently flatter himself, as if for this his book of debt unto God were cancell'd, as if he were in a state of grace and new birth; but let him examine his own conscience, and impartially list all the manner of his reclaim: He may peradventure find, that upon some moral respect he hath broken off the practise of his sin; he may find that he hath satisfied his neighbour, contented the Law, done many acts, by which he hath purchas'd reconciliation with the world: But, if he find not this passage of Repentance and hearty sorrow 'twixt God and his own soul, let him know, that God is yet unsatisfied, that he is yet in his sin; his sin is yet unrepented of, and therefore still remains.

**T**HUS from the necessity of Registring *St. Peter's Repentance*, I come to the words wherein it is Registered, *And he went out, &c.* In these words we will consider four things: First, the person, *He* ] *He went forth*; or, *and going forth he wept*. Secondly, the preparative to the Repentance, *He went forth*. Thirdly, the Repentance it self, comprised in the word *Wept*. Fourthly, the extent, and measure, and compass of this Repentance, in the last word, *bitterly*. 1. *He*. The way of man's life is a slippery way, no man whilst he is in it hath the priviledge of not sliding; just and unjust, thus far, are of like condition; both fall: But here they differ, the just man riseth again. Not the eminency of *St. Peter's* person, nor his great understanding in the mystery of Christ, nor his resolution in our Saviour's quarrel, not the love and respect his Master bare him, kept him from falling: But *St. Peter* being fallen, provides himself to rise, and therefore in the second place, *he went forth*, saith my Text: *St. Peter* was now in the High-priest's Court, a place very unfit for one in *St. Peter's* case. Princes Courts are no place for Repentance: To wear soft raiment, to fare deliciously every day, this is courtiers guise; but τὸ τεῖχον ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τῆς μεταρίαις δάκρυον, the shirt of hair, the



the tears of Repentance; this is the habit of the penitent. But wherefore went St. Peter out? Did he as our Saviour observes of the Scribes and Pharisees, go out into the wilderness to see, to gaze and look about him? No, his eyes now must do him other service; He went out as *Joseph* did from the face of his brethren, to seek a place to weep. *Aladonat* the Jesuit thinks it would have been a more goodly thing, and far more befitting St. Peter's resolution, if in the place he had offended, in the same he had repented: if before those he had made a constant confession of Christ, before whom he had denied him. But be the reasons what they will which moved St. Peter to go forth, we will not prescribe unto the Saints a form of Repentance; we will cease therefore to dispute what St. Peter should have done, and rather gather lessons for our selves out of what he did. Fourthly, and last of all, as St. Peter's fault was great, so he contends that his Repentance may be as serious. The tears therefore he sheds are not sleight, and perfunctory, shed onely for fashions sake, such as *Quintilian* spake of, *Nihil facilius lachrymis marefcit, Nothing sooner grows dry then tears*: but, as the Text saith, *He wept bitterly*: to summon up that *Sicc-oculum genus Christianorum*, a sort of Christians, who never had tear dropt from their eye to witness their Repentance: to teach us to enlarge the measure of our sorrow for our sins, and in case of greivous relapse, not mince out our Repentance, but to let loose the reins unto greif. And thus I come to handle the parts in order more particularly: and first of the person, *He*.

Amongst all the Saints of God whose errors are set down in holy Scriptures, there is none whose person was more eminent, or Fall more dangerous then St. Peter's. That which wise men have observed in great and eminent Wits, that they evermore exceed; either they are exceeding good, or else they are exceeding bad, in St. Peter was true both ways. His gifts of Faith, of understanding in the mystery of Godliness, of resolution to die in our Saviour's cause, were wonderful: but yet his errors were as many and as strange; yea, so much the more strange, because in that thing he most offended, in which he was most eminent. It was a great argument of his Faith, when in the Tempest meeting our Saviour on the waters, he calls out unto him, *If it be thou, command me to come unto thee on the waters*; but no sooner was he come out of the ship, but through *Infidelity* he began to  
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sink. Again, of his great understanding in the mystery of Christ he gave a notable instance, when being questioned by our Saviour *whom men took him to be?* he gave the first evident, plain, and open testimony that ever was given him by man, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.* St. John indeed gave testimony, and so did St. Simeon, and so did many more; but it was more involv'd, done in more covert terms, more dark: Whence we may, and that not without some probability argue, that the understanding of these men was not so evidently, so fully, so perspicuously enlightned as was St. Peter's. *Signum est intelligentis posse docere:* It is a great argument that a man doth passing well understand himself, when he is able perspicuously and plainly to speak to the understanding of another: This confession therefore of St. Peter, that carries with it greater light and perspicuity then any yet that ever was given, doth not obscurely intimate, that he had a greater measure of illumination, then any of his Predecessours. Yet to see the wonderful dispensation of the holy Ghost, scarce was this confession out of his mouth, but in the very next bout where our Saviour begins further to enform him in the particulars of his Passion, and Death, and despiteful handling by the Jews, the edge of his conceit was quite turned, quite blunted and dull: Poor man, as if he had been quite ignorant of the end of Christ's coming, out of a humane conceit and pity, he takes upon him to counsel and advise our Saviour; Sir, *favour your self, these things shall not come unto you:* and for this pains he is rewarded with no less reproachful a name then that of *Satan*, of a seducer, of a Devil: He that shall peruse the story of the Gospel, and here stay himself, might think that that which we read, St. John vj. ver. 70. spoken of Judas, *Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil,* were here fulfilled in St. Peter. Last of all, his love to Christ, and resolution in his quarrel, he gave an evident testimony, when he protested himself ready to lay down his life for him; *Greater love then this, in the Apostles judgment, no man hath, then to lay down his life for his freind:* This St. Peter had, if we may beleive himself; yea, he began to express some acts of it, when in defence of his Master, he manfully drew his sword, and wounded the servant of the high Priest. But see how soon the scene is changed; This good Champion of our Saviour, as a Lion that is reported to be daunted with the crowing of a Cock, is stricken out of countenance

nance, and quite amazed with the voice of a silly Damsel; yea, so far is he possess'd with a spirit of fear, that he not onely *denies*, but *abjures* his Master, and *perjures* himself, committing a sin not far behind the sin of *Judas*; yea, treading it hard upon the heels. But the mercy of God, that leaves not the honour of his servant in the dust of death, but is evermore careful to raise us up from the death of sin, unto the life of righteousness, suffers not this *Rock*, this great Pillar of his Church to be overthrown. He first admonishes him by the *crowing of a Cock*; when that would not serve, himself (full of careful love and goodness) though in the midst of his enemies, forgets his own danger, and remembers the danger of his servant; Himself was now as a sheep before the shearer, dumb, and not opening his mouth; yet forgets he not, that he is that great Shepherd of the flock, but, *David* like, rescues one of his fold from the mouth of the Lion, and from the paw of the Bear; *He turns about, and looks upon him*, saith the Text, he cries louder unto him with his *look*, then the *Cock* could with his *voice*: Of all the members in the body, the *Eye* is the most moving part; that oft-times is spoken in a *look*, which by no force of speech could have been uttered; this *look of Christ* did so warm *St. Peter*, almost frozen-dead with fear, that it made him well-near melt into tears: As if he had cried out with the Spouse, *Cant. vi. O turn away thine eyes, for they have overcome me*; he grows impatient of his *looks*, and seeks for a place to weep; what a *look* was this think you? *St. Jerom* discouraging with himself what might be the cause that many of the Disciples, when they were called by our Saviour, presently without further consultation arose and followed him, thinks it not improbable, that there did appear some *Glory* and *Majesty* in his *Countenance*, which made them beleive he was more than a man that thus bespake them: whatsoever then appear'd in his *looks*, doubtless in this *look* of his was seen some Sovereign power of his Deity, that could so speedily recover a man thus almost desperately gone: A man that had one foot in hell, whom one step more had irrecoverably cast away: It was this *look* of Christ that restored *St. Peter*: *Quos respicit Jesus, plorant delictum*, saith *St. Ambrose*. They weep for their sins, whom *Jesus* looks upon: *Negavit primo Petrus, & non flevit; quia non respexerat Dominus: Negavit secundo; non flevit, quia adhuc non respexerat Dominus: Negavit tertio, & respexit Jesus, & ille amarissime*

*rissime fleuit.* St. Peter denies him *once*, and repents not, for *Jesus* look'd not back upon him: he denies him the *second* time, and yet he weeps not, for yet the Lord look'd not back: He denies him the *third* time, and *Jesus* looks upon him, and then he *weeps bitterly*. Before I come to make use of this, it shall not be altogether impertinent to say something unto some Queries that here arise concerning the condition of St. Peter, and in him of all the Elect of God, whilst they are in a state of sin unrepented of; for, as for St. Peter's faith, which some make doubt of, there can, as I conceive, no question be made. It is not to be thought that St. Peter had revers'd with himself the confession that he had formerly made of Christ, or that he thought, doubtless I have err'd, this is not the person whom I took him to be: Indeed, through fear and cowardize he durst not confess that with his mouth unto salvation, which in his heart he beleived unto righteousness: Any thing further then this, that speech of our Saviour takes away, wherein he tells him before-hand, *I have pray'd that thy faith might not fail*. But since, our Age hath had experience of some, who because the Election of God standeth sure, and Christ's sheep none can take out of his hands, conclude therefore, that for the Elect of God, *there is no falling from grace*, that to David and Peter no ill could happen, no though (for so they have given it out) that they had died in the very act of their sin: To meet with such disputants, I will briefly lay down what I conceive is to be thought in the point. Wherefore, *parate fances pani*, as St. Bernard speaks; Hitherto I have given you milk, provide your stomachs now for harder meat, and such as befits strong men in Christ. Peter and Judas (for I will couple them both together in my discourse, whilst they are both joyned together in sin) Peter, I say, and Judas, in regard of their own persons, were both, more or less, in the same case, *both fallen from grace*, both in a state of sin and damnation, till the Repentance of St. Peter altered the case on his part. But the Grace of God signified two things: either the *purpose of God's Election*, the Grace and Favour Inherent in the Person of God, which he still casts upon those that are his, notwithstanding their manifold backslidings: or else it signifies the *habit of sanctifying qualities*, Inherent in the Regenerate man; those good Graces of God, by which he walks holy and unblameable. Again, the state of *Damnation* signifies likewise two things: either the *purpose of Gods Re-*  
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probation, or else the *habit of damnable qualities in the sinful man*. From the state of *Grace*, as it signifies the *purpose of God* to save, the Elect can never fall: In the *state of Damnation*, as it signifies *something inherent* in us, every man by nature is, and the Elect of God, even after their Calling many times fall into it: that is, they may and do many times fall into those sins; yea, for a time continue in them too, (*David* did so for a whole years space) which except they be done away by repentance, inevitably bring forth eternal death, for the state of mortal sin unrepented of, is truly and indeed the state of death; yea, the whole and sole reason of the condemnation of every one that perishes, for Christ hath said it, *Except ye repent, ye shall all perish*. So then you see, that into the *state of Damnation*, as it signifieth *something inherent* in us, a man may fall, and yet not fall from the state of *grace*, as it signifies *God's purpose* of Election: for both these are compatible for a time. If then we look upon the persons of *Peter* and *Judas*, both of them are in the state of mortal sin unrepented of, and therefore both in state of damnation: but if we look back unto God, we shall see a hand reach'd out unto *St. Peter*, pulling him back as he is now running down the hill, which hand we do not see reach'd out unto *Judas*. Christ had a look in store for *St. Peter*, which if it had pleased him to have lent unto *Judas*, *Judas* would have done that which *St. Peter* did. When then we pronounce *St. Peter*, and in him any of the Elect of God, as they are in *St. Peter's* case, to be *fallen from grace*, we speak not with relation to any purpose of God; but we mean onely, that they have not that *measure of Sanctification*, which ought to be in every child which shall be an heir to life; and what hinders to pronounce that man *fallen from grace*, whom we must needs acknowledge to be in that state, in which if he continue, there is no way open but to death? What then may some men say, had *St. Peter* lost the Spirit of Adoption? had he not those sanctifying qualities of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which are proper to the Saints, and are given them by divine inspiration in the moment of their conversion? was that immortal seed of the Word quite kill'd? No verily; How then? Having all these, may he not yet be called the child of death? I answer, he may, and is indeed so; for these do not make him, that at no time he can be so; but, that finally he shall not be so, for they are not armour of proof to keep out all darts, neither do they make our souls invulnerable,



rable, as the Poets fain the body of *Cyenus* or *Achilles* to have been: but they are precious balms ever more ready at hand to cure the wound when it is given: They are not of force to hinder mortal sin, ( for then every soul in whom they are, were pure, undefiled, neither were it possible, that the Elect of God after their conversion should fall ) but they are of force to work repentance, which makes all our wounds remediable. He that is mortally sick and dies, and he that is likewise mortally sick, and through help of restoring physick recovers, in this both agree, that they are mortally sick, notwithstanding the recovery of one party. The wound of *St. Peter* and of *Judas* was mortal, and in both feltred unto death; but there was balm in *Gilead* for *St. Peter*, for *Judas* there was none. The sting of the fiery *Scorpion* in the Wilderness was deadly, and all that looked not on the *Brazen Serpent* died: the *Brazen Serpent* altered not the quality of the *Scorpion's* sting, it onely hindred the working of the poison. The sting of sin in *St. Peter* and in *Judas* was deadly; but he that was lift up on mount *Calvary*, as the *Brazen Serpent* was in the Wilderness, at him did *St. Peter* look and live; *Judas* did not look, and therefore died. How comes it about, Beloved, that God every where in Scripture threatens death, without exception, to all that repent not, if the state of *sin* unrepented of, in whomsoever it is, be not indeed the state of death? When *David* was intending to stay in *Keilah*, and suspecting the inhabitants of that City, asks of God, *whether the men of Keilah would deliver him over into the hand of Saul?* God tells him, *they would:* and therefore certainly had he stayed there, he had been betrayed unto *Saul*. To urge that *St. Peter*, because of God's purpose to save him, could not have finally miscarried, though he had died without repentance, ( as some have not stuck to give out ) is nothing else in effect, but to maintain against God, that *David* had he stayed in *Keilah* had not fallen into *Saul's* hands, because we know it was God's purpose to preserve *David* from the violence of *Saul*: All the determinations of God are of equal certainty: It was no more possible for *Saul* to seize on *David*, then it is for the Devil to pull one of God's Elect out of his hand; as therefore the determinate purpose of God to free *David* from the malice of *Saul* took not away that supposition, *If David go to Keilah, he shall fall into the hands of Saul*; So neither doth the Decree of God to save his Elect, destroy the supposition, *If they repent*

*repent not, they die eternally*; for the purposes of God, though impossible to be defeated, yet lay not upon things any violent necessity, they exempt not from the use of ordinary means, they infringe not our liberty, they stand very well with common casualty; yea, these things are the very means by which his Decrees are brought about. I may not stand longer upon this, I will draw but one short admonition, and so to an end: Let no man presume to look into the Third Heaven, to open the Books of Life and Death, to pronounce over peremptorily of God's purpose concerning himself, or any other man. Let every man look into himself, and try, whether he be in the faith or no? The surest means to try this, is to take an impartial view of all our actions. Many deceive themselves, whilst they argue from their *Faith* to their *Works*, whereas they ought out of their *Works* to conclude their *Faith*; whilst presuming they have *Faith*, and the gifts of sanctification, they think all their actions warrantable: whereas we ought first thoroughly to sift all our actions, to examine them at the Touch of God's Commandments, and if indeed we find them currant, then to conclude that they come from the sanctifying Graces of the holy Spirit. It is *Faith* indeed that gives the tincture, the dye, the relish unto our actions; yet, the onely means to examine our *Faith*, is by our *Works*. It is the nature of the Tree that gives the goodness, the savour, and pleasantness to the Fruit; yet, the Fruit is the onely means to us, to know whether the Tree be good; *By their fruit ye shall know them*, saith Christ: It is not a rule not onely to know others, but our selves too. To reason thus, I am of the Elect, I therefore have saving Faith, and the rest of the sanctifying qualities, therefore that which I do is good; thus I say to reason is very preposterous: We must go a quite contrary course, and thus reason; My life is good, and through the mercies of God in *Jesus Christ*, shall stand with God's Justice: I therefore have the gifts of Sanctification, and therefore am of God's Elect: For St. Peter to have said with himself, I am of the Elect, this sin therefore cannot endanger me, had been great presumption; but, thus to have reasoned, My sin is deadly, therefore except I repent, I am not of the number of God's Elect, this reasoning had well besitted St. Peter, and becomes every Christian man, whom common frailty drives into the like distress.

I made:

I made my entrance into my Sermon with the consideration of the wisdom of God, in permitting his cheifest servants to fall dangerously : I have largely exemplified it in the person of St. Peter : give me leave to make this further beneficial unto you by drawing some uses from it ; for great profit hath redounded to the Church through the Fall of these men ; *Felicius ille cecidit quam ceteri steterunt*, saith St. Ambrose of this fall of St. Peter ; His sin hath more avail'd us, then the righteousness of many others ; for wheresoever it pleases the holy Spirit of God to work effectually (I speak cautelously, because I would give no place to presumption ) in him he makes excellent use oft-times, even of sin and evil. First of all, it is a tried case, that many timesthrough negligence and carelesness, we suffer our selves to lie open to many advantages : In such a case as this, a blow given us, serves us for a remembrance to call our wits about us, *ἀναζωπυρῶν*, to stir up the grace of God that is in us, which many times is in interlunio, lies covered like fire under ashes ; for as a skilful Wrestler, having suffered his adversary to take advantage upon some oversight, recollects himself, and comes forward with greater strength and wariness, & *pudor incendit vires & conscientia virtus* : shame of the fall, and impatience of disgrace, adds strength unto him, and kindles him : so oft-times is it with the Saints of God ; the shame of having fallen, makes them summon up their forces, to look better about them, to fulfil their duty in larger sort, then if they had not slipt at all. Hence it is, that we see that of the bitterest enemies of the Church, have been made the best converts ; of this we have a notable example in St. Paul ; how eager was he in the quarrel of the Jews against Christ ? None a more mischeivous enemy to the Christians then he ; yet, when it pleased God to shew him his errour ; he proved one of the most excellent instruments of Christ's glory, that ever was on earth ; and so accordingly he gives himself a most true testimony, *I have laboured more abundantly*, not then one or two of them, but, *then they all* : his writings being as much in quantity, as of them all : and St. Luke's story being nothing else almost but a Register of the acts of St. Paul : The sense and conscience, I doubt not, of that infinite wrong done to the Church, provoked him to measure back to the utmost of his power, his pains and labour in making up the breach he had formerly made.

made. Here then is a notable lesson for us, teaching us to make our former sins and impieties admonitioners unto us, to know our own strength, and by Christian care and watchfulness to prevent all advantages, which the Devil may take by our rechiefness and negligence: for, Beloved, it is not so much our impotency and weakness, as our sloth and carelessness, against which the common enemy doth prevail; for through the grace of him that doth enable us, we are stronger then he: and the policy of Christian war-fare hath as many means to beat back and defend, as the deepest reach of Satan hath to give the onser. The *envious man* in the Gospel rush'd not into the Field in despite of the husbandman, and the servants, but came and sowed his tares, *whilst men slept*, saith the Text; our neglect and carelessness is the *sleep* that he takes advantage of: When *David* was so strangely overtaken, the Scripture tells us he rose from *his bed*, to walk on the top of his Palace; from his bed indeed he arose, but not from his sleep; for mark, I beseech you, *David* had spent much of his time about the Court, he had been abroad, and seen and ran sak'd many Cities, and doubtless he had seen many women as fair as the wife of *Uriah*, and that in his younger days, when he was more apt to kindle; why then now commits he so great an over-sight? Look on him a while as now he is; He is now at rest in his Palace, at ease on his bed, and to solace himself, he must rise and walk at the top of his house, and idly gaze upon an naked Dame; of this his *idleness* the Devil takes advantage; this is the sleep in which he comes and sows Tares in *David's* heart, even all manner of lust: So that *David* fell as *Adam* did in Paradise, not as a man that falls before an enemy stronger then himself. The greatest part of the sins which we commit, are in this rank with *David's* sin: *He is faithful*, saith the Apostle, and suffers no man to be tempted above his strength. Many creatures, if they knew their strength, would never suffer themselves to be aw'd by man as they are. Beloved, we are become like Horse and Mule, without understanding, we know not our *strength*, we are more blind then the servant of *Elizans*, and see not that *they that are with us* are more, and more mighty, then *they that are against us*: The Angels are ministring spirits, sent out of purpose to guard us, and doubtless do many and great services for us, though we perceive not; We have the

Army of God, *ubi mille clypei & omnis armatura fortium*; where are a thousand bucklers, and all the weapons of the mighty; The *Helmet of Salvation*, the *Sword of the Spirit*, the *Shield of Faith*, to quench all the fiery darts of sin: onely let us not neglect to buckle it on, and make use of it. We have to strive with an enemy, such a one as *Anibal* reported *Marcellus* to be, *Qui nec bonam, nec malam ferre fortunam potest; seu vicit, ferociter instat victis; seu victus est, instaurat cum victoribus certamen*; a restless enemy that is never quiet, howsoever the world goes; if he conquer us, he insolently insults upon us; if we foil him, he still be-thinks himself how to set upon us afresh. Let us not therefore suppose *sedendo & votis debellari posse*, that the conquest will be gotten by sitting still, and wishing all were well. We oft maintain against the Church of *Rome*, that our natural abilities, whilest we live, serve us not to fulfil the Law of God. What boots it thus to dispute? shall the confession of our unableness to do what we ought, excuse us at all, if we do not that which we are able? *St. Austin* was of opinion, how justly, I will not dispute, but of that opinion he was, and it was the occasion of his Book, *De Spiritu & litera, ad Marcellinum*; that it was possible for us, even in this natural life, seconded by the grace of God, perfectly to accomplish what the Law requires at our hands. Let the truth of this be as it may be; certainly that is most true which the same *Father* adds; That let our strength be what it will; yet, if we know not our duty, we shall do it no more, then the traveller, sound of body or limb, can go that way aright, of which he is utterly ignorant: Yea, let our ability be perfect, and let our knowledge be also absolute, yet if we have no mind, if we want a love unto our duty, if we suffer our selves to be over-swayed by affection to other things, yet shall we not do our duty: For which of us being at liberty will do that which he hath no love unto? Beloved, as for our knowledge, God hath left unto us *Scripture*, the perfect Register of all our duty, the absolute Itinerary and Map of all the course which in this life we are to run; and as for love, he plentifully sheds it in the hearts of all those that by faithful prayer beg it of him: If we shall search the *Scripture* to improve our knowledge, if we shall earnestly beg at his hands to inflame our love; Let our natural possibilities be what they will; he that now doth little amongst us shall



shall do much, and he that doth much shall do much more: and the promises made unto the *Jews* concerning their carnal enemies, shall be made good on us concerning our spiritual and ghostly enemies; *one of us shall chase a thousand, and if they come out against us one way, they shall flee before us seven ways.* And thus much for the first use.

There is a second benefit of great weight and moment, which we reap out of the consideration of the errors of these excellent Ministers of God; namely, a lesson teaching us to *beware of spiritual pride.* Of all the vices which our nature is subject unto, this is the most dangerous, and of which we had need be most cautelous: For whereas all other vices proceed from some ill in us, from some sinful imbecillity of our nature, this alone arises out of our good parts: Other sins draw their being from that original corruption which we drew from our Parents, but this may seem to be the mother of that; as by which even natures unstained and in their primitive purity, may most easily fall. And therefore not without some probability is it concluded in the Schools, That no other crime could throw the Angels down from heaven but this. That which one leaves for a memorial to great men, that in dangerous times, *Non minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala,* it was a matter of like dangerto have a great name, as an ill; that may I pronounce of a Christian man, the danger of his innocency is not much less then of his faults. For this Divil, when he cannot drive us to *despair* by reason of our sin, takes another course to see if he can make us *presume* upon conceit of our righteousness: For when by the preventing grace of God, we keep our selves from greater offences, if we find ourselves to have a love unto the Word of God, and the true Professours of it, to be rich in alms-deeds, to have a part in other acts of righteousness, he makes us first take notice of these good things in us; notice taken, draws us to love and admire them in us: self-love draws us on to compare our selves with others, then to prefer our selves before others, and thirdly to disdain others in respect of ourselves. Here now is a gap laid open to a thousand inconveniences: And hence it is that we see divers times men otherwise of life and reputation pure and unblameable, upon conceit and inconsiderateness by a secret judgment of God to fall upon extremes

extremes no less fearful, then are the issues of open profaneness and impiety. To cut off therefore all way that may be opened to let in spiritual pride; it hath pleased God to make use of this as of a sovereign remedy, namely, to permit even in his most chosen vessels, evermore secret and hidden infirmities, and sometimes gross and open scapes, which may serve when they look into themselves to abate all over-weening conceit of their own righteousness, and when they shall look into the errors of others, may be secret admonitioners unto them, not rashly to condemn them, considering their own weakness. I will therefore shut up this place with the saying of St. *Ambrose*, *Etiā lapsus sanctorum utilis est; Nihil mihi obsuit quod negavit Petrus, etiam profuit quod emendavit*: The fall of the Saints is a very profitable thing; It hurts not me that St. *Peter* denied Christ, and the example of his amendment is very beneficial unto me. And so I come unto the preparative unto St. *Peter's* Repentance, in these words, *and he went forth*.

**T**He wisdom of God hath taught the Church sometime by express message delivered by words of mouth, sometime by dumb signes and actions. When *Jeremy* walk'd up and down the City with a yoke of wood about his neck, when *Ezekiel* lay upon his side, besieged a State with the draught of *Jerusalem* upon it, and like a banish'd man carried his stuff upon his shoulders from place to place: they did no less prophesie the captivity, desolation, famine, and wo, which was to fall upon *Jerusalem*, then when they denounced it by direct word and speech: yea, many of the ordinary actions of the *Patriarchs*, which seem to participate of chance, and to be in the same rank with those of other men, themselves (as a learned Divine of our Age, *Mercerus*, observes) not intending or understanding any such thing, contained by the dispensation of the holy Ghost, especial lessons and instructions for us. That speech of *Sarah*, *Cast out the bond-woman and her son*, &c. seemed to *Abraham* onely a speech of a curst heart, and she her self perceives not her self to speak by direction from God, but moved with impatience of *Ismael's* petulant behaviour toward her son: Yet, the holy Ghost himself hath taught us, that this act of her prefigured a great mystery.

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Many disputations there are concerning the cause of this action of St. Peter's going forth : whether it were out of the common infirmity that is in most men, namely, a greater shame to repent then to offend ? or whether it were out of modesty and good nature, that he could not endure the sight of Christ, whom he had so greivously offended ? Howsoever it were, we shall do this Scripture no wrong, if we think it to contain an act in outward shew casual, and like unto the actions of other men, but inwardly indeed an especial action of a person great in the sight of God ; and therefore comprehending some especial instruction. And to speak plainly, this abandoning the place wherein he fell, the company for fear of whom he fell, and those things that were occasioners of his sin, doth not obscurely point out unto us an especial duty of speedy relinquishing and leaving of all, either Friends, or Place, or Means, or whatsoever else, though dearer unto us then our right hand, then our right eye ; if once they become unto us inducements to sin. In former days before the *Fulness of time came*, the Calling of the Elect of God was not by any one act more often prefigured, then by this action of *going forth* ; When the purpose of God was to select unto himself a Church, and to begin it in *Abraham*, *Come forth*, saith he unto him, *out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house* : When *Israel* being in *Egypt*, it pleased God to appoint them a set Form and manner of serving him ; before this could be done, they and all theirs must *Come forth of Egypt*, *they must not leave a hoof behind them*. When the time of the Gospel was come, our Saviour holds the same course ; none must be of his company, but such as come forth, *leave all and follow him* : And therefore the Apostle putting the *Hebrews* in mind of their duty, expresses it in this very term, *Let us go forth therefore unto him*, saith he, *without the camp, bearing his reproach*. And in the original Language of the New Testament, the Church hath her name from this thing, from being called forth ; so that without a *going forth* there is no Church, no Christianity, no Service to God : the reason of all which is this, We are all by nature in the High Priests Court, as St. Peter was, where we all deny and forswear our Master, as St. Peter did ; neither is there any place for repentance, till, with St. Peter we go forth and weep.

For our further light, we are to distinguish the practise of this our *going forth*, according to the diversity of the times of the Church. In the first Ages, when Christianity was like unto Christ, and had no place to hide its head, no entertainment but what persecution, and oppression, and fire, and sword could yeild it; there was then required at the hands of Christians, an *actual going forth*, a real leaving of riches, and freinds, and lands, and life, for the profession of the Gospel. Afterward, when the Tempests of persecutions were somewhat allay'd, and the skie began to clear up, the necessity of actual relinquishing of all things ceas'd, Christians might then securely hold life and lands, and whatsoever was their own; yet, that it might appear unto the world, that the resolution of Christian men was the same as in times of distress and want, so likewise in time of peace and security, it pleased God to raise up many excellent men, as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, who without constraint, voluntarily, and of themselves, made liberal distribution of all they had; left their means and their freinds, and betook themselves to deserts and solitary places, wholly giving themselves over to Meditation, to Prayer, to Fasting, to all severity and rigidness of life: what opinion our times hath of these, I cannot easily pronounce; thus much I know safely may be said, that when this custom was in its primitive purity, there was no one thing more behoovful to the Church; It was the Seminary and Nursery of the Fathers, and of all the famous Ornaments of the Church: Those two things which afterwards in the decay and ruine of this discipline, the Church sought to establish by *Decrees and Constitutions*, namely, to *estrangle her Preists from the world*, and *bind them to a single life*, were the necessary effects of this manner of living; for when from their childhood they had utterly *sequestred* themselves from the world, and long practised the contempt of it; when by *chastising their body*, and *keeping it under* with long *fasting*, they had killed the heat of youth, it was not ambition, nor desire of wealth, nor beauty of women that could withdraw them, or sway their affections.

That which afterwards was crept into the Church, and bare the name of *Monkery*, had indeed nothing of it but the name, under pretence of poverty they seized into their possession the wealth and riches of the world, they removed themselves from  
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barren soils into the fattest places of the land, from solitary desarts into the most frequented cities; they turned their poor Cottages into stately Palaces, their true Fasting into Formalizing and partial abstinence: So that instead of going forth, they took the next course to come into the world; they left not the world for Christ, but under pretence of Christ they gain'd the world: ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέτρε τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἀπορῶν τὸ βίον τῆς υπαγῆς τάτῃ εἶναι τομιζότες, as Nazianzen speaks; One of their own, St. Jerom by name, long ago complain'd of it, *Nonnulli sunt ditiores Monachi, quam fuerant seculares*; & *clerici qui possideant opes sub paupere Christo, quas sub fallaci & locuplete diabolo non habuerant*; *ut suspiret eos ecclesia divites, quos tenuit mundos ante mendicos*. But I forbear, and come to commend unto you another kind of going forth, necessary for all persons, and for all times: There is a going forth in act and execution, requisite onely at some times, and upon some occasions; there is a going forth in will and affections: this let the persons be of what calling soever, and let the times be never so favourable, God requires at the hands of every one of us. We usually indeed distinguish the times of the Church into times of Peace, and times of Persecution; the truth is, to a true Christian man the times are always the same: *Habet etiam pax suos martyres*; saith one; there is a martyrdom even in time of peace; for the practise of a Christian man in the calmest times, in readiness and resolution must nothing differ from times of rage and fire. Josephus writing of the military Exercises practis'd amongst the Romans, reports, that for seriousness they differed from a true Battel onely in this, *The Battel was a bloody Exercise, their Exercise a bloodless Battel*; Like unto this must be the Christian exercise in times of peace, neither must there be any difference betwixt those days of persecution, and these of ours, but onely this, *Those yeilded Martyrs with blood, ours without*. Let therefore every man thoroughly examine his own heart, whether upon supposal of times of trial and persecution, he can say with David, *My heart is ready*: whether he can say of his dearest pledges, *All these have I counted dung for Christ's sake*? whether he find in himself that he can, if need be even lay down his life for his profession? He that cannot do thus,



thus, what differs his Faith from a temporary faith, or from hypocrisie? Mark, I beseech you what I say, I will not affirm, I will onely leave it to your Christian discretion: A temporary faith, that is, a faith resembled to the seed in the Gospel, which being sown on the stony ground, withered as soon as the sun arose, a faith that fails as soon as it feels the heat of persecution, can save no man. May we not with some reason think, that the Faith of many a one, who in time of peace seems to us, yea, and to himself too peradventure, to die possess'd of it, is yet notwithstanding no better then a temporary faith, and therefore comes not so far, as to save him that hath it? *Rufus* a certain Philosopher, whensoever any Scholars were brought unto him to receive education under him, was wont to use all possible force of argument to dissuade them from it; if nothing could prevail with them, but needs they will be his hearers, this their pertinacy he took for a sure token of a mind thoroughly settled, and led as it were by instinct to their studies. If God should use this method, to try who are his, and bring on us those temptations, which would make the man of a temporary faith to shrink; think we that all those who in these times of peace have born the name of Christ unto their graves, would have born unto the rack, unto the sword, unto the fire? Indeed to man who knows not the thoughts of his freind, some trials sometimes are very necessary; But, he that knew and foretold *David* what the resolution of the men of *Keilah* would be, if *Saul* came to them, knows likewise what the resolution of every one of us would be, if a fiery trial should appear. Who knows therefore whether God hath numbred out the Crowns of life, according to the number of their souls, who he foreknew would in the midst of all temptations and trials continue unto the end? For what difference is there betwixt the Faith that fails upon occasion, or that would fail if occasion were offered? for the actual failing of Faith is not that that makes it temporary, it is onely that which detects it, which bewrays it unto us to be so. The Faith therefore of that man which would have *sunk as fast as St. Peter did*, if tempests had arisen, notwithstanding that through the peace of the Church he dies possess'd of, is no better then a temporary, and cometh short of a saving Faith. *Durus sermo*, it is a *hard speech*, some man may say; but let him that thinks thus recount

recount with himself, that *Dura via*, it is a *hard way* that leads to life. Beloved, deceive not your selves; heaven never was, nor will be gotten without Martyrdom: In a word, my Brethren, try therefore your selves, whether you have in you true resolution: summon up your thoughts, survey every path in which your affections are wont to tread; see whether you are prepared to leave all for Christ: If you find in your selves but one affection looking back to *sodom*, to the things of this life, remember *Lot's* wife, her case is yours; you are not yet sufficiently provided for the day of Battel.

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## CHRISTIAN OMNIPOTENCY.

Philip. IV. 13.

*I can do all things through Christ, [that enableth, or] that strengtheneth me.*



From henceforth let all complaint concerning the frailty and weakness of Man's nature for ever cease : For behold our weakness swallow'd up of strength, and Man is become *Omnipotent* ; *I can do all things*, saith my Apostle. The strongest reason, which the subtlest above all the beasts of the Feild could invent, to draw our first Parents from their allegiance, was this, *Ye shall be like gods* : Our Saviour, who is infinitely wiser to recall us, then our adversary was to seduce us, takes the same way to restore, as he did to destroy, and uses that for Physick, which the Devil gave for poison : Is this it, saith he unto us, that hath drawn ye from me, that *ye would be like unto gods* ? why, then return again, and ye shall be like gods, by a kind of *Communicatio idiomatum*, by imparting unto you such excellencies, as are proper unto myself : *As I myself do all things*, so shall you likewise be enabled to *do all things through me*. *Falso queritur de Natura sua Genus humanum, quod imbecillis sit* ; It was the observation of the Heathen Historian,

storian, That it is an error in men, thus to complain of the infirmities and weakness of their nature ; For man indeed is a creature of great strength, and if at anytime he find himself weak, it is through his fault, not through his nature : But, he that shall take into consideration these words of my Text, shall far better then any natural man be able to perceive, that man hath no cause to complain of his weakness, *φασὶ γὰρ δυσβελίαν τῇ δὲ τῇ πολεὶ περσεύειν, ταῦτα μένει τις θεὸς ἀντ' αὐτ' ὑμεῖς ἑξαμέροτ', ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν*, saith *Aristophanes*. It was a tale that passed among some of the Heathen, that *Vulcan* offended with the men of *Athens*, told them that they should be but fools ; but *Pallas* that favoured them, told them they should be fools indeed, but folly should never hurt them. Beloved, our case is like to that of the men of *Athens* ; *Vulcan* the *Devil* hath made us fools and weak, and so we are indeed of our selves : but the Son of God, the true *Pallas*, the *Wisdom* of the Father hath given us this gift, that our weakness shall never hurt us : For, look what strength we lost in *Adam*, that with infinite advantage is suppli'd in Christ. It was the Parable of *Iphicrates*, that an Army of *Harts*, with a *Lion* to their Captain, would be able to vanquish an Army of *Lions*, if their Captain were but an *Hart*. Beloved, were Mankind indeed but an Army of *Harts*, were we *Hinnulo similes*, like unto the fearful *Hinde* upon the Mountains, that starts at every leaf that shakes ; yet through Christ that strengtheneth us, having the *Lion* of the Tribe of *Judah* for our Captain and Leader, we shall be able to vanquish all that force, which the *Lion* that goeth up and down, seeking whom he may devour, is able to bring against us. Indeed we do many times sadly bemoan our case, and much rue the loss, which through the rechelessness of our first Parents hath befallen us ; Yet let us cheer up our selves, our fear is greater then our hurt. As *Elkanah* speaks unto *Hannah*, in the first of *Samuel*, *Why weepest thou ? am not I better unto thee then ten sons ?* So will we comfort our selves in the like manner ; Let us sorrow no more for our loss in *Adam* ; for is not *Christ* ten-fold better unto us, then all the good of *Paradise* ? The *Mulberry-tree* indeed is broken down, but it is built up again with *Cedar*. The loss of that portion of strength, where-with our Nature was originally endued, is made up with fulness of power in Christ ; it is past that conclusion of *Zeba* and *Zal-*

*mana* unto Gideon, in the Book of Judges, *As the man is, so is his strength*; for now, Beloved, *as is God, so is our strength*. Wherefore, as St. Ambrose spake of St. Peter's fall, *Non mihi obfuit quod negavit Petrus, immo profuit, quod emendavit*. So may we speak of the Fall of our first Parents, it hurts not us that Adam fell; nay, our strength and glory is much improved, that by Christ we are redeemed. Our natural weakness be it never so great, with this supply from Christ, is far above all strength, of which our Nature in its greatest perfection was capable. If we survey the particulars of that weakness, which we drew from the loins of our first Parents, we shall find the cheifest part of it to be in the loss of Immortality. For as for the loss of that pleasant place, the blindness of understanding, and perverseness of will, being suppos'd to betide us immediately upon the Fall, these seem weaknesses far inferiour to our mortality. For, God forbidding us the fruit of the Tree of knowledge, and setting down the penalty that should ensue, making choice (as it is most likely) of the fearfulest judgment, and what he saw in his wisdom was most likely to awe us, threatens neither blindness of understanding, nor crookedness of nature, but tells us, *What day ye eat of it, ye shall die*. Yet see, Beloved, with how great strength this mortal weakness is repair'd: For thusto be able to encounter with death, the fearfulest of all God's curses, and through Christ to overcome it, as all true Christians do, to turn the greatest curse into the greatest blessing, is more then *Immortality*.

*Si non errasset, fecerat ille minus*: Had not man been thus weak, he had never been thus strong. Again, on the contrary, let us conceive unto the utmost, what our strength might be in our first estate, let us raise our conceit unto the highest note we can reach, yet shall we never find it to be greater, then what here is express'd in my Text. For greater ability, then power to do all things, is not imaginable, *I can do all things*. Beloved, these words are *Anakims*, they be seem not the mouth of a man of ordinary strength; he that hath right unto them, must be one of the race of the Giants at least; for he saith not simply, *πάντα δύναμαι*, *I can*, though peradventure with some difficulty, hardly with much labour and pains; but he saith, *πάντα ἰχύω*, *I can* with ease, I have valour and strength to do them. I ask then first, as the Eunuch doth in the Acts, of whom speaks our Apo-  
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file this, of himself, or of some other man? I answer, both of himself, and all other Christians; for every Christian man, by reading it as he ought, makes it his own, for in reading it as he ought, he reads it with the same spirit, with which St. Paul wrote it. Wherefore as St. Paul somewhere records of himself, that he was not found inferiour to the cheif Apostles, so is it true, that the meanest Christian that hears me this day, in all that is contained in my Text, is parallel'd, is nothing inferiour unto St. Paul, unto the cheif Apostles. What a comfort then is this unto the brother of low degree, when he considers with himself, that how mean soever he may seem to be, either in the Church or Common-weal, yet notwithstanding in so great a priviledge, as is this omnipotent power of doing all things; he is equal unto St. Peter, unto St. Paul, the greatest Peers of the Church? If then the weakness of Christians be so strong, as to deserve the name of *Almightiness*, what name, what title doth the strength of a Christian deserve to bear?

Secondly, I ask what meaning hath this word *ἰσχύω*, this can do in my Text? I answer, very large: first, though it be rendred by this word *doing*, yet it comprehends *sufferings* too: for *possum*: *valeo*, I can, is as well to *suffer* as to *do*; and that our blessed Apostle amongst other things so meant it, is apparent by the words foregoing my Text. And here is the first part of a Christians omnipotency: his patience is infinite, it *suffers all things*. Never any contumely, never any loss, never any smart so great, as could weary out Christian patience. *Talia* (saith Tertullian) *tantaque documenta, quorum magnitudo penes nationes detractatio fidei est, penes nos vero, ratio, & instructio*. Such examples, such precepts, have we of Christian patience, as that with infidels they seem incredible, and call in question the truth of our profession; but with us they are the ground and foundation of faith. God himself did never yet try the utmost of a Christian's patience; neither hath he created any object that is able to equal it: yet, he seems for our instruction to have gone about to try, what might have been done: He commanded Abraham to sacrifice his dear and onely Son, *Tam grave præceptum, quod nec Deo perfici placebat, patienter & audivit, & si Deus voluisset, impleisset*, saith Tertullian; So heavy was the command, that God himself lik'd not it should be acted; yet Abraham heard it patiently, and had fulfilled

fulfilled it, if God would have given him leave. What should I speak of poverty, of disease, of the sword, of fire, of death it self. *Ὅσα ζημιώμας*, saith Gordius the Martyr in St. Basil, *μὴ δυνάμεν ὑπὲρ Χρῆσθ' πολλὰς ἀποθανεῖν*: Oh! at what a loss I am, saith he, that I can die but once for my Saviour? Take the greatest instance of God's fury and wrath, even the pains laid up in hell for the sinner, and we shall find that there have been Christians, who for the glory of God, would gladly have endured them; St. Paul is the man amongst all the Saints of God, the greatest and worthiest example of this wonderful strength, of this *omnipotency* of a Christian man; What evil is imaginable, which he did not either indeed, or at least in will and affection undergo? *Omnem patientiæ speciem adversus omnem diaboli vim expunxit*, *ἐκκαύομαι γάρ*, I am on fire, saith St. Chrysostom, when I speak of St. Paul: and indeed, whom would it not inflame, to read that admirable *Synopsis* and Breif of his sufferings, registered in the second of the *Corinthians*, at the eleventh Chapter? *In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft*; and could he do more? Yes, he could; *Sed ubi historiam præstare non potuit, votum attulit*: Hitherto he reports Historically what was done, and as if that were not enough, he tells us what he would have done, and that his patience was able even gladly to have encountred Hell it self, *ὑψιμν*, saith he in the ninth of the *Romans*, I have pray'd unto God, I have begg'd it at his hands, as a favour, that for the increase of his glory through the salvation of Israel my kinsmen, according to the flesh, I might become a cast-away, and endure the pains of eternal fire. Tertullian considering the wonderful patience of our Saviour upon his cross, thinks, that if there had been no other argument to prove him to be God, yet this alone had been sufficient; *Hanc vel maxime, Pharisei Dominum agnoscere debuistis; patientiam hujusmodi nemo hominum perpetraret*. In like manner may we truly say, were there no other argument to prove that Christ doth dwell in us, doth mightily strengthen and enable us, yet this wonderful measure of patience in so finite a creature, could never subsist, if God were not in us of a truth.

Again, *ἔχων*, this word of *doing* here in my Text, signifies not onely sufferings and patience, this were to make a Christian but a kind of stone: A Christian hath not onely a Buckler to resist,  
but

but he must have a Sword to strike. Wherefore this word of *doing* must signifie yet further some action and life, and so indeed it doth; for it notes unto us the most glorious and eminent kind of Christian action, *Victory* and *Conquest*; and when my Apostle here saith, *I can Doe all things*, his meaning is, *I can Overcome and Conquer all things*. And here is the second and most glorious part of *Christian Omnipotency*; never was any true Christian overcome, or can he; For look how much he yeilds unto his enemy, so much he fails of his profession and title. David complains of Joab and his Brethren, *These sons of Zeruiah are too strong for me*: But, Beloved, a Christian man finds none of these sons of Zeruiah, whom he needs to fear, or of whom he needs to complain. For as Aristotle tells us, that a magnanimous man is he, *ὁ ἰδὲν μέγα*, who thinks nothing great, but conceits all things as inferiour to himself: so may we define a true Christian to be such a one, as to whom nothing is dreadful, in whose eye nothing under God carries any shew of Greatness. St. Paul hath left us a Catalogue in the end of the eighth to the Romans, of all the forces, outward and inward, bodily and ghostly, that can be mustered against us; *Life, Death, Angels, Principalities, Powers, things present, things to come, height, depth, any creature imaginable, and pronounces of them, that in all these we are Conquerours*; Conquerours is too mean a word, *ὑπερικών*, we are more then Conquerours: *καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀπα'σης, ἀντὶ πόνων καὶ ἰσχύων*, saith St. Chrysostom, we conquer them with ease, without any pains or sweat? *Paucas Victoria dextras*——— *exigit*, we shall not need to bring forth against them all our forces, a small part of them will be sufficient to gain the day; and not onely overcome them, but turn them to our benefit and behoof. For sin is like unto *Sampson's Lion*, it comes upon us with open mouth to devour us, but when we have slain it, we shall find *honey* in the belly of it: Wonderful therefore is the power of a Christian, who not onely overcomes, and Conquers, and kills the Viper, but like the skilful *Apothecary*, makes Antidote and Treacle of him. Indeed our Adversaries seem to be very great; St. Paul calls them by wonderful names, as if he meant to affright us: *Powers, Principalities, Badn, Depths*; *the prince that ruleth in the air, the god of this world*, and what not? Yet notwithstanding, as one speaks in *Livy* of the *Macedonian War*, as I remember, *Nonquam magni nominis bellum est*,

*est, tam difficilem existimaveritis victoriam*; we must not think there will be any doubt of the Victory, because it is a War of great name and noise; For me-thinks I discover in our Apostle, when he uses these strange astonishing words, a spiritual stratagem, by which to stir us up, and make us stand upon our guard, he makes the largest report of our enemies forces. We read that one of the *Roman* Captains perceiving his souldiers unnecessarily to faint, draws out letters before them, and reads the news of that *which never was*, of I know not what Kings with Armies and multitude coming forthwith against them; which Art of his did much avail him to gain the victory, because it made the Souldiers to recollect themselves, and fight with all their might. Beloved, I may not think, that the Apostle in making this report of our enemies forces, relates that which is not; but this, I think, I may safely say, that he makes the most of that which is: For it can never hurt us to take our enemy, to be as strong as he is, or peradventure stronger, for this is a very profitable error, it makes us more wary, and provide our selves the better. But to sleight and contemn our enemy, to err on the contrary side, and think him to be weaker then he is, this hath caused many an overthrow. It is a rule which *Vigilius* gives us, *Difficilius vincitur, qui vere potest de suis, & de adversarii copiis judicare*; It is an hard matter to overcome him that truly knoweth his own strength, and the strength of his adversary. And here, beloved, is the error of most Christians, we do not know of what strength we are; We look upon this body of ours, and suppose that in so weak and faint a subject there cannot subsist so great strength, as we speak of; as if a man should prize the liquor by the baseness of the vessel in which it is. As divers *Land-lords* have treasures hidden in their feilds, which they know not of, so many of us have this treasure of *omnipotency* in us, but we care not to discover it, and to know it; did we but perfectly know our own strength, and would we but compare it with the strength of our enemies, we should plainly discover, that we have such infinite advantage above them, that our conquest may seem not to be so great, as is pretended: For the greater the advantages are, the glory of the victory is the less; and that which makes a conquest great, is not so much the greatness of him that conquers, as the strength and greatness of him that is overthrown. Now what proportion is there

there betwixt the strength of God himself dwelling in us, and all the strength of Heaven, Earth, and Hell besides? how then can we count this Spiritual War so fearful, which is waged upon so unequal terms; *In quo si modo congressus cum hoste sis, viceris*; in which if we but give the on-set, we are sure to gain the victory? *resistisse vicisse est*; To resist is to conquer, for so saith the Apostle, *Resist the Devil, and he shall flee from you*. There was never yet any Christian conquer'd, that could not: and in this war not to yeild the victory, is to get it. As therefore one spake of Alexander's expedition into India, *Bene ausus est vana contemnere*; the matter was not much which he did, the greatest thing in it was, *that he durst do it*: so considering our strength, and the weakness of our adversaries, we may without prejudice speak even of the worthiest Souldiers, that ever fought these Spiritual Battels, *Bene ausi sunt vana contemnere*; The greatest thing that we can admire in them, is, *that they durst do it*. Would we but a little examine the forces of our adversaries, we should quickly find it to be as I have said: When Alcibiades, a young Gentleman of Athens, was afraid to speak before the multitude: Socrates, to put him in heart, asks him, Fear you, saith he, *such a one*? and names one of the multitude to him; No, saith Alcibiades, he is but a Tradesman: Fear you such a one, saith he, and names a second? No, for he is but a Peasant: or such a one? and names a third: No, for he is but an ordinary Gentleman: Now, saith he, of such as these doth the whole multitude consist: and by this device he encouraged Alcibiades to speak. He that shall fear to encounter the multitude, and army of spiritual adversaries which are ready to set themselves against him, let him do by himself as Socrates did by Alcibiades; Let him sit down and consider with himself his enemies one by one, and he shall quickly discover their weakness. *Primi in praeliis vincantur oculi*; Its a saying, that the first thing that is overcome in a Souldier, is his eye, while he judges of his enemy by his multitude and provision, rather than by his strength. Beloved, if we judge not of our adversary in gross, and as it were by the eye, we shall easily see, that we shall not need to do as the King in the Gospel doth, send to his enemy with conditions of peace; for there is no treaty of peace to be had with these. Had Zimri peace that slew his master, saith the Scripture: and, *There is no peace unto the wicked*, saith my



God. Not onely *Zimri*, and the wicked, but no Christian hath, or can have peace, he must be always as fighting, and always conquering. Let us single out some one of this Army, and let us examine his strength. Is it *sin* doth so much affright us? I make choice of it, because it is the dreadfulest enemy that a Christian hath: Let us a little consider its strength, and we shall quickly see, there is no such need to fear it: Sins are of two sorts, either great and capital, or small and ordinary sins: I know it were a paradox in nature to tell you, that the greatest and mightiest things are of least force; yet this is true in the case we speak of, the greatest things are the weakest. Your own experience tells you, that rapes and murders, parricide, poisoning, treason, and the rest of that rabble of arch sins, are the sins of the fewest, and that they have no strength at all but upon the weakest men; for doubtless if they were the strongest, they would reign with greatest latitude, they would be the commonest, they would be the sins of the most: But wandering thoughts, idle words, petty lusts, inconsiderate wrath, immoderate love to the things of the world, and the rest of that swarm of ordinary sins, these are they that have largest extent and dominion, and some of these, or all of these, more or less, prevail with every man. As the Magicians in *Exodus*, when they saw not the power of God in the Serpents, in the Bloud, in the Frogs; at the coming of the plague of the Lice presently cried, *Digitus Dei hic est*; this is the finger of God: so I know not how it comes to pass, though we see and confess that in those great and heinous crimes, the Devil hath least power; yet at the coming of *Lice*, of the rout of smaller and ordinary sins, we presently yeild our selves captives, and cry out, *Digitus Diaboli*, the strength of the Devil is in these: as if we were like unto that fabulous *Rack* in *Plinie*, which if a man thrust at with his whole body, he could not move it, yet a man might shake it with one of his fingers. Now what an error is it in us Christians, when we see the principal and captain sins so easily vanquish'd, to think the common souldier or lesser sort invincible? For certainly, if the greatest sins be the weakest, the lesser cannot be very strong. Secondly, is it *Original corruption* that doth so much affright us? Let us consider this a little, and see what great cause we have to fear it. And first, Beloved, let us take heed that we seem not *σχιμαχείη*, to fight with our own

own fanſie, and not ſo much to find, as to feign an enemy : Miſtake me not, I beſeech you, I ſpeak not this as doubting that we drew any natural infection from the loins of our parents: but granting this, I take it to be impoſſible to judge of what ſtrength it is, and deny that it is any ſuch cauſe why we ſhould take it to be ſo ſtrong, as that we ſhould ſtand in fear to encounter it, and overcome it ; for we can never come to diſcover, how far our nature is neceſſarily weak : for whil'ſt we are in our infancy, and as yet not altered, *à puris naturalibus*, from that which God and nature made us, none of us underſtand our ſelves ; and e'r we can come to be of years to be able to diſcover it, or define any thing concerning the nature of it, cuſtom or education, either good, hath much abated, or evil hath much improved the force of it ; ſo that for any thing we know, the ſtrength of it may be much leſs then we ſuppoſe, and that it is but a fear that makes it ſeem ſo great, *ὡς δεῖλαι ζύσεις πλείονα τῶν ὄντων ἀναπλάττειν δύναται*, ſaith *S. Chryſoſtom*, It is the nature of timorous and fearful men evermore to be framing to themſelves cauſeleſs fears. I confeſs, it is a ſtrange thing, and it hath many times much amazed me, to ſee how ripe to ſin many children are, in their young and tender years: and e'r they underſtand what the name of Sin and evil means, they are unexpectedly, and no man knows by what means, wonderfully prompt and witty to villany and wickedneſs, as if they had *gone to ſchole to it in their mothers womb*. I know not to what cauſe to impute thiſ thing, but I verily ſuppoſe I might quit *Original ſin* from the guilt of it : For it is a ruled caſe, and concluded by the general conſent of the Schools, that *Original ſin* is alike in all : and *St. Paul* ſeems to me to ſpeak to that purpoſe, when he ſaith, that *God hath alike concluded all under ſin* ; and, that *all are alike deprived of the glory of God*. Were therefore *Original ſin* the cauſe of this ſtrange exorbitancy in ſome young children, they ſhould all be ſo : a thing which our own experience teaches us to be falſe ; for we ſee many times even in young children *many good and gracious things*, which being followed with good education, muſt needs come to excellent effect : *In pueris elucet ſpes plurimorum*, ſaith *Quintilian*, *que ubi emoritur ætate, manuſeſtum eſt, non deſeciſſe naturam ſed curam* ; In children many times an hope of excellent things appears, which in riper age for want of cheriſhing fades and wi-

thers away; a certain sign that *Nature* is not so weak, as Parents and Tutors are negligent: whence then comes this difference? certainly not from our *Nature*, which is *one* in all, but from some other cause. As for *Original sin*, of what strength it is I will not discuss: onely thus much I will say, there is none of us all but is much more wicked, then the strength of any primitive corruption can constrain. Again, let us take heed that we abuse not our selves, that we use not the names of *Original weakness* as a stale or stalking-horse, as a pretence to choke and cover somewhat else: For oftentimes when *evil education*, *wicked examples*, *long custom*, and *continuance* in sin hath bred in us an *habit*, and necessity of sinning, presently *Original sin*, and the weakness of mans nature bear the blame: *Ubi per seccordiam, vires, tempus, ingenium, defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accensatur*; When through sloth and idleness, luxury and distemper, our time is lost, our bodies decay'd, our wits dull'd, we cast all the fault on the weakness of our nature; That *Law of sin in our members*, of which St. Paul spake, and which some take to be *Original corruption*; St. Austin once pronounced of it (whether he meant to stand to it I know not, but so he once pronounced of it) *Lex peccati est violentia consuetudinis*; That *Law of sin*, that carries us against our wills to sin, is nothing else but the *force* and *violence* of *long custom* and *continuance* in sin: I know that by the error of our first Parents the Devil hath blinded and bound us more then ever the *Philistines* did *Samson*: Yet this needs not to make us thus stand in fear of *Original weakness*; for blind and bound as we are, let the Devil build never so strong, yet if our hair be grown, if Christ do strengthen us, we shall be able, *Samson-like* to bear his strongest pillars, and pull down his house about his ears.

Thirdly, Is it the *Devil* that we think so strong an adversary? Let us a little consider his strength: he may be considered either as an inward enemy, suggesting unto us sinful thoughts; or as an outward enemy, lying in wait to afflict us in body, in goods, or the like. First, against us inwardly, he hath no force of his own; from our selves it is that he borrows this strength to overthrow us. In Paradise he borrowed the Serpent to abuse us, but now every man is that Serpent, by which himself is abused. For as *Hannibal* having overthrown the *Romans*, took their armour and fought

fought against them with their own weapons ; so the *Devil* arms himself against us with our own strength, our senses, our will, our appetite ; with these weapons he fights against us, and uses us against our selves ; let us but recover our own again, and the *Devil* will be disarm'd : Think you that the *Devil* is an immediate stickler in every sin that is committed ? I know ye do : But take heed, lest this be but an excuse to unlode your faults upon the *Devil*, and to build them upon his back ; for *St. Chrysostom* thought otherwise, ὁ γὰρ δὲ πάντα αὐτὸς κατασκευάζει, ἀλλὰ πολλά, καὶ ἀπὸ μοιῆς γέινεται τῆς ἰουδαίας τῆς ἡμετέρας : The *Devil's* hand, says he, is not in every fault, many are done meerly by our own carelesness : ὁ αἰθερὶς καὶ μὴ διαβολῆς ἢ, βλάπτειται. A negligent careless person sins, though the *Devil* never tempt him. Let the truth of this lie where it will, I think I may safely speak thus much, that if we would but shut up our wills, and use that grace of God which is offered ; I doubt not, but a great part of this suggesting power of his would fall to nothing. As for that other force of his, by which he lies in wait to annoy us outwardly, why should we so dread that ? Are there not more with us both in multitude and strength to preserve us ? *The Angel of the Lord* (saith the *Psalmist*) pitches his tents round about those that fear him, to deliver them ; and the *Apostle* assures us that the *Angels are ministring spirits, sent forth for those that shall be heirs of salvation* : Shall we think, that the strength of those to preserve, is less then that of the evil *Angel* to destroy ? One *Garcæus* writing upon the *Meteors*, told me long since, that whereas many times before great tempests, there is wont to be heard in the air above us great noise, and rushing, the cause of this was, the banding of good and evil *Angels*, the one striving to annoy us with tempests, the other striving to preserve us from the danger of it. And I doubt not, but as about *Moses* body, so about every faithful person, these do contend, the one to hazard, the other to deliver. Yea, but the *Devil* inspires into us evil thoughts : well, and cannot good *Angels* inspire good ? they are all, for any thing appears, by the Law of their Creation equal, and shall we think that God did give unto the *Devil* an inspiring faculty to entangle, which he denied to his good *Angels* to free us from ? Though good *Angels* could not inspire good thoughts, yet God both can and doth : So that for any thing yet appears, we have no such cause.

cause to stand in fear of the strength of the Devil, either *inwardly* or *outwardly*. Thus have I examined the force of three of our principal enemies; I could proceed to examine other particulars of this army of our adversaries, the *World*, the *Flesh*, *Persecutions*, and the rest, and make the like question of them, as I have done of these, and so conclude as *Socrates* did to *Alcibiades*. If you have just cause to fear none of these, why should you fear them all, since that of such as these the whole knot of them consists? But I must proceed to search out yet another meaning of this word of *doing* in my Text; and that briefly.

Thirdly, therefore we may take this word of *doing* in its largest sense: as if the Apostle had meant literally, that indeed a Christian can *do all things*, that he had such a power and command over the creature, as that he could do with it what he list. In which sense it is likewise true, though with some limitation; and here is the third degree of our *Christian Omnipotency*. In the former parts the *omnipotence* of a Christian suffered no restraint, it was illimited, unconfin'd. He is *absolutely omnipotent* in his *patience*, and can *suffer* all things: he is likewise *absolutely omnipotent* in *Battel*, and can *conquer* all his enemies. But in this third signification, his power seems to be streightned: for how many things are there which no Christian man can do? yet is he so streightned, as that his *Omnipotency* suffers not. We are taught in the Schools, though God be Omnipotent, yet many things may be named which he cannot do: He cannot deny Himself, He cannot lie, He cannot sin, He cannot die. Yet may we not conclude, that therefore God is not *Omnipotent*; for therefore is he the more Omnipotent, because he cannot do these things: for ability to do these things, is imperfection and weakness; but in God we must conceive nothing but what argues perfection and strength. In some degree we may apply this unto our selves, in things that tend to Christian perfection, every Christian is *Omnipotent*, he cannot raise the dead, turn water into wine, speak with tongues: True, but if he could, had he for this any further degree of perfection above other Christians? our Saviour seems to deny it. *For many* (saith he) *at that day shall come and say, Have we not cast out devils, and wrought miracles in thy name? And he will answer them, Away, I know you not.* Beloved, our Saviour loves  
not



not to sleight any part of Christian perfection: yet my meaning is not to deny unto a Christian the power of doing miracles, for every Christian man doth every day greater miracles, then yet I have spoken of. But, Beloved, in this matter of miracles, we do much abuse our selves; for why? seems it unto us a greater miracle, that our Saviour once turn'd a little water into wine, then every year in so many Vine-trees to turn that into wine in the branches, which being received at the root was mere water? Or why was it more wonderful for him once to feed five thousand with five loaves, then every year to feed the whole world, by the strange multiplication of a few seeds cast into the ground? After the same manner do we by the daily actions of Christian men. For why is it a greater miracle to raise the dead, then for every man to raise himself from the death of sin, to the life of righteousness? Why seems it more miraculous to open the eyes of him that was born blind, then for every one of us to open the eyes of his understanding, which by reason of *Original corruption* was born blind? For by the same finger, by the same power of God, by which the Apostles wrought these miracles, doth every Christian man do this: and without this finger, it is as impossible for us to do this, as for the Apostles to do the miracles they did, without the assistance of the extraordinary power of Christ. So that hitherto in nothing are we found inferiour unto the cheif Apostles: what if there be some things we cannot do? shall this prejudice our power? It is a saying in *Quintilian*, *Oportet Grammaticum quædam ignorare*; It must not impeach the learning of a good *Grammarian* to be ignorant of some things: for there are many unnecessary quilllets and quirks in Grammar, of which to purchase the knowledge, were but loss of labour and time. Beloved, in the like manner may we speak of our selves, *Oportet Christianum quædam non posse*, it must not disparage the power of a Christian, that he cannot do some things. For in regard of the height and excellency of his profession, these inferiour things which he cannot do, they are nought else but Grammar quirks, and to be ambitious to do them, were but a nice, minute, and over-superstitious diligence. And yet a Christian if he list, may challenge this power, that he *can do all things*; yea, even such things as he cannot do. St. *Austin* answering a question made unto him,  
why,

why the gift of Tongues was ceased in the Church, and no man spake with that variety of Languages, which divers had in the Primitive times, wittily tells us, *That every one may justly claim unto himself that miraculous gift of Tongues.* For since the Church, which is the body of Christ, of which we are but members, is far and wide dispersed over the earth, and is in sundry Nations, which use sundry Languages, every one of us, may well be said to speak with divers Tongues; because in that which is done by the whole, or by any part of it, every part may claim his share. Beloved, how much more, by this reason, may every one of us lay a far directer claim to an *absolute power of doing all things*, even in its largest extent, since I say not some inferiour member, but Christ, who is our Head, hath this power truly resident in him. Howsoever therefore in each member, it seems to be but partial, yet in our Head it is at full; and every one of us may assume to our selves this power of *doing all things*, because we are subordinate members unto that Head, which *can do all things*. But I must leave this, and go on to the remainder of my Text.

Hitherto I have spoken, first of the person, *I*. Secondly, of his power, *can do*: I should by order of the words proceed in the third place, unto the subject or object of this power pointed out unto us in this word *πάντα*, *all things*. But the subject of this Christian power hath been so necessarily wrapped up, and tied together with the power, that for the opening of it, I have been constrain'd to exemplifie at large, both what this *πάντα*, this *all things* is, and how far it doth extend: so that to enter upon it anew, were but to trouble you with repetition of what is already sufficiently opened. I will go on therefore unto the second General of my Text. For here me thinks that question might be asked, which *Dalilah* asked of *sampson*, *Tell me, I pray thee, wherein this great strength lieth?* Behold, Beloved, it is expressed in the last words, *through Christ that strength eneth.*

This is, as I told you, that hair, wherein that admirable strength of a Christian doth reside. I confess, I have hitherto spoken of wonderful things, and hardly to be credited; wherefore *μη το παραδοξον υποχρήσασθαι ἀπιστον δοκῇ*, lest the strangeness of the argument call my credit into question, Loe here I present un-

to

to you the ground of all this: A small matter sometimes seems wonderful, till the cause of it be discovered, but as soon as we know the cause, we cease to marvel: how strange soever my discourse of *Christian omnipotency* doth seem, yet look but upon this cause, and now nothing shall seem incredible. For to doubt of the *Omnipotency* of a Christian, is to question the power of Christ himself. As the Queen of *Sheba* told King *Solomon*, that she had heard great things of him in her own country, but now she saw truth did go beyond report: so, Beloved, he that travels in the first part of my Text, and wonders at the strange report of a Christian mans power, let him come to the second part, to our *Solomon*, to him that is greater then *Solomon*, to *Christ*, and he shall find that the truth is greater then the fame of it; for if he that was posses'd of the evil spirit in the Gospel, was so strong, that being bound with chains and fetters, he brake them all: of what strength must he be then, whom it pleaseth Christ to enable? or what chains or fetters shall be put upon him, which he will not break? From this doctrine therefore that *Christ is he*, that doth thus enable us, we learn two lessons, which are as it were two props to keep us upright, that we leannot either to the right hand, or to the left.

First, *Not to be dejected* or dismay'd, by reason of this outward weakness and baseness, in which we seem to be. Secondly, not to be *pust up* upon opinion and conceit of that strength and glory which is within us and unseen. For the first, for our own outward weakness, be it what it will, we cannot be more weak, more frail then *Gideon's* pitchers: now as in them their frailty was their strength, and by being broken, they put to flight the Army of the *Midianites*: so where it pleases *Christ to work*, that which seems weakness shall become strength, and turn to flight the strongest adversary: *Satis sibi copiarum cum Publio Decio, & nunquam nimium Hostium fore*, said one in *Livie*; we may apply this unto our selves: be we never so weak, yet *Christ alone* is army and forces enough, and with him we can never have too many enemies. The flesh indeed is weak, for so our Saviour tells us, yet this weakness of the flesh is no prejudice at all to the strength of a Christian; for though the flesh be weak, yet the spirit is strong, and so much our Saviour tells us too: and why then do we not follow the stronger part? *Si spiritus carne fortior, quia generosior, nostra culpa infir-*

*mira scđamur*, saith *Tertullian*; If the spirit be stronger then the flesh, what madness is it in us to make choice of, and follow the weaker side?

*Nulla fides unquam miseros elegit amicos.*

Which of you is so improvident, as, in a faction, to make choice of that side, which he sees to be the weakest, and which he knows must fall. Again, this weakness of a Christian is onely outward, within what he is, the words of my Text do sufficiently shew. *Socrates* outwardly was a man of deformed shape, but he was one of an excellent spirit: and therefore *Alcibiades* in *Plato* compares him to an *Apothecary's* box, which without had painted upon it an *Ape*, or a *Satyre*, or some deformed thing; but within was full of sweet and precious oyntment. Thus, Beloved, it is with a Christian, whatsoever outward deformity he seems to have, howsoever he seems to be nothing but rags without, yet he is *totus purpureus*, all scarlet and glorious within: I have said, *Ye are gods*, saith the Scripture, the Magistrate is wont to ingross, and impropriate this Scripture to himself; because sitting in place of Authority, for execution of Justice, he carries some resemblance of God: but to whom can this Scripture better belong then to the Christian man? For the magistrate indeed carries some shew of God without, but many times within is full of corruption and weakness; the Christian carries a shew of weakness without, but within is full of God and Christ. The second thing which I told you we learn't, was a Lesson teaching us, not to be *puffed up* with opinion and conceit of our own outward strength and glory: for if any man, because of this, shall begin to think of himself above what he ought, let him know that he may say of his exceeding strength, no otherwise then the man in the Book of *Kings* spake, when his ax was fallen into the water, *Alas, Master, it was but lent!* Those that build houses make *Anticks*, which seem to hold up the beams, whereas indeed, as *St. Paul* tells the Olive-branch, *Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee*: So is it true in them, they bear not up the house, the house bears up them. Beloved, seem we never so strong, yet we are but *Anticks*, the strength by which the house of Christ doth stand, it is not ours, it is *Christ's*, who by that power, by which he is able to subdue all things to himself, doth sustain both himself and us.



## Luke XVIII. I. .

*And he spake a Parable unto them, to this end that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.*



Y Text is like the Temple at *Hierusalem*, it is the House of Prayer, wherein we may learn many special points of the skill and practise of it. Now as that Temple had two parts; First, the Fore-front the Porch, the walk before it; and secondly the Temple it self: So have these words likewise two parts; First, there are words which stand before like a Porch or Walk, and they are these, *And he spake a parable unto them*: Secondly, here are words like unto the Temple it self, *that men ought always to pray, and not to faint*. If you please, before we enter into the Temple, or speak of these words, *That men ought always to pray*, let us stay and entertain our selves a little in the Porch, and see what matter of meditation it will yeild; *And he spake a Parable unto them, &c.* to instruct and teach the ignorant, no method, no way so speedy and effectual, as by *Parables* and *Fables*; *Strabo* gives the reason of it, φιλαδέμων γάρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιόμιεν δὲ τὴν τὸ φιλόμυθον; For man is a creature naturally desirous to know; but it is according to the Proverb, as the *Cat* desires fish, loath to touch the water, loath to take the



pains to learn: knowledge is indeed a thing very pleasant, but to learn is a thing harsh and tedious above all the things in the world. The Book which St. *John* eats in the tenth of the *Apocalypsis*, was in his mouth sweet as honey, but bitter in his belly: Beloved, those *Librorum belluones*, students that like St. *John* eat up whole Volumes, these find the contrary; for in the mouth, in the perusal their Books are harsh and unpleasant; but in the stomach, when they are understood and digested, then are they delightful and pleasurable. Yet one thing by the providence of God our nature hath, which makes this rough way to learn, more plain and easie: it is φιλιμυθία, common experience shews, we are all very desirous to hear narrations and reports, either pleasant or strange; wise men therefore, and God himself which is wiser then men, being to train up mankind, *Genus indocile*, a subject dull of hearing, and hardly drawn to learn, have from time to time wrought upon this humour, upon this part of our disposition, and mitigated, sugred, as it were, the unpleasantness of a difficult and hard lesson, with the sweetness of some delightful Parable or Fable: And S. *Chrysostom* tells us of a Physician, who finding his Patient to abhor Physick, but infinitely long for Wine, heating an earthen cup in the fire, and quenching it in Wine, put his potion therein, that so the sick person being deceived with the smell of Wine, might unawares drink of the Physick: or, that I may better draw my comparison from Scripture, as when *Jacob* meant to be welcome to his father *Isaac*, he put on his brother *Esau's* apparel, and so got access: So, beloved, wise men, when they meant either to instruct the ignorant, or to reprove offenders, to procure their welcome, and make their way more passable, have been wont for the most part, as it were, to clothe their lesson or reproof in a Parable, or to serve it in a dish favouring of wine, that so *Jacob* might be admitted under *Esau's* coat, that the smell of the pleasantness of Wine might draw down the wholesomeness of Physick. Great and singular have been those effects, which this kind of teaching by parables hath wrought in men; by informing their ignorance, reproofing their error, working patience of reproof; opening the understanding, moving the affections, and other sovereign commodities, ὃ μόνον οἱ ποιῆται· ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, καὶ κομότητες τῷ χρησίμῳ χάριν τῆς μύθου· ἐπέδεδξαντο. And for this cause

cause not onely our Poets and prophane Authours, but whole Cities, and men which gave Laws to Common-wealths, have made especial choice of this course : Yea, our Saviour Christ himself hath filled the Gospels with *Parables*, made them like a Divine and Christian *Æsop's Fables*, because he found it to be exceeding profitable. For, first of all, it is the *plainest* and most *familiar way*, and above all other stoops to the capacity of the learner, as being drawn either from Trees, or Beasts, or from some ordinary common and known actions of men ; as from a shepherd attending his flock, from an husbandman sowing corn in his feild, from a fisher casting his net into the Sea, from a woman putting leaven into her dough, or the like. So that in this respect a *Parable* is like *Moses's Tabernacle*, which outwardly was nothing but Goats skins, or some ordinary stuff, but within it was silk, and purple, and gold. And indeed, since those we teach are either children, or ignorant persons who are but children, (*ἰδιώτης γὰρ πᾶς καὶ ἀπαιδευτός τινὰ τινα πᾶς ἐστὶ*, for every man in what he is *ignorant*, is no better then a *child*) that manner of information fits best, which is most easie and familiar. Again, a *Parable* is a kind of *pattern* and *example*, expressing unto us what we hear ; now nothing doth more illustrate and explain, then instance and example, *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς*, in a *Parable* as it were upon a *Stage*, the thing that we are taught is in a manner *acted*, and set forth before our eyes. Secondly, *Parables* do not onely by their plainness open the understanding, but they *work* upon the *affections*, and breed delight of hearing, by reason of that faceteness and wittiness which is many times found in them, by reason of which they insinuate themselves, and creep into us, and ere we are aware, work that end for which they were delivered. Who is not much moved with that *Parable* of *Jotham* in the Book of *Judges*, that the *Trees went forth to chuse a King* ; or that of *Menenius Agrippa* in *Livie*, that the parts of the body conspired against the belly, by which the one shewed the wickedness of the men of *Sechem* against the sons of *Gideon* ; the other the folly of the common people, in conspiring against the *Senatours* and Noble-men ? And no marvel, Beloved, if this faceteness of *Parables* doth thus work with men, since it seems to have had wonderful force with God himself : For when the *Canaanitish* woman in the Gospel had long importun'd

our:

our Saviour in the behalf of her daughter, and our Saviour had answer'd her with that short cutting and reproachful parable, *It is not meet to take the childrens bread, and cast it unto dogs*; she facetely and wittily retorts and turns upon our Saviour his own parable; *Truth Lord, saith she, yet dogs do eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table*: be it that I am but a dog, I require no more then is due to a dog, even the crumbs that fall from your table: With which speech our Saviour was so far taken, as that he seems to have been stricken into a wonderment; for he presently cries out, *O woman, great is thy faith*. Thirdly, there is one thing that this way of instruction by *Parable* hath above all other kinds of teaching: it serves excellently for *reproof*; for man is a proud creature, impatient of plain and open check and reprehension; πολλάκις ἀπατῆσαι δέον: many times no way of dealing with him, when he hath offended, but by *deceiving* him with wiliness and craft; ὁ γὰρ ἐξ εὐθείας προσερχθεὶς κακὰ μέγαλα τὸν ἐκ ἀπαινήντου ἐργάσατο, he that comes rudely and plainly to reprehend, doth many times more hurt then good. I speak not this onely in regard of *Ministerial reprehension*, used by the *Preacher* of the word, but of all other: for to reprove offenders is a common duty, and belongs to every private man as well as to the Minister. St. *Austin* in his Book *de Civitate Dei*, handling the question, Why in common calamities the good do bear a part, as well as the evil, amongst many other reasons gives this as a special one, That good men are not careful enough in reprovng the errors of their offending brethren, but by connivency and silence in a manner partake in their sins, and as it were by consent, make them their own. It shall not be amiss therefore, even for you of the Laity, to hear something concerning this art of *reprehension*, as a duty concerning you as well as the *Preacher*. For the wisdom and gentleness of a Christian is never better seen, then in reprovng: Now one common error of reprovers, is their over-blunt and plain manner of rebuking; *dum sic objurgent, quasi oderint*, whilest they reprove the vice, as if they hated the person, and upbraid rather then reprehend: by this our opportunity, we destroy more sinners then we save. It is an excellent observation in St. *Chrysostom*, ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐπειδὴν ἀπερυθείᾳται βιασθὴ εἰς ἀναλγησίαν ἐκτίτλει, unseasonable and importunate reprovers make offending persons, *depudere* to steal their forehead,

forehead, and to set a good face upon their fact, as the phrase of the world is, and to seek out excuses and apologies for their sin. *Tully* tells us, that *Antony* the Oratour being to defend a person, who was accused of faction and sedition, bent his wits to maintain sedition was good, and not to be objected as a fault. That we force not our offending Brethren unto this degree of impudency, let us consult with our charity, and know the quality and nature of the offender. Husbandmen tell us, that the young and tender branches of a Vine are not to be prun'd away with a knife, but gently pull'd away by hand. Beloved, before we reprove, let us know the condition of our brother, whether he be not like the young Vine, soft and tender, and so to be cured rather with the hand, then with the knife: and if he be grown so hard, that he shall need the knife, we must not rashly adventure of it, but know there is a skill likewise in using the knife: As *Ehud* in the Book of *Judges*, when he went to kill *Eglon*, carries not his Dagger in his hand, but comes unto him with a present, and had his Dagger girt privily under his garment; or as a skilful Physician of whom we read, being to heal an impostume, and finding the sick person to be afraid of Lancing, privily wrap'd up his knife in a sponge, with which whil'st he gent'y smoothed the place, he lanced it: so, Beloved, when we encounter our offending Brother, we must not openly carry the Dagger in our hand, for this were to defie our brother; but we must wrap our knife in our sponge, and lance him whil'st we smooth him, and with all sweetness and gentleness of behaviour cure him; as *Esay* the Prophet cured *Hezekias*, by laying a plaister of Figs upon the sore. Men when they have offended are like unto fire, we must take heed how we come too near them; and therefore as the *Cherubims* in the Book of *Esay's* Prophecie takes a coal from the Altar with the tongs: so when the Prophets dealt with them, they did not rudely handle them with their hands; but they came upon them warily under Parables, as it were with the *Cherubim* tongs. How could *Nathan* have come so near unto King *David*, and drawn from him an acknowledgment of his sin, had he not come with the *Cherubims* tongs, and deceived him with a Parable? or how should the Propther made King *Ahab* see his error in letting go King *Benhadad*, if he had not as it were put a trick upon the King, and disguised both himself.

self and his speech, and mask'd his errand with the *Parable* of him, who let go the prisoner that was committed to his charge? So that in this respect, if we would define a *Parable*, we must pronounce it to be *pian fraudem*, a civil or spiritual *Stratagem*, by which persons who need instruction are honestly and piously beguiled for their own profit. No marvel therefore, if our Saviour Christ in his preaching doth every where drive upon *Parables*. For being to deliver to us so many Lessons, so strange, so uncouth, so hard to learn, it was meet he should make choice of that method of teaching, which hath most likelihood to prevail and commend them unto us. The doctrine which our Saviour in my Text labours to beat into us, is the *continuing* and *perpetuating* of our *Prayer* and Religious meditation: A Lesson hard to be attained, and therefore thrice he commends it unto us; once by *Example*, twice by *Parable*, both of them very effectual means to teach: by *Example* of that importunate *Canaanitish* woman, in the xv. of St. *Matthew*: by *Parable*, first in the xj. of St. *Luke*, of him that lying warm in his bed, and loth to rise, yet at his friends importunity gets up, and lends him bread; and secondly, by the *Parable* of the unjust Judge here in my Text.

But all this while I must not forget, that I am but in the *peristyle*, in the *Porch*, and entrance into the Temple, where to walk too long, were, if not to lose, yet to abuse my time. Let us now therefore enter into the Temple it self, and consider the main words of my Text: *That men ought always to pray, and not to faint*: which words have a double meaning. First, there is *Sensus quem faciunt*; there is a sense which the words themselves yeild as they lie: Secondly, *Sensus quo fiunt*, the sense and meaning in which the holy Ghost intended and spake them, If we look upon the sense which the words themselves do give, it seems we are adviſed by them to be like *Anna* the Prophetess in the ij. of S. *Luke*, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day. In all places, at all times, in season, out of season, upon occasion, upon no occasion, perpetually without intermission to pray: for thus the words do run, *that we ought always to pray, and not to faint*. But if we look upon the sense in which the holy Ghost spake these words, & consider what was his intent when he wrote them, we shall find that the Lesson which we are hence to learn, is, That we belike unto

Jacob



Jacob in the Book of *Genesis*, wrestle with God, and tell him to his face, *That he will not let him go till he hath given us his blessing*: That we become like bold-fac'd Suitours, or impudent Beggars, that will not be put by with a denial: but when we have poured out our supplications unto God, and find his ear lock'd up against us, yet to commence them again and again, and the third time; yea, *without any fainting*, or giving over, till by a kind of importunate and unmannerly devotion we have constrain'd God to let a blessing fall: and that this was the intent of the holy Ghost in this place, it appears upon the very reading of the *Parable*.

I will briefly speak unto you of both these *senses* in their order, and first of the *sense* which the words do give, *That we always ought without intermission to pray*.

Devotion in ordinary persons is a thing easily raised, and easily alay'd: Every strange event, every fear, every little calamity or distress is enough to put us into a strain of Religious meditation; but on the contrary side, a small matter doth again as quickly kill it. It seemsto be like a *quotidian* Ague, it comes by fits, every day it takes us, and every day it leaves us: or like flax, or straw, or such light and dry stuff, which easily kindles, and as soon goes out. Indeed it is a good thing when we find our hearts thus tender, and upon every occasion ready to melt into devotion: for as to be quick of sense is a sign of life, and the purest and best complexions are quickest of sense: so it is a great argument of spiritual life in us, and of purity of soul, when we are *ευλόγητοι*, so easily apt to fall upon devout meditation. But our Saviour requires yet another quality in our devotion, it must be as lasting as it is quick. *Quintilian* advises his Oratour to beware, how he stand too long upon a place of passion, because that passion is not lasting, & *nihil facilius lachrymis marefcit*; and men cannot long weep. But, Beloved, our Saviour gives other precepts of Christian Oratory; he wills, if we will prevail with God, to insist and dwell long upon a place of Religious passion, and provide that our tears may be perpetual and never dry: an hard thing you will take it to be, yet certainly it is very possible. There is a question raised among the great Masters of Natural learning, Whether or no there may be a *Lamp* so provided, that it may burn for ever? And they think it may be

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done : Beloved, our Saviour here teaches to practise that in Spirituall, which hath been but a matter of speculation in Naturals, even so to kindle and dress our lamps, as that they shall never go out ; but be like unto the good House-wives candle in the *Proverbs*, that goes not out by night, or rather like the Sun which shines for evermore. *Daniel* is said to have kindled this Lamp, and to have made his prayer *thrice* a day, *David* *seven* times a day, but this is not enough ; for in that the one is noted to have prayed *seven* times a day, the other *thrice* : It is likely at other times they did not pray, but God is not contented with this intermittent prayer ; for if we look upon my Text, we shall see that there must be no instant free from prayer : we must not measure our prayers by number. Number is a discreet quantity, as we call it, the parts of it are not connext, are not tied together, there is a separation, a distance betwixt them. That that measures out our prayer must be line and length, some continued quantity, whose parts have no separation, no intermission : for so saith my Text, *men ought always to pray*. *Always*, the whole life of a man ought to be but one continual prayer. But let us a little consider how possible this is, and see if there be anything, that doth necessarily enforce intermission of prayer. And first, that wonderful Lamp of which I but now told you great Scholars had spoken, is not yet made, because they are not agreed of what matter to make it. And indeed in the world, things either are not at all, or being, do at length cease to be, either because there is no fit matter whence they may be framed, or else the matter of which they are made, vanishes and dies. But, Beloved, prayer is a strange thing, it can never want matter : It will be made *ἀπὸ παντός* *ex quolibet*, out of any matter, upon any occasion whatsoever ; whatsoever you do, wheresoever you are, doth minister occasion of some kind of prayer ; either of thanksgiving unto God for his goodness ; or of praising and admiring his greatness ; or of petitioning to him in case of want or distress ; or bewailing some sin, or neglect committed. Is it the consideration of God's benefits, that will move us to thankfulness ? Then certainly our thankfulness ought to be perpetual, there is no person so mean, no soul so poor, and distressed, and miserable, but if he search narrowly, he shall find some blessing, for which he owes thankfulness unto God : If nothing else, yet his very misery and distress is a singular blessing, if he use it to that end for which it

was

was sent. Is it the consideration of distress and affliction, and some degree of the curse of God upon us, that will stir our devotion? Indeed this is it with most men that kindles the fire of prayer in our hearts: Men for the most part are like unto the unslak'd Lime, which never heats till you throw water upon it; so they never grow warm in devotion, till somewhat contrary to their wishes and disposition begins to afflict them: then certainly our petitions to God ought never to cease: For never was there man in any moment of his life entirely happy, either in body, goods, or good name, every man hath some part of affliction? Blessing and cursing, though they seem to be enemies, and contrary one to another, yet are never severed, but go hand in hand together. Some men have more of one, some of another, but there is no man but hath some part of both; wherefore as it seems not onely prayer in general, but all kind, all sort of prayer ought to be continual. Prayer must not be, as it were, of one thread, we must blend and temper together all kind of prayer, our praise or thanks, our sorrow, and make our prayer like *Joseph's party-coloured coat*, like a beautiful garment of sundry colours. So then, as fire goes not out so long as it hath matter to feed on, so what shall be able to interrupt our devotion, which hath so great and everlasting store of matter to continue it?

Secondly, many things in the world are necessarily intermitted, because they are tied to place or times; all places, all times are not convenient for them: but in case of prayer it is otherwise, it seeks no place, it attends no time; it is not necessary we should come to the Church, or expect a Sabbath, or an Holy-day; for prayer indeed especially was the Sabbath ordained, yet prayer it self is Sabbathless, and admits no rest, no intermission at all: If our hands be clean, we must, as our Apostle commands us, lift them up *everywhere*, at all times, and make every place a Church, every day a Sabbath, every hour Canonical, ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀγνοεῖν ἐμβάλλεται, καὶ ἑαυτὸν βαδίζοντα εὐχῆς ποιεῖν ἐκτενέως. As you go to the market, as you stand in the streets, as you walk in the fields, in all these places ye may pray as well, and with as good acceptance as in the Church; for you your selves are temples of the holy Ghost, if the grace of God be in you, more precious then any of those which are made with hands. The Church of Rome hath made a part of her *Breviary*, or *Common-prayer-book*, which she calls *Itinerarium Clericorum*, and it is a set form of prayer, which Clergy-men ought

to use when they set out in a journey, and are upon their way; why she calls it *Itinerarium Clericorum*, and impropriates it unto the Clergy, I know not; she might, for ought I see, have called it *Itinerarium Laicorum*, The *Itinerary* of the Laity; since it is a duty belonging unto them as well as to the Minister: Yet thus much the example of that Church teaches, that no place, no occasion excludes Prayer. We read in our Books, that one of the Ethnick Emperours was much taken, when he saw a woman going in the streets with a vessel of water on her head, her child at her girdle, her spindle in her hand twisting her threed as she went; he thought it a wonderful portion of diligence thus to employ all paces and times indifferently. Beloved, if it be thus with bodily labour, how much more should it be so with the labour of the soul, which is far more easie, and needs not the help of any bodily instrument to act it? And how welcome a spectacle will it be, think you, unto the great King of Heaven and Earth, when he shall see that no time, no occasion, is able to interrupt the labour of our devotion? Is it the time of Feasting and Jollity, which seems to prescribe against prayer? Indeed prayer is a grave and sober action, and seems not to stand with sport and merriment; yet notwithstanding it is of so pliable a nature, that it will accommodate and fit it self even to feasts and sportings. We read in the Book of *Daniel*, that when *Belsazzar* made his great and last Feast to his Princes and Lords, that they were merry, and drank wine in bowls, and praised the gods of gold and silver, of brass, and of iron, of wood, and of stone: Beloved, shall Ethnick feasts find room for their idolatrous worship, and praise of their golden, brazen, wooden gods, and shall not our Christian Feasts yeild some place for the praise of the true God of Heaven and Earth? Last of all, is it time of sleep that seems to give a vacation, and *otium* to prayer? Beloved, sleep is no part of our life, we are not accountable for things done or not done then; *Tertullian* tells us, that an unclean dream shall no more condemn us, then a dream of Martyrdom shall crown us; and the *Casuits* do teach, that loose dreams in the night shall never be laid to our charge, if they be not occasioned by lewd thoughts in the day: for they are *Cogitationes injectæ, non enatæ*, they are not thoughts springing out, but cast into our hearts by the Devil, upon his score shall they go, and we shall not reckon for

for them: So then, though sleep partake not of our devotion, yet this hinders not the continualness of it. *Aristotle* tells us, that men who sleep perceive not any part of time to have passed, because they tie the last moment of their watching with the first moment of their awaking, as having no sense of what past betwixt, and so account of it as one continued time. Beloved, if we do with our devotion as we do with our time, if we shut up the last instant of our watching with a prayer, and resume that prayer at the first instant of our waking, we have made it one continued prayer without interruption.

Thirdly, and last of all, the greatest reason why many busi-  
nesses of the world cannot be acted perpetually, is, because they  
must give room to others; *Unicum arbutum non alit duos Eritha-*  
*cos*; The actions of the world are many times like unto quarrel-  
some Birds, two of them cannot peaceably dwell in one bush.  
But prayer hath that property which *Aristotle* gives unto sub-  
stance, *nulli esse contrarium*, it is at peace, and holds good terms  
with all our cares of the world. No business so great, or that so  
much takes up the time and mind of a man, as that it needs ex-  
clude prayer: it is of a soft and sociable nature, and it can incor-  
porate and sink into our business like water into ashes, and never  
increase the bulk of them: it can mix and interweave it self  
with all our cares, without any hinderance unto them; nay, it is  
a great strength and improvement unto them, ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶς  
πλὺθος οἰκοδομεῖν μέλλοντες, &c. For, saith *St. Chrysostom*, as  
they that build houses of clay, must every where place studs  
and peices of timber and wood so to strengthen the building,  
ὅτω πᾶς βιωτικᾶς πράξεως ἀνάγκης; καθάπερ ἱμαντίσσει τοῖς  
ξύλοις τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν ἑυχῶν διαλαμβάνειν δεῖ; so all our  
cares of this life, which are no better then buildings of dirt  
and clay, we must strengthen and compact together with fre-  
quent and often prayer, as with bonds and props of timber. Let  
no man therefore think it, μέγα λίαν ἀίτημα, that it is too  
much to require at the hands of men at one and the self-same  
instant both to attend their vocation and their prayer: For the  
mind of a man is a very agile and nimble substance, and it is a  
wonderful thing to see how many things it will at one moment  
apply it self unto without any confusion or lett. Look but upon  
the Musician while he is in his practise, he tunes his voice,  
fingers



fingers his instrument, reads his ditty, marks the note, observes the time, all these things *simul & semel*, at one and the same instant, without any distraction or impediment: Thus should men do in case of devotion, and in the common acts of our vocation, let prayer bear a part; for prayer added unto diligent labour is like a sweet voice to a well-tuned instrument, and makes a pleasing harmony in the ears of God, *ἐξῆς ἡ γυναῖκα κλακάνη κατέχυσαν ἡ ἱεργύσαν ἀιαβλέσαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν τῇ διακονίᾳ ἡ κατέσαι μετὰ θερμότητι τὸν θεόν*. The good House-wife, saith St. *Chrysostom*, as she sits at her distaff, and reaches out her hand to the flax, may even then lift up, if not her eyes, yet her mind unto Heaven, and consecrate and hallow her work with earnest prayer unto God. *Arator strivam tenens, Hallelujah secantat, sudans messor Psalmis sese evocat & curva attendens falce vites vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit*: The Husbandman (saith St. *Hierom*) at the Plough-tail may sing an Hallelujah, the sweating Harvest man may refresh himself with a Psalm, the Gardiner whilst he prunes his Vines and Arbours, may record some one of *David's* sonnets. The reason of this pliable nature of prayer is, because it is a thing of another condition then the acts of the world are: It requires no outward labour of the body, no outward fashion and manner of doing, but is internally acted in the soul it self, and leaves the outward members of our bodies free to perform those offices which require their help. Our legal business in the world must be done in certain forms of *breves* and writs and I know not what variety of outward ceremony, or else it is not warrantable: But prayer, Beloved, is not like an Obligation or Indenture, it requires no outward solemnity of words and ceremony. Quaint, witty, and set forms of prayer proceed many times from ostentation more then devotion; for any thing I know, it requires not so much as the moving of the lips or tongue: Nay, one thing I know more, that the most forcible prayer transcends and far exceeds all power of words. For St. *Paul* speaking unto us concerning the most effectual kind of prayer, calls it *ἐνδύματα ἀλάλητα*, sighs and groans that cannot be expressed. Nothing does cry so loud in the ears of God, as the sighing of a contrite and earnest heart. We read in the xiv. of *Exodus*, that God speaks unto *Moses*, *Why criest thou unto me? command the children*

children of Israel that they go forward; yet there appears not in the Text any prayer that *Moses* made, or word that he spake. It was the earnestness of *Moses*'s heart that was so *μεγαλόφωνος*, that did so sound in the ears of the Lord. Wherefore true prayer hath no commerce with the outward members of the body, ἡ δὲ γὰρ ἔγω φωνῆς χρεῖζ, ὡς διαφώνιας ἡ δὲ ἐκπάσσεως χειρῶν, ὡς συντεταμένης ψυχῆς ἡ δὲ ῥήματι, ἀλλὰ φρονήματι. for it requires not the voice, but the mind, nor the stretching of the hands, but the intention of the soul; nor any outward shape or carriage of body, but the inward behaviour of the understanding. How then can it slacken your worldly business and occasions, to mix with them sighs and groans, which are the most effectual kinds of prayer?

And let this suffice concerning the first meaning of the words; I will briefly speak concerning the second meaning, which I told you was the sense intended by the holy Ghost when he wrote, and it is an exhortation to a Religious importunity in our prayers; not to let our suits fall, because they are not presently granted, but never to leave soliciting till we have prevailed, and so take the blessings of God by violence: *Gratissimavis*, this force, this violence is a thing most welcome unto God; for if the importunity of *Esau*'s false, feigned, and malicious tears drew a blessing from his father *Isaac*, who yet had no greater store of blessings, as it seems; how much more shall the true Religious importunity of zealous prayer pull a blessing out of the hands of God, who is rich in blessings above the sands of the sea in multitude? It is the Courtiers rule, That over modest suitours seldom speed: Beloved, we must follow the same rule in the Court of Heaven; intempestive bashfulness gets nothing there. *Qui timide rogat, docet negare*, Faint asking does invite a denial: Will you know the true name of the behaviour which prevails with God? St. *Luke* in his xi. Chapter calls it *ἀναιδέας*, and St. *Chrysostom* speaking of the behaviour of the *Canaanitish* woman in the xxv. of St. *Matthew*, tells us, καλὴν ἀπειραχύντεσθαι τὴν ἀναχρηστίαν, ἀναιδία, ἀαχρηστία, *improbability, importunity, impudency*, these be the names of that person and behaviour which you must put on, if you mean to prevail in your suits with God. And indeed, if we consider that habit and manner that God is wont to put on, when his children do become suitours unto him; how he puts on a rigid,

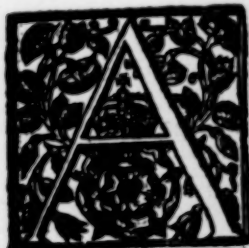
gid, rough, and untractable carriage, even towards his dearest children, even then when he means them most good, we shall plainly see, we must use such kind of behaviour, if we will prevail with him: for the more effectually to express this demeanor of God towards his children, and to assure us it is so, and to teach us importunity, our Saviour Christ, that great Master of requests, may seem to have done himself some wrong; first, by drawing in a manner odious comparisons, and likening the behaviour of God in these cases to a *slothful friend*, that is loth to leave his *warm bed* to do his *friend* a pleasure; and here in my Text to an *unjust Judge*, that fears neither God nor man: and secondly, by his own behaviour toward the *Canaanitish* woman. It is strange to observe, how though he were the meekest person that ever was upon earth, yet here he strives, as it were, to unnaturalize himself, and lay by his natural sweetness of disposition, almost to forget common humanity, and puts on a kind of sullen and surly person of purpose to deter her: you shall not find our Saviour in all the New Testament in such a mood, so bent to contemn and vilifie a poor suitour. St. *Austin* comparing together St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, who both of them record the same story, and gathering together the circumstances out of them both, tells us, that first she follows our Saviour in the street, and that our Saviour takes house, as it were, to shelter himself from her; but she comes after, and throws her self at his feet; and he, as offended with her importunity, again quits the house to be rid of her, and all this while deigns her not a word. If any behaviour could have dash'd a suit, and broken the heart of a poor suitour, this had been enough; but here's not all, we have a civil precept, that if we be not disposed to pleasure a suitour, yet to give him good words, and shape him a gentle answer, it is hard if we cannot afford a suitour a gentle word; We read of *Tiberius* the Emperour, (as I remember) that he would never suffer any man to go sad and discontented from him; yet our Saviour seems to have forgot this part of civility, being importun'd to answer her, gives her an answer worse then silence, and speaks words like the peircing of a sword, as *Solomon* speaks, *I may not take the childrens bread, and cast it unto dogs*: And yet after all this strange copy of countenance, he fully subscribes to her request. Beloved, God hath not onely express'd thus much in *Parables*, and practis'd these

these strange delays upon *Canaanitish* women, but he hath acted it indeed, and that upon his dearest Saints. *David*, one of the worthiest of his Saints, yet how passionately doth he cry out, *How long, Lord, wilt thou forget me? how long shall I seek counsel in my soul, and be so vexed in my heart?* Not onely the Saints on earth, but even those in heaven do seem to partake in this demeanour of God: We read in the Book of the *Revelation*, that when the souls of the Martyrs under the Altar cried out, *How long, Lord, just and holy, dost thou not avenge our blood from off the earth?* they received this answer, *Have patience yet a little while.* It is storied of *Diogenes*, that he was wont to supplicate to the *Statues*, and to hold out his hands and beg of them, that so he might learn to brook and devour denial, and tediousness of suit. Beloved, let us but meditate upon these examples, which I have related, and we shall not need to practise any of the *Gynick's* art. For if the Saints and blessed Martyrs have their suits so long depending in the Courts of Heaven, then good reason that we should learn to brook delays, and arm our selves with patience and expectation, when we find the ears of God not so open to our requests. When *Joseph's* brethren came down to buy corn, he gave them but a course welcome, he spake roughly unto them, he laid them in prison; yet the Text tells us, that his bowels melted upon them, and at length he opened himself, and gave them courteous entertainment. Beloved, when we come unto God, as it were, to buy corn, to beg at his hands such blessings as we need, though he speak roughly, though he deal more roughly with us, yet let us know he hath still *Joseph's* bowels, that his heart melts towards us, and at length he will open himself, and entertain us lovingly: And be it peradventure that we gain not what we look for, yet our labour of prayer is not lost. The blessed souls under the Altar, of which I spake but now, though their petition was not granted, yet *had they long white garments given them.* Even so, Beloved, if the wisdom of God shall not think it fit to perform our requests, yet he will give us the long white garment, something which shall be in lieu of a suit; though nothing else, yet patience and contentment, which are the greatest blessings upon earth.



John xviii. 36.

*Jesus answered, My Kingdom is not of this world: If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, &c.*



AS in the Kingdoms of the world, there is an art of *Courtship*, a skill and mystery teaching to manage them: so in the Spiritual Kingdom of God and of Christ, there is an holy policy; there is an art of Spiritual Courtship, which teaches every subject there, how to demean and bear himself. But, as betwixt their Kingdoms, so betwixt their Arts and Courtship, betwixt the Courtier of the one, and the Courtier of the other; there is, as *Abraham* tells the rich man in *St. Luke*, μέγα χάσμα, a great distance, a great difference, and not onely one, but many. Sundry of them I shall have occasion to touch in the process of my discourse; mean while I will single out one, which I will use as a prologue and way unto my Text. In the Kingdoms of earthly Princes, every subject is not fit to make a Courtier; yea, were all fit, this were an honour to be communicated onely unto some: *Sic opus est mundo*. There is a necessity of disproportion and inequality between men and men; and were all persons equal the world could not consist:

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Of men of ordinary fashion and parts, some must to the Plough, some to their Merchandize, some to their Books, some to one Trade, some to another: onely *οἱ χαριεστες, & περσιχοι*, as Aristotle calls them, men of more then common wit and ability, active choice, pick'd out of a thousand, such must they be that bear Honours, attend on Princes persons, and serve in their Courts. The Scripture tells us, that when King Solomon saw that Jeroboam was an active, able, and industrious young man, he took him and made him ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph. Again, when David invited old Barzillai to the Court, the good old man excuses himself: *I am, saith he, fourscore years of age, and can thy servant taste what I eat, or what I drink? can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? Lo here my son Chimham, he shall go with my Lord the King, and do with him as shall seem good in thine eyes.* Jeroboam and Chimham, strong, and able, and active persons, such are they that dwell in Kings houses: of the rest, some are too old, some too young, some too dull, some too rude, or by some means or other unfit for such an end. Thus fares it with the Honours of the world, they seem to participate of envy, or melancholly, and are of a solitary disposition; they are brightest when they are alone, or but in few; make them common, and they lose their grace, like Lamps they may give light unto few, or to some one room, but no farther. But the Honours in the Court of the great King of Heaven, are of another nature, they rejoyce in being communicated, and their glory is in the multitude of those that do partake in them. They are like unto the Sun that rises, *non homini, sed humano generi*: not to this or that man, but to all the world: In the Court of God, no difference between Jeroboam and Barzillai, none too old, none too young; no indisposition, no imperfection makes you incapable of Honours there; Be but of his Kingdom, and you are necessarily of his Court: Every man who is a subject there, is a Courtier, yea, more then a Courtier, he is a Peer, he is a King, and hath an army of Angels at his service to pitch their tents about him, to deliver him: a guard of ministring Spirits sent out to attend him for his safety. It shall not therefore be unreasonable for the meanest person that hears me this day, to hear as it were a Lecture of spiritual policy and courtship: for no Auditory can be unfit for such a Lesson. Aristotle was wont to

divide his Lectures and Readings into Acroamatical, and Exoterical: some of them contained onely choice matter, and they were read privately to a *Select Auditory*; others contain'd but ordinary stuff, and were promiscuously and in publick expos'd to the hearing of all that would: Beloved, we read no Acroamatick Lectures, the secrets of the Court of Heaven (as far as it hath pleas'd the King of Heaven to reveal them) lie open alike to all. Every man is alike of his Court, alike of his Council; and the meanest among Christians must not take it to be a thing without his sphere, above his reach, but must make account of himself as a fit hearer of a Lesson in spiritual and saving policy; since if he be a subject in the Kingdom of Christ, he can be no less then a Courtier.

Now the first and main Lesson to be learned by a Courtier, is, how to discover and know the disposition and nature of the Lord, whom he is to serve, and the quality of that Common-wealth in which he bears a place, *ad consilium de republica dandum caput est*. That therefore our heavenly Courtier may not mistake himself, but be able to fit himself to the place he bears, I have made choice of these few words, which but now I read; words spoken by the King of that Common-wealth, of which I am to treat, unto such as mean to be his Liege-men there: words which sufficiently open unto the Christian Polititian the place and quality of that Court in which he is to serve: *My kingdom is not of this world, for if it were, then would my servants fight*; which words seem like the *Parthian* Horsemen, whose manner was to ride one way, but to shoot another way, they seem to go apace towards *Pilate*, but they aim and shoot at another mark; or rather like unto the speaker of them, unto our Saviour himself, when he was in one of the Villages of *Samaria*, St. Luke the ix. where the text notes, that though he were in *Samaria*, yet his face was set towards *Hierusalem*: so, beloved, though these words be spoken to a *Samaritan*, to an infidel, to *Pilate*, yet their face is toward *Hierusalem*; they are a Lesson directed to the subjects of his Spiritual Kingdom, of that *Hierusalem* which is from above, and is the Mother of us all.

In them we may consider two general parts. First, a *Denuntiation* and message unto us; and secondly, a *sign* to confirm the truth of it. For it is the manner and method, as it were, which  
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God doth use, when he dispatches a message, to annex a *Sign* unto it, by which it may be known: When he sent *Moses* to the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, and *Moses* required a *sign*, he gave him a *sign* in his hand, in his *Rod*; when he sent *Gideon* against *Madean*, he gave him a *sign* in the *fleece of Wool* which was upon the *floor*; when he sent the *Prophet* to *Hieroboam*, to prophesie against the *Altar* in *Bethel*, he gave him a *sign*, that the *Altar* should *rend*, and the *ashes* fall out; when he sent *Esay* with a message to King *Abaz*, he gave him a *sign*, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive*. So, Beloved, in these words, *There is a Message, there is a Sign*: The first words are the Message *My kingdom is not of this world, &c.* The next words, *For if it were, then would my servants fight, &c.* These are *Moses's Rod*, and *Gideon's Fleece*; they are the *Sign* which confirm the *Message*.

The first part is a general Proposition or Maxim: the second is an Example, and particular instance of it: For in the first, our Saviour distinguishes his Kingdom from the Kingdoms of the world, and from all the fashions of them; In the second, amongst many other he chuses one instance, wherein particularly he notes, that his Kingdom is unlike to earthly Kingdoms; for the Kingdoms of the world are purchased and maintain'd by violence and blood, but so is not his. The reason why our Saviour fastens upon this reason of dissimilitude and unlikeness, is, because in gaining and upholding temporal Kingdoms, nothing so usual as the sword and war: No Kingdom of the world, but by the sword is either gotten, or held, or both. The sword in a secular Common-wealth is like the rod in a Schole; remove that away, and men will take their liberty. It is the plea which the *Tarquins* used to King *Porfenna* in *Livie*, *Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis, nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant tanta regna reges defendant, aquare summa infimis adesse finem regnis rei inter Deos hominesque pulcherrima*. The taste of liberty is so sweet, that except Kings maintain their authority with as great violence, as the people affect their liberty, all things will run to confusion; and Kingdoms, which are the goodliest things in the world, will quickly go to wrack: when God gave a temporal Kingdom unto his own people, he sent *Moses* and *Joshua* before them to purchase it with their sword; when they were possess'd of this Kingdom, he sends then *Gideon*, and *Sampson*, and *David*, and many *Worthies* more to maintain it by the sword:

Sword: But now being to open unto the world another kind of Kingdom, of Rule and Government, then hitherto it had been acquainted with: he tells us, that he is a King of a Kingdom, which is erected and maintained, not by *Josbua* and *David*, but by *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; not by the sword, but by the Spirit; not by violence, but by love; not by striving, but by yeilding; not by fighting, but by dying. *Pilate* had heard that he was a King: it was the accusation which was fram'd against him, that he bear himself as King of the *Jews*; but because he saw no pomp, no train, no guard about him, he took it but as an idle report: To put him therefore out of doubt, our Saviour assures him, that he is a King, but of such a Kingdom as he could not skill of: *My Kingdom is not of this world, &c.* For the better unfolding of which words; first, we will consider what the meaning of this word *Kingdom* is, for there lies an ambiguity in it. Secondly, we will consider what Lessons for our instruction the next words will yeild, *Not of this world.* First, of this word *Kingdom*.

Our Saviour is a King three manner of ways, and so correlatively hath three distinct several Kingdoms. He is first King in the largest extent and meaning which can possibly be imagined, and that is, as he is *Creator* and absolute Lord of all creatures, Of this Kingdom, Heaven, Earth, and Hell are three large Provinces: Angels, Men, and Devils, his very enemies, every creature visible and invisible are subjects of this Kingdom. The glory and strength of this Kingdom consists least of all in men, and man is the weakest part of it: for there is scarcely a creature in the world, by whom he hath not been conquer'd: When *Alexander* the Great had travell'd through *India*, and over-ran many large Provinces, and conquer'd many popular Cities; when tidings came, that his Soldiers in *Greece* had taken some small Towns there, he scorn'd the news, and in contempt, Me-thinks (said he) I hear of the Battel of Frogs and Mice. Beloved, if we look upon these huge Armies of Creatures, and consider of what wonderful strength they are, when the Lord summons them to Battel: all the Armies of men, and famous Battels, of which we have so large Histories, in the comparison of these, what are they, but a βατραχόμυο μάχια, but *Homer's* tale, a Battel of Frogs and Mice? Infinite Legions of Angels attend him

him in Heaven, and every *Angel* is an Army: One *Angel* in the Book of *Kings* is sent out against the Army of the *Assyrians*, and in one night *four score thousand* persons die for it. Base and contemptible creatures, when God calls for them, are of strength to conquer whole Countreys: He over-runs *Egypt* with his Armies of *Frogs*, and *Flies*, and *Lice*; and before his own people with an Army of *Hornets* chases the *Canaanites* out of the Land. Nay, the dull and senseless Elements are up in Arms when God summons them: He shoots his *Hail-shot*; with his *Hail-stones* from Heaven he destroys more of the *Canaanites*, then the *Israelites* can with their *swords*. As for his Armies of *Fire* and *Water*, what power is able to withstand them? Every creature, when God calls, is a soldier. How great then is the glory of this Kingdom, of which the meanest parts are invincible!

Secondly, again our Saviour is a *King* in a more *restrain'd* and *confin'd* sense, as he is in Heaven attended on by Angels, and Archangels, Powers, Principalities, and all the heavenly Hosts. For though he be *Omni-present*, and fills every place both in Heaven and Earth; yet Heaven is the *Palace & Throne* of this Kingdom; there is he better seen and known, there with more state and honour served, and therefore more properly is his Kingdom said to be there: And this is called his *Kingdom of glory*: The Rules, and Laws, and admirable Orders of which Kingdom, could we come to see and discover, it would be with us as it was with the *Queen of Saba*, when she came to visit *Solomon*, of whom the Scripture notes; that when she heard his wisdom, and had seen the order of his servants, the attendance that was given him, and the manner of his table, *There was no more spirit left in her*. Beloved, *Dum Spiritus hos regit artus*, whilst this Spirit is in us, we cannot possibly come to discern the Laws and Orders of this Kingdom, and therefore I am constrain'd to be silent.

Thirdly, our Saviour is a *King* in a sense yet more *impropriated*. For as he took our nature upon him, as he came into the world to redeem mankind, and to conquer Hell and Death, so is there a Kingdom annex unto him; A Kingdom, the purchase whereof cost him much *sweat* and *Bloud*, of which neither Angels nor any other creature are a part; onely that remnant of mankind, that *Ereptus tuitio*, that number of blessed *Souls*, which like a brand out of the fire, by his death and passion he hath recovered

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out of the power of sin; and all these alone are the subjects of that *Kingdom*. And this is that which is called his *Kingdom of Grace*, and which himself in Scripture every where calls his *Church*, his *Sponse*, his *Body*, his *Flock*: and this is that *Kingdom*, which in this place is spoken of, and of which our Saviour tells Pilate, *That it is not of this world*; — *My Kingdom is not of this world*.

Which words at the first reading, may seem to favour of a little imperfection; for they are nothing else but a *Negation* or *denial*. Now our Books teach us, that a *Negative* makes nothing known; for we know things by discovering, not what they are not, but what they are: yet when we have well examin'd them, we shall find that there could not have been a speech delivered more effectual for the opening the nature of the Church, and the discovery of mens errors in that respect. For I know no error so common, so frequent, so hardly to be rooted out, so much hindring the knowledge of the true nature of the Church, as this, that men do take the *Church* to be like unto the *World*. Tully tells us of a *Musician*, that being ask'd what the Soul was, answered, that it was *Harmony*, & is (saith he) *a principiis artis suæ non recessit*: He knew not how to leave the principles of his own Art. Again, *Plato's* Scholars had been altogether bred up in *Arithmetick*, and the knowledge of *Numbers*, and hence it came, that when afterward they diverted their studies to the knowledge of Nature, or Moral Philosophy; wheresoever they walked, they still feigned to themselves somewhat like unto *Numbers*; the *World* they supposed was framed out of *Numbers*; *Cities*, and *Kingdoms*, and *Common-wealths* they thought stood by *Numbers*; *Number* with them was *sole Principle* and *Creatour* of every thing. Beloved, when we come to learn the quality and state of *Christ's Kingdom*, it fares much with us as it does with *Tully's Musician*, or *Plato's Scholars*, *difficulus a principiis artis nostræ recedimus*; Hardly can we forsake those principles, in which we have been brought up. In the world we are born, in it we are bred, the world is the greatest part of our study, to the true knowledge of God and of Christ still we fancy unto us something of the world. It may seem but a light thing that I shall say, yet because it seems fitly to open my meaning, I will not refrain to speak it: *Lucian*, when *Priam's young son* was taken up  
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into heaven, brings him in calling for milk and cheese, and such countrey cates as he was wont to eat on earth. Beloved, when we first come to the Table of God, to heavenly *Manna* and *Angels* food, it is much with us as it was with *Priam's young son*, when he came first into Heaven, we cannot forget the milk and cheese, and the gross diet of the world. Our Saviour and his blessed Apostles had great and often experience of this error in men: When our Saviour preach'd to *Nicodemus* the doctrine of Regeneration, and new birth, how doth he still harp upon a gross conceit of a re-entry to be made into his mother's womb? When he preach'd unto the *Samaritan woman* concerning the water of life, how hardly is she driven from thinking of a material Elementary water, such as was in *Jacob's well*? When *Simon Magus* in the *Acts* saw, that by *laying on of hands* the Apostles gave the *Holy Ghost*, he offers them money to purchase himself the like power: He had been trafficking and merchandizing in the world, and saw what authority, what a Kingdom money had amongst men; he therefore presently conceited, *cælum venale Deumque*; that God, and Heaven, and All would be had for money. To teach therefore the young Courtier in the Court of Heaven, that he commit no such Solecisms, that hereafter he speak the true language and dialect of God, our Saviour sets down this as a principal rule in our Spiritual Grammar, That *his Court is not of this world*. Nay, Beloved, not onely the young Courtier, but many of the old servants in the Court of Christ are stain'd with this error: It is storied of *Leonides*, which was Schole-master to *Alexander the great*, that he infected his non-age with some vices, *quæ robustum quoque & jam maximum Regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt prosecuta*, which followed him then when he was at man's estate: Beloved, the world hath been a long time a Schole-master unto us, and hath stain'd our non-age with some of these spots which appear in us, even then when we are strong men in Christ. When our Saviour in the *Acts* after his Resurrection was discourfing to his Disciples concerning the Kingdom of God, they presently brake forth into this question, *Wilt thou now restore the Kingdom unto Israel*? Certainly this question betrays their ignorance, their thoughts still ran upon a Kingdom like unto the Kingdoms of the world, notwithstanding they had so long, and so often heard our Saviour to the contrary: Our Saviour there-

fore shortly takes them up; *Non est vestrum*, your question is nothing to the purpose; the Kingdom that I have spoken of is another manner of Kingdom then you conceive. Sixteen hundred years, *Et quod excurrit*, hath the Gospel been preached unto the world, and is this stain spunged out yet? I doubt it: Whence arise those novel and late disputes, *de notis Ecclesie*, of the notes and visibility of the Church. Is it not from hence they of Rome take the world and the Church to be like *Mercury* and *Sofia* in *Plautus* his Comedies, so like one another, that one of them must wear a toy in his cap, that so the spectators may distinguish them; whence comes it that they stand so much upon *State* and *Ceremony* in the Church? Is it not from hence, that they think the Church must come in like *Agrippa* and *Bernice* in the *Acts*, *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*, as St. *Luke* speaks, with a great deal of pomp, and train, and shew, and vanity; and that the service of God doth necessarily require this noise and tumult of outward *State* and *Ceremony*? Whence comes it, that we are at our wits ends, when we see persecution, and sword, and fire to rage against the true professors of the Gospel? Is it not because, as these bring ruine and desolation upon the Kingdoms of the world; so we suppose they work no other effect in the Kingdom of Christ? All these conceits, and many more of the like nature, spring out of no other fountain, then that old inveterate error, which is so hardly wiped out of our hearts; That the *State* of the Church, and Kingdom of Christ doth hold some proportion, some likeness with the *state* and managing of *temporal Kingdoms*: Wherefore to pluck out of our hearts, *Opinionem tam insitam, tam vetustam*, a conceit so ancient, so deeply rooted in us, our Saviour spake most excellently, most pertinently, and most fully, when he tells us, that his Church, that his Kingdom is not of this world.

In which words of his, there is contained the true art of discovering and knowing the true nature and essence of the Church: For as they which make *Statues*, cut and pare away all superfluities of the matter upon which they work; so our Saviour, to shew us the true proportion and feature of the Church, prunes away the world and all superfluous excrescencies, and sends her to be seen as he did our first Parents in Paradise, stark naked: As those *Elders* in the *Apocryphal* story of *Susanna*, when they would see her beauty, commanded to take off her mask: so he that longs to see the

the beauty of the Church, must pull off that mask of the world and outward shew. For as *Juda* in the Book of *Genesis*, when *Thamar* late veil'd by the way-side, knew not his daughter from an whore: so whilst the Church, the Daughter and Spouse of Christ, sits veil'd with the world, and pomp, and shew, it will be an hard matter to discern her from an harlot. But yet further, to make the difference betwixt these Kingdoms the more plainly to appear, and the better to fix it in your memories, I will briefly touch some of these heads in which they are most notoriously differenced.

The first head wherein the difference is seen, are the persons and subjects of this Kingdom; For as the Kingdom of Christ is not of this world, so the subjects of this Kingdom are men of another world, and not of this. Every one of us bears a double person, and accordingly is the subject of a double Kingdom: The holy Ghost by the Psalmist divides heaven and earth betwixt God and man, and tells us, as for God, *He is in heaven, but the earth hath he given to the children of men*: So hath the same Spirit by the Apostle *St. Paul*, divided every one of our persons into heaven and earth, into an outward and earthly man, and into an inward and heavenly man: This earth, that is, this body of clay hath he given to the sons of men, to the Princes under whose government we live; but heaven, that is, the inward and spiritual man, hath he reserved unto himself; They can restrain the outward man, and moderate our outward actions, by Edicts and Laws they can tie our hands and our tongues; — *Ille se jacet in aula Æolus*: Thus far they can go, and when they are gone thus far, they can go no farther: But to rule the inward man in our hearts and souls, to set up an Imperial throne in our understandings and wills, this part of our government belongs to God and to Christ: These are the subjects, this the government of his Kingdom; men may be Kings of Earth and Bodies, but Christ alone is the King of Spirits and Souls. Yet this inward government hath influence upon our outward actions; For the Authority of Kings over our outward man is not so absolute, but that it suffers a great restraint; it must stretch no farther then the Prince of our inward man pleases: for if Secular Princes stretch out the skirts of their Authority to command ought by which our souls are prejudiced, the King of Souls hath in this case given us a greater command, *That we rather obey God then men*.

The second head wherein the difference betwixt these Kingdoms is seen, is in their *Laws*; for as the Kingdoms and the Law-givers, so are their *Laws* very different: First, in their *Authours*. The *Laws* by which the Common-wealth of *Rome* was anciently govern'd, were the works of many hands, some of them were *Plebiscita*, the *acts of the people*; others were *Senatus consulta*, the *Decrees of the Senate*; others *Edicta Prætorum*, the *Verdict of their Judges*; others *Responsa Prudentum*, the *opinions of Wise-men* in cases of doubt; others *Rescripta Imperatorum*, the *Rescripts and Answers of their Emperours*, when they were consulted with: But in the Kingdom of *Christ* there are no *Plebiscita*, or *Senatus-consulta*, no *People*, no *Senate*, nor *Wise-men*, nor *Judges*, had any hand in the *Laws* by which it is governed; Onely *Rescripta Imperatoris*, the *Rescripts and Writs of our King* run here, these alone are the *Laws* to which the *Subjects of this Kingdom* owe obedience. Again, the *Laws* of both these Kingdoms differ in regard of their *quality and nature*; For the *Laws* of the Kingdom of *Christ* are *Eternal*, *Substantial*, *Indispensible*; but *Laws* made by *humane Authority* are but *light*, *superficial*, and *temporary*; For all the *humane Authority* in the world can never Enact one *eternal and fundamental Law*. Let all the *Laws* which men have made be laid together, and you shall see that they were made but upon occasion, and circumstance either of time, or place, or persons in matters of themselves indifferent, and therefore either by discontinuance they either fell or ceased of themselves, or by reason of alteration of occasion and circumstance were necessarily revoked: Those main fundamental *Laws* upon which all the Kingdoms of the world do stand, against theft, against murther, against adultery, dishonouring of Parents, or the like; they were never brought forth by man, neither were they the effects of any *Parliamentary Sessions*; they were written in our souls from the beginning, long before there was any *Authority Regal* extant among men: The intent of him who first Enacted them was not to found a temporal, but to bring men to an *eternal Kingdom*; and so far forth as they are used for the maintaining of outward state they are usurp'd, or at the best but borrowed: So that in this work of settling even the Kingdoms of this world, if we compare the *Laws of God* with the *Laws of men*, we shall find, that *God* hath, as it were, founded the *Palaces and Castles*, and strength of



of them; but men have, like little children built houses of clay and dirt, which every blast of wind over-turns.

The third head by which they may be seen, is in the notes and marks by which they may be known: For the Kingdoms of the world are confin'd, their place is known, their subjects are discernable, they have badges, and tokens, and Arms by which they are discovered: But the Church hath no such notes and marks, no Herald hath as yet been found that could blazon the Arms of that Kingdom. *Æsculus* the Poet in his *ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ θυβῶν*, describing the Captains that came either for the seige or defence of the City of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, brings them in, in their order every one with their sheild, and upon his sheild some device, and over that device a *Motto* or word, according to the usual fancies of men in that kind; but when he comes to *Amphiarus*, he notes of him, that he had no device in his sheild, no impress or word; and he gives the reason of it, Because he affected not shew, but to be that which others profest. But to carry marks, and notes, and devices, may well beseem the world which is led by fancy and shew; but the Church is like *Amphiarus*, she hath no device, no word in her sheild, mark and essence with her are all one, and she hath no other note but to Be: And, but that learned men must have something to busie their wits withall, these large discourses. *de notis Ecclesie*, of the notes and marks by which we may know the Church, might very well lie by, as containing nothing else but *doctas ineptias*, laborious vanities, and learned impertinences. For the Church is not a thing that can be pointed out: The Devil could shew our Saviour Christ all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them, I hope the Church was none of these; It is the glory of it not to be seen, and the note of it to be invisible; when we call any visible company of professors a Church, it is but a word of courtesie: out of charity we hope men to be that which they do profess, and therefore we so speak as if they were indeed that whose name they bear; where, and who they are that make up this Kingdom, is a question unfit for any man to move: for the Lord onely knoweth who are his. It is but *Popish madness* to send men up and down the world to find the Church; it is like unto the children of the Prophets, in the second of Kings, that would needs seek *Elias*, or like the Nobles in *Hierusalem*, that would needs go seek *Jeremie* the Prophet, but could not find him, because the Lord

Lord had hid him. For in regard of the *profession*, the *Church* (as our Saviour speaks) is like a *City* set upon an *hill*, you may quickly see, and know, what true *Christianity* is; but in regard of the *persons* the Kingdom of Heaven is, as our Saviour again tells us, like a *treasure hid* in a *field*: except the place of their abode and their persons were discernable, who can tell? we go thus to seek them, whether we do not like false hounds *hunt Counter* (as the Hunters phrase is) and so go from the game. When *Saul* went to seek his father's *Asses*, he found a Kingdom; let us take heed lest the contrary befall us, lest while we seek our Father's Kingdom thus, we find but *Asses*. Will you know where to find the Kingdom of Christ? our Saviour directs you in the Gospel, *The kingdom of heaven*, saith he, *cometh not by observation*, neither shall ye say, *Lo here, or, Lo there*; but *the kingdom of heaven is within you*: Let every man therefore retire into himself, and see if he can find this Kingdom in his heart; for if he find it not there, in vain shall he find it in all the world besides.

The fourth head wherein the difference of these Kingdoms is seen, is *outward State* and *ceremony*; for outward pomp and shew is one of the greatest stays of the Kingdom of this world: Some thing there must be to amaze the people, and strike them into wonderment, or else Majesty would quickly be contemned. The Scripture recounting unto us King *Solomon's* Royalty, tells us of his *magnificent Buildings*, of his *Royal Throne*, of his *servants*, and his *attendants*, of his *cup-bearers*, of his *meats*, and these were the things which purchased unto him the reputation of *Majesty*, above all the Kings of the earth. Beloved, the Kingdom of Christ is not like unto *Solomon in his Royalty*, it is like unto *David* when he had put off all his Royalty, and in a *linen Ephod*, danced before the Ark: and this plain and natural simplicity of it, is like unto the *Lilies of the field*, more glorious than *Solomon in all his royalty*. The Idolatrous superstitions of Paganism stood in great need of such pompous Solemnities, *Ut opinionem suspensio cognitionis edificent*; atque ita tantam majestatem exhibere videantur, *quantam prestruxerunt cupiditatem*, as *Tertullian* tells us; For being nothing of themselves, they were to gain reputation of being something by concealment, and by *outward state* make shew of something answerable to the expectation they had raised: The case of the Kingdoms of the world is the same; For all this

*State*

state and Magnificence used in the managing of them is nothing else but Secular Idolatry, used to gain veneration and reverence unto that, which in comparison of the Kingdom we speak of is mere vanity. But the Sceptre of the Kingdom of Christ is a right Sceptre, and to add unto it *outward state*, and *riches*, and *pomp*, is nothing else but to make a Centaure, marry and joyn the Kingdom of Christ with the Kingdom of the world, which Christ expressly here in my Text hath divorced and put asunder. A thing which I do the rather note, because that the long continuance of some *Ceremonies* in the *Church*, have occasioned many, especially of the Church of *Rome*, to think that there is no Religion, no Service without these Ceremonies. Our Books tell us of a poor *Spartan*, that travelling in another Countrey, and seeing the beams and posts of houses squared and carved, ask'd, *If the Trees grew so in those Countreys?* Beloved, many men that have been long acquainted with a *form of worship*, squared and carved, trick'd, and set out with *shew* and *ceremony*, fall upon this *Spartan's* conceit, think *the Trees grow so*, and think that there is no natural shape and face of God's service but that. I confess the service of God hath evermore some *Ceremony* attending it, and to our Fathers, before Christ, may seem to have been necessary, because God commanded it: But let us not deceive our selves, for neither is *Ceremony* now, neither was *Sacrifice* then esteemed necessary, neither was the command of God concerning it, by those to whom it was given, ever taken to be peremptory: I will begin the warrant of what I have said out of St. *Chrysostom*; for in his comments upon the x. to the *Hebrews*, he denies that ever God from the beginning requir'd, or that it was his will to ordain such an *outward form of Worship*; and asking therefore of himself, πῶς δὲ ἐπέταξε; how then seems he to have commanded it? he answers, συγκαταβαίνων by *condescending* onely, and submitting himself unto *humane infirmity*; now this συγκαταβασις, this *condescending* of God, wherein it consisted, *Oecumenius* opens; For because that men had a conceit, that it was convenient to offer up some part of their substance unto God, and so strongly were they possess'd with this conceit, that if they offered it not up to him, they would offer it up to Idols: God, saith he, rather than they should offer unto Idols, required them to offer unto him, And thus was God understood by the holy men themselves, who.

who lived under the shadow of those Ceremonies : for *David* when he had made his peace with God, after that great sin of his, opens this mystery ; *For thou requirest not sacrifice*, saith he, *else would I have given it thee ; but thou delightest not in burnt-offerings : The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a troubled and a contrite heart, O God, dost thou not despise.* After the revolt of *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes from the House of *David*, there were many devout and religious persons in *Israel*, and yet we find not that they used the outward form of Worship which was commanded. *Elias* and *Elizæus*, two great Prophets in *Israel*, did they ever go up to *Hierusalem* to worship ? *Obadiab*, a great Courtier in King *Abab's* Court, and one that feared the Lord exceedingly ; the seven thousands which bowed not their knees to *Baal*, when came they up to the Temple to offer ? a thing which doubtless they would have done, if they had understood the commandment of God in that behalf, to have been absolute indeed. If we live in places where true religious persons do resort, and assemble for the service of God, it were a sin to neglect it. But otherwise it is sufficient, if we keep us from the pollutions of that place to which we are restrain'd. *Quid juvat hoc nostros templis admittere mores ?* Why measure we God by our selves, and because we are led with gay shews, and goodly things, think it is so with God ? *Seneca* reports, that a *Panto-mimus*, a Poppet-player and Dancer in *Rome*, because he pleased the People well, was wont to go up every day into the *Capitol*, and practised his Art, and dance before *Jupiter*, and thought he did the god a great pleasure. Beloved, in many things we are like unto this Poppet-player, and do much measure God by the People, by the World.



# A S E R M O N

On 1 SAM. xxiv. 5.

*And it came to pass afterward, that David's heart smote him because he had cut off Saul's skirt.*



Temptation is the greatest occasioner of a  
 Christian's honour: indeed like an Enemy it threatens and endeavours his ruine; but in the conquest of it consist his Crown and Triumph. Were it possible for us to be at league and truce with this Enemy, or to be *ἐξω βέλος* without danger of Gun-shot, out of its reach; like the Candle in the Gospel, that is put under a bushel, the brightest part of our glory were quite obscured. As *Maximus Tyrius* spake of *Hercules*, if you take from him *τὰ θνητά, ἢ τὴν δυνάμιν*, the savage beasts that he slew, and the Tyrants whom he suppressed, his journeys and labours, *ὑποσημαίνοντες τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἡρακλέους*, you lop and cut off the manifest Arms and Limbs of *Hercules's* renown: So, take from a Christian his Temptations, his Persecutions, his  
Contentions,



Contentions, remove him from the Devil, from the World, *ἵνα ἐστῇ ἐκείνου τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ*, you deprive him of the cheif matter and subject of his glory. Take Job from the Dunghil; David from Saul; Daniel from the Lions; the blessed Martyrs from the Rack, from the Fire, from the sword; and what are they more then other men?—As Sampson tells Dalilah in the Book of the Judges, *If my hair be cut, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and like unto another man*; so, Beloved, these things are, as it were, the hair wherein their strength lay, shave that away, and they shall presently become weak, and like unto other men. But Temptations are of two sorts, some are like profess'd and open Enemies, which proclaim open War against us, like Goliath, they publickly come forth and challenge us; And such are the outward Evils that befall us, *Loss of Goods, Sickness, Disease, Dishonour, Infamy, Persecutions*, and the like: Others there are of a more secret, close, and retired nature, like unto Traitors, that bear the behaviour and countenance of freinds; that espie out their advantage, and set privily upon us; the most troublesome kind of Enemies, *per quos nec licet esse tanquam in bello paratos, nec tanquam in pace securos*; with whom we can have neither peace nor war, and against whom we can neither be provided, nor secure; these are our own corrupt Thoughts and Imaginations, which secretly lie in our hearts, and watch their times to set on us, as the Philistines did in Dalilah's chamber to surprize Sampson. For let a man but descend into himself, examine his own soul, take as it were an inventory of the passions, affections, thoughts of his own heart, look but what the number of them is, and let him make account of so many enemies; *Tot venena, quot ingenia; tot perniciēs quod & species, tot dolores, quot colores*; as Tertullian rimes it. A sort of enemies by so much the more dangerous, because that all those outward enemies, of which I but now spake, cannot come so near as to rase our skin, or endanger one hair of our head, if these give them not way: from these, *ut aspis a vipera venenum*, as the Asp borrows poison from the Viper, do those other Temptations borrow all their power and strength to hurt us. For let us take a survey of all the outward afflictions, miseries and calamities, which have befallen all the Saints of God in holy Scripture, and let us suppose them to be all set and bent against some one alone, yet notwithstanding, as the three children

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in *Daniel* walk'd in the midst of the fire untouch'd, or as our Saviour *Christ* pass'd away through the midst of the people, that were gathered together to mischeif him, and throw him down the hill; so shall he be able to pass from them all without any hurt or harm, if some discontented, or distrustful, or despairing, or proud, or angry, or impure and lustful thought do not betray him unto them, and as it were open a door, and let them in. *David* who is here the subject of my Text, had very much ado with both sorts of enemies, and by his own experience found, that this latter rank of secret and privie enemies, in strength far surpassed the former. For whom neither the *Lion*, nor the *Bear*, nor *Goliath*, nor *saul*, nor the *Philistines* could ever fasten upon, or drive to any inconvenience, one lustful thought forced to *Adultery* and *Murder*, one proud conceit stirred up to number the people, and drew from God great inconveniences and plagues both upon himself and his Kingdom. How careful then ought we to be, and to stand on our guard, and keep a perpetual watch over our hearts, diligently to try and examine our thoughts? *Nunquam securus triumphatur otio, sed tantum sollicito premuntur imperio. St. August.* Nor while we live shall we be able perfectly to master, or securely to triumph over them: the onely way to suppress and keep them down, is, to have a perpetual and careful jealousy of them. Now of this Religious care and watchfulness over our own thoughts, hath the holy Ghost recorded for our use a notable example in these words, which but now I read, *And it came to pass, &c.*

To relate unto you at large the occasion of these words, and the story from whence they depend, were but to wrong you; for I cannot think so meanly of your knowledge in Scripture, as that any of you can be ignorant of so famous a passage. Yet thus much for the better opening of my way unto such Doctrines, as I shall draw from this Text, I will call back unto your memories, that *saul* hunting after *David* to kill him, unwittingly stept into a Cave where *David* was; *David* having now his enemy in his hand, and opportunity to revenge himself, lets slip all thought of revenging, and onely cuts off privily the lap of his garment. For this deed, so harmless, so innocent, the Scripture tells us that his heart smote him, that he suffered great anguish and remorse in conscience for it. That which I will require you to note, is

the tenderness of conscience, and strange scrupulousness in *David* for so small an action; for it will yeild us a great Lesson. I say it appeareth not by Scripture, that *David* intended any mischief or treason to *saul*, or that he harbour'd in heart any disloyal thought against him. This purpose of cutting off the lap of *saul's* garment, was no other then to purchase to himself a harmless and honourable testimony of his innocency, and to prove unto *saul*, that there was no likelihood that he sought his blood, whom he spared, having him at so great an advantage. Yet notwithstanding, as if the rending of *saul's* garment, had been the wounding of *saul's* body, or the shedding of his blood, *David* stands amazed, and is affrighted at so honourable, so innocent a thought. *His heart smote him*, saith the Scripture. As men that have been at Sea, and indanger'd through the raging of winds, and tempests, and flouds, when afterward the weather is cleared up, the winds allayed, the sea smoothed, and all calm, yet scarcely dare they set sail again, and trust to so uncertain, so fickle an Element: so seems it to have fared with *David* in this place; he was a man subject to the same passions with other men, and doubtless, through the raging of unruly and disorderly affections, he had many times been in danger of spiritual shipwrack; wherefore, *licet in morem stagni fusum æquor arideat*, and though now he could discover no tempest in his heart, though the face of his thoughts were as smooth as glass; yet when he looks upon such fair and calm affections, his heart misgives him, and he dares not trust them *magnos hic campus montes habet, tranquillitas ista tempestas est*; The care he hath over his own heart fills him with suspicions, and still he thinks, something he knows not what, may be amiss. But I must come unto the words. *And it came to pass afterward, &c.*

In these words we will consider these three things.

1. The Person, *David*, And *David's heart smote him*.
2. *David's* Sollicitousness, his care and jealousy, very significantly expressed in the next words, *his heart smote him*.
3. The cause of this his care and anxiety of mind, in the last words, *because he had cut off Saul's skirt*.

In the first point, that is, in the Person, we may consider his greatness, he was a King in expectation, and already Anointed. A circumstance by so much the more considerable, because that  
greatness

greatness is commonly taken to be a privilege to sin: to be over careful and conscientious of our courses and actions, are accounted virtues for private persons, Kings have greater businesses then to examine every thought that comes into their hearts. *Pater meus obliviscitur se esse Caesarem; ego vero memini me Caesaris filiam;* It is the answer of Julia, Augustus the Emperour's daughter, when she was taxed for her too wanton and licentious living, and counsel'd to conform her self to the sobriety and gravity of her father; *My father, saith she, forgets himself to be Caesar the Emperour: but I remember my self to be Caesar's daughter.* It was the speech of Ennius the Poet, *Plebs in hoc Regi ante-stat loco; licet lacrimari plebi, Regi honeste non licet:* Private men in this have a privilege above Princes; but thus to do becomes not Princes: and if at any time these sad and heavy-hearted thoughts do surprize them, they shall never want comforters to dispel them. When Abab was for sullenness fallen down upon his bed, because Naboth would not yeild him his Vineyard, Jezebel is presently at hand and asks him, *Art thou this day King of Israel?* When Ammon pined away in the incestuous love of his sister Thamar, Jonadab his companion comes unto him, and asks, *Why is the King's son sad every day?* so that, as it seems, great Persons can never be much or long sad. Yet David forgets his greatness, forgets his many occasions, gives no ear to his companions about him, but gives himself over to a scrupulous and serious consideration of an Action in shew and countenance but light.

Secondly, As the Person is great, so is the care and remorse conceived upon the consideration of his action exceeding great, which is our Second part: And therefore the holy Ghost expresses it in very significant terms: *His heart smote him;* a phrase in Scripture used by the holy Ghost, when men begin to be sensible, and repent them of some sin. When David had committed that great sin of *numbring the people*, and began to be apprehensive of it, the Scripture tells us, that *David's heart smote him*, when he had commanded Joab to *number the people*. Wherefore by this *smiting* we may not here understand some light touch of conscience, like a grain of powder, presently kindled, and presently gone; for the most hard and flinty hearts many times yeilds such sparks as these. He that is most flesh'd in sin, commits it not without some remorse; for sin evermore leaves some scruple, some sting, some loath-

loathsomeness in the hearts of those that are most inamour'd of it. But as *Simeon* tells the *Blessed Virgin* in *St. Luke's Gospel*, *Gladus pertransibit animam tuam*, A sword shall pierce through thine heart; so it seems to have been with *David*. It was not some light touch to raise onely the surface and skin of the heart, but like a sword it pierced deep into him: To teach us one lesson, That actions spotted, though but with the least suspicion of sin, ought not carelessly to be pass'd by, or slightly glanced at, but we ought to be deeply apprehensive of them, and bestow greatest care and consideration upon them.

The third part of our Text containeth the cause of *David's* remorse, in the last words, *because he cut off Saul's skirt*: In the two former parts we had to do with greatness: there was 1. a great Person, and 2. great Remorse; can we in this third part find out any great cause or reason of this, so to make all parts proportionable? Certainly he that shall attentively read and weigh these first words of my Text, and know the story, might think that *David* had committed some notable error, as some great oppression, or some cruel slaughter, or some such Royal sin, which none but Kings and great men can commit. But, Beloved, this my Text seems to be like the *Windows* in *Solomon's Temple*, broad within, but narrow without: or like a *Pyramide*, large and spacious at the Basis and ground of it, but small and sharp at the top. The Person and Remorse, which are the ground and subject of my Text, both are great and large; but the Cause, which is the very crown and top of all, that is very small, yea peradventure none at all. For whether it be that my self, accustomed to greater sins, and now grown old in them, have lost all sense of small and petty errors, or whether indeed there be no error at all in this action of *David*, but onely some fancy, some jealousy arising out of that godly and careful watch he kept over all his ways; or whatsoever else it was that caused this scruple or remorse in *David*, it is a very hard matter to discover, and yet notwithstanding, that we may make more open pass unto such Doctrines as I shall raise out of these words, let us a little scan and consider what it was in this action that made *David* thus strangely scrupulous.

And first of all, was it for that he had touch'd and taken that which was none of his own, and therefore might seem to fall within compass of the Law against injury and purloining? This seems



seems not probable: for when afterward in the like case he came upon *Saul* as he was sleeping in the Camp, and took from him the Spear and the pot of water which stood at his head, we do not read that his head, that his heart smote him, and yet he took what was none of his.

Or 2<sup>ly</sup>. was it that he did wrong and dishonour *Saul* in mangling his garment? Indeed the *Jews* have a Tradition, that this was the sin of which *David* was here so sensible. And therefore say they, whereas we read in the first of *Kings*, that when *David* grew old, they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat, this was the punishment of his sin committed against *Saul*: God so providing, that garments should not be serviceable to him, who had offended in wronging *Saul's* garments. But this I must let go as a fable.

Or 3<sup>ly</sup>. was it that he had unadvisedly given way to some disloyal thought, and at first resolved to revenge himself on *Saul*, having him at the advantage, though afterward he repented? Indeed *St. Chrysostom* thinks so; and therefore on those words at the latter end of the verse next before my Text, *And David arose*, he notes; εἰς τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς ὀργῆς ὁ χαλεπὸν See you not, saith he, what a tempest of rage and anger begins to rise in him; for he supposeth him to arise in heat and fury, with a resolution for blood: but it pleased God in the way to make him relent, and change the purpose of revenge into the action of cutting off his skirt: and that this smiting of *David's* heart was nothing else, but his repenting himself for giving over-hasty entertainment to such a rebellious thought. But, Beloved, who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? *David's* thoughts were onely known to God and himself. Since therefore God gives not this as a reason of *David's* remorse, but another thing; far be it from me, that I should wrong *David* so far, as to burden him with that, with which none but God can charge him. I rather chuse to follow *St. Basil's* rule, τοῦτο οἷς γέγραπται, let the Scriptures be understood as they lie. The Scripture tells us, *David's* heart smote him, because he cut off the skirt of *Saul's* garment, and not because he had conceived against *Saul* any thought of blood. But what cause then shall we give of *David's* remorse, none other, Beloved, but that religious and careful jealousy which still he had over his own thoughts, which made him pietatis affectu etiam quæ tuta sunt formidare, Hier.

To

To suspect all things be they never so safe, and never to think himself secure from the contagion of sin. It was with *David*, as it was wont to be with men that are often troubled with sicknesses and diseases, *Suspicionibus inquietantur, medicisque jam sanis manum porrigunt, & omnem calorem corporis sui calumniantur.* Senec. Disquiet themselves with every little alteration in their bodies, repair to the *Physician* when they are well, and think every heat to be an *Ague-fit*: *Horum corpus non est parum sanum, sed sanitati parum assuevit*: these men are not sick; but they do not know what it is to be in health. In the same state is *David*, he had been often infected with spiritual weakness and disease, and therefore he suspects every motion of his heart, and takes every thought to be a temptation: *Hujus animus non erat parum sanus, sed sanitati parum assuevit*; His soul was not sick of any sin, but he did not know what it was to be in spiritual health.

For us and for our use hath the *holy Ghost* registred this example of scruple and tenderness of conscience. Let us return to our selves and see what lessons we may learn hence for our behoof. Men usually are either grown old in sin, and therefore their eye-sight is decayed, they cannot easily see and discern smaller sins: or else as *Hagar* in the Book of *Genesis*, laid *Ismael* afar off from her, that she might not be greiv'd with the sight of him: so we labour to lay our sins far out of kenn, that the memory and sight of them might not exasperate and trouble us. For the cure of both these infirmities, I have borrowed out of the Lord's treasury a Spectacle of *Optick Glass*, which if we use it, will restore our decayed eye-sight, and quicken and make us read our sins in the smallest print; and let them lie never so far from us, yet will it present them unto us in their true quantity and greatness. Towards the better use of which spiritual Glass, one lesson would I especially commend unto you; To be perpetually jealous and suspicious of your thoughts, and to be quick-scented, easily to trace the footing of sin, to be easily sensible of it, when we think our selves to have done amiss: a lesson naturally arising, as I take it, out of *David's* example, commended unto us in this place. Now how absolutely behooveful it is for us to hold a perpetual Watch over our hearts, and be jealous of such thoughts as spring out of them, it will appear by these reasons.

First, because that sin is of such a sly insinuating nature, that it will

will privily creep in, and closely cleave to our thoughts and intents, though we perceive it not. For as waters, though of themselves most pure, will relish and savour of the earth and soil through which they pass: so thoughts in themselves good, passing through the corrupt and evil ground of our hearts, cannot receive some tincture, some dye, some relish from them. When *David* had an intent to build *God* an house, he doubtless conceived no otherwise of this his intent, then of a religious and honourable purpose, and in outward appearance there was no cause, why he should doubt of *God's* acceptance: yet we see this purpose of his disliked by *God*, and rejected, and the reason given, *quia vir sanguinum es tu, because thou art a man of blood*. How shall we then secure our selves of any thought, if such an intent as this, so favouring of zeal, of sanctification, of love unto the glory of *God*, have such a flaw in it as makes it unprofitable? and how necessary is it, that we bring all our imaginations and intents to the fire and to the refining pot, so thoroughly to try them, and bring them to their highest point of purity and perfection? Be it peradventure, that the action be in it self good; if it be liable to any suspicion of evil, it is enough to blast it. It is the *holy Ghost's* rule given by the blessed *Apostle*, that we abstain from all shew and appearance of evil, that we refrain as much as possible from all such actions, as are capable of misconstruction. What is more lawful, then for the labourer to have his hire? then for those that labour in the *Gospel*, to live by the *Gospel*? Yet we see *St. Paul* refused this liberty, and chose rather to work with his own hands; onely for this reason, because he would not give occasion to any, that would misinterpret his action, to live at others cost, and feed on the sweat of others brows. What befalls *Princes* many times, and great *Persons* that have abused their Authority, the people rise and suppress them, deface their Statues, forbid their Coin, put away all things that bear any memory of them: So seems our blessed *Apostle* to deal here: look what actions they be which bear any inscription, any image and title, any shew or spot of sin, these hath he thought good even to banish and quite prohibit. Our prophane Stories tell us, that when *Julius Caesar* had divorc'd his wife; being ask'd why he did so, since nothing was brought against her to prove her dishonest, his answer was, that *she that will be wife of Caesar, must not onely be free from dishonesty, but from all suspicion of it*:

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Beloved,

Beloved, St. Paul tells the *Corinthians*, that *he had espoused them unto one husband, that he might deliver them as a chaste Virgin unto Christ*; and God every where in Scripture compares his Church unto an *espoused Wife*, and himself unto an *Husband*, a Husband far more jealous then ever *Cæsar* was: How careful then must that Soul be, that intends to marry it self to such a jealous Husband, to abstain notonely from all pollution of sin, but from all suspicion of it? Last of all, it is *Tertullian's* speech, *Quantofacilius illicita timebit, qui etiam licita verebitur*; It is wisdom sometimes to suspect and shun things that are lawful: For there are many actions in themselves good, which yet to many men become occasions of sin and scandal: For it is with our actions, as it is with our meats and drinks; As divers meats fit not to divers constitutions of body, so all actions accord not well with all tempers of mind: As therefore what dish it is we easily surfeit of, though it be otherwise good, it is wisdom totally to abstain from; so look what actions they be in which we find our selves prone to sin, it is good spiritual *Physick* to use abstinence, and quite to leave them. For if our *Saviour* commands us to *pluck out our eyes, and pare off our hands*, if once they become unto us cause of sin, how much more then must we prune away all inward thoughts, all outward circumstances, which become occasion of offence unto us?

A second reason, why I would perswade you to entertain a jealousy of all your thoughts and actions, is a natural *over-charitable affection*, which I see to be in most men *unto their own ways*; and which is strange, the *worse* they are, the more are we naturally inclined to favour them: The reason is, because the *worse* they are, the *more* they are our *own*. When question was sometime made, *Why good herbs grow so sparingly, and with great labour and pains, whereas weeds grow apace without any culture and tilling?* it was answered, That the earth was a *natural Mother* to the one, to the other she was a *step-mother*; the one she brought forth of her self, to the other she was constrain'd. Beloved it is with our hearts as it is with the *Earth*, the natural fruit of them is weeds and evil thoughts, unto them our hearts are as mothers, *injuncta virescunt*, they spring up in us of themselves, without any care or manuring: but as for good thoughts, if they be found in our hearts, they are not natural, they are set there by a high hand, they are there by a kind of spiritual in-oculation and grafting, as men graff *Apples* and

and kind fruits upon Thorns and Crabs: No marvel then, if like choice herbs and fruits they grow so tenderly, and need so much care and cherishing. As therefore *Parents*, though their own children be very deformed, yet love them more than others, though more beautiful: so corrupt and evil thoughts are naturally dearer unto us than good, because we are as Mothers unto them, to the rest we are but Step-dames. Two notable fruits there are of this *over-charitableness* to our own actions. First, a *willingness* that we have to *flatter*, to deceive and abuse our own selves by *pretences* and *excuses*. There is a plain, a downright, and as it were a *Countrey reprobate*, one that sees his sin, and cares not much to excuse it, and is content to go on, and as it were in simplicity to cast himself away: There is a more witty, more refined, and as it were a *Gentleman-like reprobate*, one that strives to smooth and gild over his sin, to deceive others and himself with excuses and apologies; *κατὰ πλείονος τέχνης, ἢ παρασκευῆς, ἢ πειραστικαίας δουλεύει*, as St. Basil speaks, to take great pains, and with the expense of a great deal of wit and art to damn himself. When *Saul*, being sent against *Amalek*, had spared *Agag* and the *best and fattest* of the prey, at *Samuel's* coming to visit him, how doth he wipe his mouth, as if all had been well, and trimly composes himself to entertain him, *Blessed art thou of the Lord, I have performed the commandment of the Lord?* And when *Samuel* had shewed him his error, how quickly hath he his excuse at his fingers ends, *We have spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen to sacrifice unto the Lord?* *Et Deo adulatur & sibi lenocinatur*, as *Tertullian* speaks, he thinks to gull Almighty God with fair and flattering pretences, and becomes a baud to his own vice; *nimum idem omnes fallimur*, it is the common error of us all, and in most of our actions we do as *Saul* did, endeavour to put tricks upon our selves: Beloved, were we not partial, but rigid censurers of our own thoughts, this corrupt fruit would quickly rot and fall away. Again, there is a second fruit springing out of this favour and dotage in our own actions, an error as common, though not so dangerous, for we are content many times to acknowledge that something is amiss in our actions, we will confess them to be sins, but we account of them as *little sins*, sins of a lesser size, not so fearful, *easily pardonable*. There is a sinner, who by committing some great and heinous crime (*crimen devoratorium salutis*, as *Tertullian* calls it, such



a sin as with open mouth devours salvation) doth as it were with one step leap into hell, and of this kind of sinners the number is fewer: But abundance there are, who avoiding great and heinous sins, by committing *lesser sins*, as they think, can be content to go by degrees, and as it were step by step into hell. Beloved, let us a little put on the spectacle I but now spake of, that we may see whither any sin be so small, as we take it: I know there is difference of sins; our Saviour tells us, that there is a beam, and there is a mote: but withall this I know, that the best way to keep us from sin, is *minima pro maximis cavere*, to loath even the least, as if it were the greatest; if we look through this glass, it will make us think every mote a beam. Sins in themselves are unequal, but in regard of us, and of our endeavour to avoid them, they are all equal. *Fly from evil*, saith the *Psalmist*; he tells us not, that there is one greater evil from which we must fly, and another less, from which 'tis enough if we do but go: but he bids us fly, and to make haste alike from all. To think that a sin is less then it is, may be dangerous, for it makes us the less careful to avoid it: but to mistake on the other hand, and think a sin greater then it is, this is a very profitable error. *Utinam sic semper erraremus*; would God we did always thus erre; for besides that there is no danger in it, it makes us more fearful to commit sin. Our Saviour reprehends the Pharisees in the Gospel, because they could strain at gnats, but swallow camels; but yet it is true, that men learn at length to swallow camels, by swallowing gnats at first: *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, no sinner so hardy, as to set upon the greatest sins at first. The way by which men train up themselves to the committing gross and heinous sins, is by not being at first consciencious of lesser sins, *Et sane nescio*, saith *Paulinus* in *St. Hierom*, *an possimus leve aliquod peccatum dicere quod in Dei contemptum admittitur*: who dares call any sin little, that is committed against God? Small contempts against great Princes are accounted great oversights; for what is wanting in the thing, is made up in the worth of the person. How great a sin then is the smallest contempt that is done against God? *Prudentissimus ille est, qui non tam considerat quid iustum sit, quam illum, qui iusserit; nec quantitatem imperii, sed imperantis cogitat dignitatem*. It is the best wisdom for us, not so much to consider, what is commanded, as who it is that commandeth it, to consider, I say, not the smallness

smallness of the Law, but the greatness of the Law-giver. Sins comparatively may be counted greater or lesser, but absolutely none can be counted small. To conclude then this point, *Charity suspecteth no harm*, saith St. Paul: true, but we must note, that some virtues in us concern our selves, as *Faith, Hope, Temperance*, and the like: some virtues concern not our selves, but others; but such an one is *Charity*. Charity that wills Christians to think well of all others, can have little room upon our selves: Let us then make use of this Charity towards our Neighbours; hope the best of all their actions; but let us take heed how we be over-charitably minded to our selves. *Cæsar* profess'd, that he would rather die, then suspect his freinds; and he sped accordingly; for he died by the treachery of those freinds whom he suspected not. Let us take heed how we be over-kind unto our own thoughts, how we think it an errour to be too suspicious of them: *ἐν τῷ* *τέλει*; peradventure those sons of our own hearts, whom we least suspect, will in the end prove those who shall betray us. But I come to a third reason. A third reason why I shall advise you to this jealousie over your own thoughts, is the difficulty of discovering them betime, and discerning of what spirit they are. For our heart is like that feild in the Gospel, in which the *Husbandman sows good corn, and the enemy sows tares*. God infuseth good thoughts, and the Devil ill. Now as weeds many times at their first budding are hardly known from good herbs; so at the first springing and budding of our thoughts, a hard matter it is to know the weed from the good herb, the corn from the tare. As *Judab* in the Book of *Genesis*, knew not *Tamar*, till the fruit of his sin committed with her began to shew it self: so till the fruits of our thoughts and purposes begin to appear, except we search very narrowly, we can scarcely discover of what rank they are. *Tunc ferrum quod latebat in fundo supernatabat aquæ, & inter palmarum arbores myrrhe amaritudo reperta est*; Then the iron that lay in the bottom, will swim at the top of the water, and among the pleasant *Palm-trees*, will be found the bitterness of *Myrrh*. We read in the second of *Samuel*, that when the Ark was brought from *Kirjath-jearim*, the oxen that drew the cart shook it, and *Uzzab* reaching out his hand to save it from falling, for his good service was laid dead in the place. Doubtless *Uzzab* his accompanying the Ark was a sign of his love unto it; his love unto it

begat

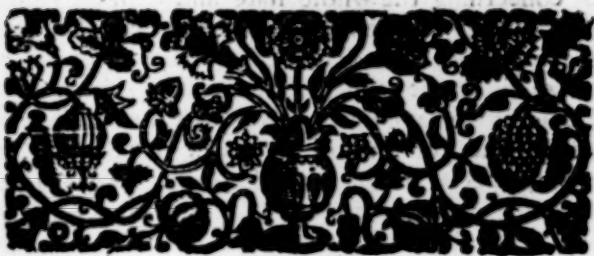
begat in him a fear to see it in danger; his fear to see it in danger, bred in him a desire to keep it from danger. See, Beloved, what a number of *golden thoughts* are here; yet as we read in the Book of Job, when the *servants of God came and stood before him, Satan also came and stood amongst them*; So in this *chorus* and quire of these Angelical thoughts, the devil finds a place to rest himself in: For this desire of *Uzzah* to save the Ark from danger, made him forget what was written, *that none should touch the Ark, save only the Priests*: the breach of which precept brought that fearful judgment upon him. You see, Beloved, that though the course of our thoughts be like *Jacob's Ladder*, and God himself be at one end of them, yet Satan, if he can, will be at the other. Let us learn by this example of *Uzzah*, betimes to discover our thoughts, and not to suffer them to grow till their fruit betray them. Indeed our *Saviour* hath given us a rule, *You shall know them by their fruits*; but we must take heed that we extend not this rule too far: *Uzzah* felt the fruit of his thoughts to his own cost. It is never good trying conclusions there, *Ubi pena statim sequitur errorem*. Let us learn to decipher our thoughts then, when we may do it without danger, whilst they are in *semine*, whilst they are yet but budding and peeping above ground, *Donec Sarculo tantum opus est, non Securi*; whilst yet there is only need of the Weed-hook, and not of the Hatchet.

A fourth reason yet there is, for which I would counsel you to hold a strict hand over your thoughts, and it is, Because that from outward sins we can better preserve our selves, then from our sins in thought. Beloved, there is a *transient* sin, and there is an *imminent* sin; there is a sin that is outwardly acted by the service of the body, there is a sin that requires not the help of the body, but is committed inwardly in the very thought and soul, a speculative or an intellectual sin. Outward sins are many ways pass'd by, means may be wanting, company may hinder, time and place may be inconvenient; but for speculative sins, or sins in thought, all times, all occasions, all places are alike: *ὅτι τῷ τῆς τῶν σοβαρῶν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, saith St. Basil*: A man, saith he, of great gravity and countenance sits in the midst of the marketplace, with many hundreds about him, and looking upon him, yet notwithstanding this man, *ἐνδραμε τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας τύπον, καὶ ἐνδὲ τῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ σκεδαζόμενα, even this man*

man in the mid'st of all the company fancies to himself what he desires, and in his imaginations goes unto the place of sin, or rather retires into his own heart, and there he finds place and means to commit ἀμαρτυροῦσιν ἀμαρτίαν, a sin that hath no witness but God. If we retire to our *private chambers*, these sins will follow us thither, and as *Baanah* and *Rishab* did by *Ishobeth* Saul's son, they will find us out upon our beds, and slay us there. If we go to the *Church*, they will find us out there, and as *Adramelech* and *Sharezer* slew *Sennacherib*, whilst he was worshipping his god; they will set upon us even in the midst of our holiest meditations and prayers: neither Chamber nor Church, no place so private, none so holy, that can give us Sanctuary, or shelter us from them. St. Hierom confesses thus much of himself, that when he had forsaken the world, all outward occasions of sin, and gone into the Desert, and shut himself up in a poor Cell, and macerated his body, νημνασίαις, κληνεργασίαις, with watchings, with fastings, and perpetual prayers and religious exercise, yet could he not be secure from them: *Pallebant ora jejuniis, & mens desideriiis astuabat in frigido corpore*; his body was now grown pale, and meagre, and cold, but yet his heart burnt with unlawful desires. Again, they are sins of quick and easie dispatch, they are done ἀχρεΐως, ἀκόπως, ἀπραγματεύτως, as St. Basil notes; in a moment of time, without labour of body, without care of mind: One wanton look makes us guilty of Adultery, one angry conceit guilty of Murder, one covetous conceit guilty of Robbery. Whatsoever is outwardly committed, either with difficulty of circumstance, or labour of body, or danger of Law, that is inwardly committed in the soul without any trouble at all. Thirdly, consider but the strength of your thoughts, and you will see there is great reason to keep them low; for there was no man yet that ever was foil'd but by them, and not by the outward acting of sin. For the outward action is but the *Cortex*, the bark of the sin; but the very body and substance of sin is the wicked thought. *Beware of men*, saith our Saviour, when he gave his Apostles counsel how to provide for their safety in times of outward danger: but if you will provide against inward dangers, we shall not need to beware of men, or of any outward force whatsoever. Let every man beware of himself, for in this case, every man is his own greatest enemy. To draw then to a conclusion: That sins of thoughts

thoughts prevail not against us, our way is by a jealous care first to prevent them; and to this hath the greatest part of my discourse hitherto tended. Secondly, if we have suffered them to gain a little ground upon us, let us betimes take the reins into our own hands. and pull them back again, and cast out our Adversary whilst he is yet weak. *Τοιαῦται γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων αἱ ψυχαί, πρὶν ἔπεσον αἰετῶσαι*, saith St. *Chrysostom*, such are the souls of holy men: their recovery is so quick, that they may seem to have risen before they fell. It is a great sign of spiritual life in us, to be quickly sensible of the first track and footing of sin. For as bodies of the best and purest complexion have their senses quickest, so that soul which soonest perceives the first scent of sin, is of the divinest temper. Our Books tell us, that *Dionysius* the Tyrant was grown so gross and fat, that though men thrust bodkins into him, he could not feel it. Beloved, there is a sinner like unto this *Dionysius*; *David* tells us of him, when he describes unto us a sinner whose heart is fat as brawn. That we fall not therefore into that like *ἀταλγηστὰς*, stupidity and senselessness, our way is to catch those young Foxes, and strangle them in the nest: *Nolo sinas cogitationem crescere*, saith St. *Hierom*, suffer not your thoughts to increase and gather strength upon you. For as the man that touches onely at hot iron, and stays not on it, burns not his hand, so the first glances of evil thoughts harm us not; the harm is, if by consent, though never so little, you stay upon them. To be free from all on-set of evil thoughts is a matter impossible, whilst we have these hearts of flesh: *Ille laudatur qui ut cœperit cogitare sordida, statim interficit cogitata, & afflidit ad petram, petra autem est Christus*. That man is praise-worthy, who as soon as any unclean thought, any child of *Babylon* is born in his heart, straightway strangles it in the birth, and dashes it against the rock, which Rock is Christ. Thus, &c,





A  
S E R M O N

On JOHN xiv. 27.

*Peace I leave unto you: My peace I give unto you.*



His portion of Scripture (Beloved) contains a *Legacy*, which our Saviour gave to his Apostles, and in them to all that are his, when he was about to take his leave of the world. The less shall I need seriously to commend it to your considerations, or to take much pains in wooing your attention. The words of *dying men*, though neither the speeches or the persons concern us at all, yet they usually move us much, we hear them with a kind of Religion, and we suffer them to take impression in us. With what affection then would this speech deserve to be heard, delivered by a *Person*, the *worthiest* among the sons of women, and concerning you near, yea, very near, as near as your own souls concern ye, as being the *Saviour* of them, and now breathing his last, and spending the little remainder of his breath in gracious promises and

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comforts,

comforts, concerning the whole state and weal of your souls? And yet to raise your attention a little higher: Such things as we are made *present possessors* of, though they be of meaner value, we prize higher than things of better worth, if we live onely in *expectation*, if we have onely a *promise* of them. Now this *last* most excellent and comfortable *Sermon* of our Saviour, though in it are many special arguments of his *Love*, many *Gifts* and *Legacies* bestowed on his *Church*; yet were they almost all assured unto his *Disciples*, but by way of *Promise*: onely this everlasting gift of *Peace*, of which alone they are made the *present possessors*, that as at his *coming into the world*, he brought *Peace* with him; for at his *Birth* there was *peace* throughout the whole world: so now at his *departure* he might leave *peace* again unto the world, though after another manner.

And this order of disposition seems to be observed, not without peculiar reason. It seems that all other  *blessings*  the Apostles might be *without*; yea, that Grand and Mother blessing, the miraculous coming of the *Comforter*, they did for a time *expect*; but this *blessing of peace*, they might not, they could not want. It is transcendent to all other blessings, and reciprocal with a Christian man; it flowes essentially from the very substantial Principles of our profession. *Seneca*, that saw something, as it were, in a dream concerning a wise man, could tell us, *Securitas proprium bonum sapientis*; Inward and solid *peace* is a good appropriated to a *wise man*: We that know Christianity alone to be truly wisdom, know likewise, that once a *true Christian*, then truly *peaceful*, and no true peace but in the true Christian. Yea, it hath pleased God to characterize himself, his Kingdom, and his Servants, by this term of *peace*, as by a stamp and seal to be known by. He styles himself the *King and Father of peace*; his Kingdom, the *Kingdom of peace*; his Servants, the *Sons of peace*; the fruits of his Kingdom, *love and peace*, and *joy in the holy Ghost*. The Church therefore anciently, that by this, as by a badge, she might be known whom she served, every where throughout the publick Form of Divine Service, interlaced this comfortable manner of salutation, *Peace be with you all*. 'Ομις ἀνελθὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Περ-  
τεως, saith St. Chrysostom, When the Bishop came into the Church or Temple, he came like Noah's Dove into the Ark, with an Olive branch of *peace* in his mouth, and his first words were, *Peace be with*

you all; ἵνα ὁμιλῶ, when he began his Sermon, his Proem was, Peace be with you all; ὅπως ἑυλογῶ when he blest the people, his blessing was the blessing of peace, Peace be with you all; ὅπως ἡ θυνία τὰς δὴ, &c. When the greatest Sacrifice of Christ was represented at the Lord's Altar, he went to celebrate the memory of it with the self same *Incense*, with which our Saviour himself here goes about to perform it, Peace be with all, καὶ μετὰ ἅπαντας, χάρις καὶ εὐφροσύνη and ever and anon is inserted, Grace be with you, and peace. Neither was the voice of the Church onely the voice of Jacob, a soft and still voice, and her actions like unto the hands of Esau, rough, implacable, and indisposed to peace; but in all her oppositions she shewed a sweet and peaceable behaviour. *Misericorditer si fieri posset, etiam bella gererentur à bonis*, saith St. Austin, Good men, as far as it is possible, even wage war mercifully. And St. Hierom observes, that the children of Israel went to fight with peaceable hearts; *Inter ipsos quoque gladios & effusiones sanguinis, & cadavera prostratorum, non suam sed pacis victoriam cogitantes*, amidst the swords, and bloudshed, and slaughtered carcasses, not minding their own, but the victory of peace.

Oft-times we prove unthankful to the giver, because we skill not of the worth of the gift. Left therefore we wrong our Saviour, by undervaluing his inestimable gift of Peace, it is necessary we look into the words of the Will, and see what they purport, and know the worth of that, which by them he hath bestowed upon his Church, *Peace I leave unto you, my peace I give unto you.*

Again, whatsoever was made by God, and no good is there but of God, *Every good and perfect gift comes down from above, from the Father of lights*, saith St. James; yet notwithstanding, some things there are, which it pleaseth him peculiarly to style His, It is a grant and favour that few things have merited to be called the things of God. Having therefore said, Peace, lest he might be thought to have bestowed, *facile aliquod & parabile*, that which at another hand might have been obtained, as well as his, he adds *my peace, My peace*: The Latin expresses it more emphatically thus, *Pacem illam meam*, That peace of mine, that you know of, and the world skills not of; so though all good things, and peace in its amplest latitude, be of God, yet it is a peculiar grace, that of peace here given to be called His. We are

therefore to note, that it is one thing to have *pacem Dei*, another thing to have *pacem Deum*: the peace of God, or God which is peace. For Christ himself, as he is to us Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption, so is he our Peace. He therefore that knows Christ, knows what the peace is that is here given.

Thirdly, as all good gifts are of God, so is he the Giver of them all; yet somewhat there is, the Donation whereof he so appropriates to himself, that he takes to himself a title to be the Giver of them. *Silver and gold is mine*, saith the Lord by the Prophet Haggee; yet Abraham would by no means accept of the spoil at the hands of the King of Sodom: Why? Lest, saith he, he should say, *I have enriched Abraham*. Some things are so given by God, that men will claim unto themselves a part in the Act of giving: Abraham was very jealous of this, he suffers none to part stakes with God. As was Abraham there, so is Christ here: Lest some Emperour, or great Potentate, upon conceit of the Churches quietness, under his Government, or of Largeesses, and great Immunities, or rich Endowments bestowed upon the Church, should boast and say, *I have given peace* unto the Church; Christ tells us, that the peace that rests upon his Disciples He leaves, He gives: *Peace I leave, my peace I give*.

Fourthly, I told you what hitherto Christ had given to his Church, was but by way of promise: Lest therefore he might seem to lessen his credit by large promises, he tells them, this gift of peace they stood already possess'd of, he now left it with them; And yet further, lest they might imagine, that they were rather made keepers of what was another man's, then possessours of what was their own, he adds, *My peace I give unto you*, he makes them Lords of it, he gives them an absolute propriety and interest in it.

Last of all, he hath scattered and given to the poor, saith the Psalmist, *ἀσχορπίσει* he hath with a Royal kind of negligence, and heedlessness, thrown about, catch who can; like Princes, who on some solemnities cast money among the people, without care who take it up; he makes his Sun to rise upon the good & bad, and rains upon the just and unjust; *Quam multi sunt indigni luce*, saith Seneca, *Et tamen dies oritur*? How many men are there, that deserve not so much as the benefit of common light, and yet the day dawns on them? Thus indeed it fares in these outward and more general benefits of God; *Deo parvus curæ de his tribuendis, quæ etiam ho-*  
*minibus*

*tribus tribuit*, saith *Martin Luther*; God seems to have but little care in bestowing those benefits, of which his enemies are partakers, as well as his freinds. But here it is not so, that great *Flood of Liberality* here receiveth an *Ebb*, and is bounded with certain banks. In bestowing of this great gift of *Peace* he hath given his arm a check, and seems to be very scrupulous and careful where it lights: He singles out his *Disciples* out of all the world, with them he makes his everlasting covenant of peace. Peace, saith he, I leave unto you, my peace I give unto you. So then, out of this Paraphrase which I have made on these words, it appears there are three points principally considerable in them.

First, the *Gift*, *Peace*, *My peace*.

Secondly, the *Giver*, *I leave*, *I give*.

Thirdly, the *Subject* on whom the gift is bestowed, *To you*.

To speak of these three, of *Peace*, of *Christ*, of the *Church*, in their latitude, were a matter infinite, we must therefore think of them with a mutual relation of each to other; and so conceive of *Christ* as the Giver of *peace*, and so of the *Church* as of the subject of *peace*, and so of *Peace*, as of the *Gift of Christ*, and an *Attribute of the Church*. To these three points arising directly out of the words, there may be added certain other very worthy your consideration, arising out of the manner of delivery of them.

First, the *Certainty* of this promise; doubtless, though Heaven and Earth shake, though men and devils rage, and the mountains be cast into the sea; yet to the *Church* and every member thereof, wheresoever abiding, there is given, left, and remains *peace*. And this I gather out of the doubling of the words, *Peace I leave*, *my peace I give*. For as *Joseph* tells *Pharaoh*, *Gen. xli*. And for that the dream is doubled unto *Pharaoh* twice, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will surely bring it to pass: So may we say of these words, they are doubled to his *Disciples*, because the thing is established by God, and certainly with his *Church* is *peace* for evermore.

Secondly, the incommunicability of this *peace*, with many out of his *Church*; I told you, this was a *Legacy*: of it therefore none partake, but such as are specified in the *Will*. Here are none mentioned by the *Testator*, but such as were sealed by him for his own: *Judas* saith the story, was gone from them. To that part of the *Church* therefore, not which we see, but which we believe, is this blessing



bleſſing of *peace*, by right of inheritance, pertaining.

But are theſe things ſo as we have ſaid? is it a matter of ſo *incontroleable certainty*, that *Chriſt* hath left *peace* unto his *Church*; that it were almoſt infidelity to doubt of it? Surely, if we look not narrowly into it, we ſhall rather think *peace*, which we make the *Churches peculiar*, to have been an utter ſtranger unto her. The *Religious Rites of Gentiliſm*, how had they their beginnings? their progreſs? without oppoſition? no diſputes? no contentions? Scarce any thing of worth, for ſo many thouſand years the world lived under it, done for, or in pretence of Religion! But no ſooner was *Chriſtian Religion* come to the birth, but ſtreight it was attended by that great *Dragon* in the wilderneſs, *ſpewing out whole ſeas of diſſentions* to overwhelm it. The *Apoſtles* themſelves, as with one hand they ſowed the ſeed of the Word, ſo were they conſtrained with the other to pluck up and weed out *Hereſies* ariſing with it. So venterous was the envious man, not onely whilſt men ſlept ( for the *Apoſtles* were no ſleepers ) but whilſt they were in act, and ſweat, to interperſe his Tares with God's good Seed. The *Jewiſh Ceremonies*, a plant of God's own planting, ſeems ſcarcely to have been acquainted with it: *God* throughout that ſtory, of which himſelf was the *Pen-man*, regiſtring no one act of any contention concerning the interpretation of the Law; yea afterward, when ſome diſſentions had crept in, they ſeem to have been of an inferiour order, and never to have broken out to any remarkable inconvenience. But in the *Churches ſtory*, what leaſe, what line almoſt gives not in large evidence againſt the *Church's peace*? it being almoſt nothing elſe but an *Index of controverſies*, which when they were at leaſt, occaſioned great Schiſm and rents in the Church, and afterwards receiving ſtrength, brake forth to further inconvenience, one Chriſtian perſecuting another with that heat, that *Chriſtianity* ſcarce ever felt under the hand of *Paganism*: now in our Age they have enforced the rending aſunder of great Provinces, and mighty Kingdoms, without any hope, as far as humane reaſon reacheth it, of ever being re-united. Again, if we look into *Peace*, as the world *ſeems* it, that is, to the outward proſperity, to the good and civil correſpondence which is betwixt man and man: if we conſider what part the *Church* hath had in this her eſtate,

estate, for some hundred of years, was truly represented in her great Champion *St. Athanasius*, of whom it was said, *St. Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against St. Athanasius*. She was sent forth into the world with no other hope, but of the world's hatred; with no other lot, then poverty and persecution: so little claim seems she to have to secular ease, and outward state, which by most is termed the Church's peace, much less to Riches, and Glory, and Provinces, and whole Kingdoms, which by some are counted the Church's Patrimony.

To clear these things, and first, to remove the scandal of Ecclesiastical dissentions, give me leave to commend unto you two facile notes, which of your selves you might easily have observed. First, it hath ever been the practise of the devil, to bend his manifest strength and cheif forces against that, which God hath with most strictness and severity commanded to be kept: Whence it comes to pass, that what we are especially commanded to observe, in that we usually shew our selves most frequent and notorious transgressours. When the Lord was to chuse himself a people out of the whole world, habituated in Idolatry, his greatest care was to wean them from the *Idols of the Nations*: His commandments therefore to the *Jews*, and almost all the messages of the Prophets, beat on nothing so much as on this point, to beware of the gods of the Heathen, whence they were taken. Yet such a strange bewitching madness possess'd them, that even almost in the sight of the Sea, that had given way unto them; when the cry of the drown'd Egyptians was scarce out of their ears, they fell to *Idols*. Afterward what breathing time had they from plagues and calamities, into which, for this crime, if not altogether, yet cheifly they fell, wherein they did not strangely relapse? Which of their Kings had his heart right before God? *Solomon* himself, who had he not known God, yet by that light he had of Moral and Natural Wisdom, could not chuse but see the folly of it, must needs to his other exorbitant lusts add this, *Adultery with stocks and stones!* But when long experience had taught the world its errour, and the absurd Legends of their gods their lying miracles, and their halting Oracles became so palpable; that the learned writ in scorn of them, and the unlearned sufficiently descried them. *Christ* by his Apostles being to lay the ground of Christianity, seems to have thought it a matter superfluous to spend

spend many precepts in beating down *Idolatry*, a thing of it self now ready to fall. Neither was there in the Church's increase ever feared a voluntary relapse unto *Paganism*: few men being so simple, but though they had not the grace to imbrace Christ, they had the wit to see, as good do so, as follow *Idols*: And among all the *Christian Emperours*, there is but one alone hath fallen into the crime of *Apostacy*, and is known by that name. Christ gives therefore a new and a great commandment of *Love*, of *Peace* and *Unity*: This he makes the character of *his*, By this, saith he, shall men know that *ye are my disciples*: This he and his Apostles every where beat on, and therefore by his Apostle St. Paul, he calls the message which he sent by him, *The Gospel of Peace*, as being the cheifest argument of his Embassage, yea, the whole sum of the Law: *Love* which is so much spoken of, and an individual companion of *Faith*, being either *peace it self*, or the *eminency* and *perfection of peace*. No marvel then, if that *ancient enemy* of the Church's peace hath pull'd every cable, used all occasions, set all his engines and instruments awork, to infringe the *quietness and union of the Church*, especially in the *Ministry*, who as they are the *Church of the Church*, so is their *peace* the very *bond and seal of all union in the Church*. Much might I say, partly reproving, partly bewailing *Ecclesiastical dissensions*: but neither were it fitting to my Auditory, nor profitable for the times, they being so, as an Ancient spake of his own, *In quibus nec vitia nostra pati possumus, nec remedia*; in which we can endure neither our vices, nor their remedies. Onely thus much shall be added by way of advise unto the *Laity*, It shall little avail them to urge these things *against us*: The light of the truth shines too clear, the way of life is too plain for them to claim any privilege, or plead any excuse from our dissensions: The voice which came to St. *Austin*, *Tolle, lege*, comes likewise to every one of them, *Take up and read*; Open your books, and look on that which is before your eyes, and there needs no more ado. It was never the intent of the *holy Ghost*, to make it a matter of *wit* and *subtilty*, to know how to be saved. Bring me a *soul*, not one deeply learn'd, sharp and subtil, *sed simplicem, rudem, & impolitam, & qualem habet, quicquam Latine habet*, as *Tertullian* speaks, a dull, a silly, an unletter'd one, and such an one as that man hath, that hath nothing else but his *soul* to witness him to be a man, and even this shall with

with ease apprehend what is necessary to save him.

The second thing I would wish you to observe, is this, That there is a great error in many men, who guiding their eye by what they see of the Church, if they descry a deluge, or darkness, or confusion in her, straight imagine the powers of *Christ's promise to be shaken*: Whereas every Christian man is bound, even in the midst of winds, and storms, and tempests, to recount with himself, that notwithstanding this, still the *Promise of peace is made good unto his Church*. We must observe therefore, that we have two manner of eyes to look upon the Church of God; one of *Charity*, by which we suppose every one, which professes the name of Christ, to be of his fold; another of *Faith*, by which we believe that God doubtless hath, and shall have to the worlds end, a select and chosen company, sealed up for the day of Redemption, such as never shall finally miscarry, or be taken out of his hands. The first extends it self to the whole company of Professors, to Heretical and Erring Churches, yea, even to Reprobates; and this is it we term the Visible Church. The second comprehends onely the number of his

Here *Charity* may be sometimes, and many times is mistaken.

*Elect*. Now all those glorious speeches, and gracious promises, made unto the *holy Church* in Scripture, are belonging to none but this, on this alone, and on every member thereof, wheresoever living under the roof of heaven, truly resides that gracious promise of *peace*, even on the *Cœlestial Jerusalem*, and the *Israel* that is of God. It is a fruitless labour for any man, to think to make good to the eye of experience, those glorious words in Scripture spoken of this Church. God hath not acquainted any man so far with her, as to descry thus much; neither could this be, unless the persons were definitely known. And this is an Attribute of God, reserv'd to him alone, to *know who are his*. Though no man therefore know any thing at all concerning this Church, it matters not: The foundation of God still stands sure, notwithstanding this. That of the Church of *Rome*, so much urged in disgrace of the *Reformed Churches*, Where was your Church before *Luther rose*? to this purpose is clean impertinent; the Labours of men, who have gone about to make it good, and prove a succession of true Christians, save onely to stop the mouths of idle Questionists, might well have been spared. For all that is

necessary to be proved in this case, is nothing else but this, *That there hath been from the Apostles times a perpetual succession of the Ministry, to Preach and to Baptize*: Of this, by the providence of God, there remains very good evidence unto the world, and shall remain. But this makes nothing to the true succession of the *Elē*: for it were not prejudicial to the *Church of Christ*, or any promise concerning it, though *none of the Ministry*, ever since the *Apostles times*, had been of the number of the *Elē*, according to that of *St. Chrysostom*, in his *Comments on the Acts*, where considering the weight of the *Minister's Calling*, and their slackness in executing it, he cries out, *Θαυμάζω, &c. I much marvel, whether ever any Minister were saved or no*. As therefore no man ought to be discouraged in these uncertainties and contentions, so let no man flatter himself in his outward conformity and plausible correspondence with the *Church's constitutions*; as if he might upon conscience of this, securely pronounce himself possess'd of the *peace* here given to the *Church*. When all this outward *show of state* shall be gone off the *Stage*, it may peradventure prove for the good onely of some few unrespected, unthought of *Souls*, who had least part in all this mask. For that falls out oft-times betwixt God's intent, and Man's comments, which the wise *Historian* sometimes observed to have been the conceit of his times, concerning *Claudius* the Emperour, *Quippe fama, Spe, veneratione, potius omnes destinabantur imperio, quam quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat*: by the common voice, hope, obsequious carriage of most, every one was destin'd to the *Empire* before him, unto whom in secret the providence of God had assigned it. "I intend not by this to animate any man to disdain  
"order, it is a *Divine thing*, and without it, *Angels*, and the *Common-wealth of God* cannot consist. Onely I would wish men to beware, lest whilst they doat on the outward consent and union of the *Church*, that befall them, which in our age hath befallen our *Schools*, where men for a long time were so *studious of Order and Method*, that *Arts and Sciences* were almost forgotten. We must not so much gaze on the outward quietness of the *Church*, as that we forget to reflect into our selves, and examine our own inward peace.

From this part of the *Church's peace*, consisting in outward consent and harmony, necessary in its kind, I pass to another of an  
inferiour



inferiour order, namely, *Peace from persecution*, joyned with *outward glory*, and *temporal felicity*. The first days of the *Church*, those heroick and exemplary times, never tasted of this: and when afterwards under *Christian Emperours* it was partaker of it, the censure of *St. Hierom* was most true, *Potentia & Divitiis major virtutibus minor facta est*; In *Wealth* and *Authority* she grew greater, but in her *Virtues* she much impaired. But that which in the first times, *fuisse ejus impudens votum*, as *Seneca* speaks in another case, it had been also most impudence in the *Church* so much as to have wish'd, She is now provided of *Proctors* for the purpose, that have entitl'd her, as it were, by right of inheritance to all kind of *secular honour* and *state*, as if she had so sure a claim unto it, as the *Jews* had to the *Land of Promise*. Yea, it is generally thought a matter of *congruity*, that the world go well with every good *Christian man*. Against those I will lay down this one conclusion, That if we look into the tenour of the *New Testament*, we shall find, that neither the *Church*, nor any *Christian man* by title of his profession, hath any certain claim to any *secular blessing*. Indeed if we look into the *Jews Common-wealth*, and consider the letter of *Moses Law*, they may seem not onely to have a direct promise of *Temporal felicity*, but of no other save that. For in the Law God gives to *Moses* the dispensation of no other but temporal Blessings and Cursings in the xxvj. of *Leviticus*, and the xxviii. of *Deuteronomy*; where God seems to strive with all possible efficacy, to express himself in both kinds, there is not a line containing that which should betide them at their ends: all their *weal*, all their *woe*, seem'd to expire with their *lives*. What sense they had of *future rewards*, or with what conceit they passed away to *immortality*, I list not to dispute. This suffices to shew, that there is a main difference in the hopes of the *Church* before and since *Christ*, concerning outward prosperity, as for *Christians*, to them *μεζονα τα σκαυματα περηντα*, saith *St. Chrysostom*, they have greater and harder races to run, greater prizes to take in hand, then our *Fathers* before *Christ*. The *Church* was then in her youth, she was to be led by sense as a child: we are come to the age of perfect men in *Christ*. That the *Church* therefore might not deceive her self with this outward peace, which is but a *peace of ornament*, he strips her, as it were, of her borrowed beauty, and washes off her *Fucus*, gives

her no interest in the world, sends her forth into a strange Land as he did *Abraham*, not having possession of a foot; and which is yet more, not having so much as a promise of any, which yet *Abraham* had. If *Christ* and his *Apostles* teach, as sometimes they do, *Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and these things shall be cast in upon you.* That *Godliness* hath the promise both of this life, and of the life to come; It is not presently to be conceived, that every true *Christian man* shall doubtless come on, and thrive in the world. That which they teach is no more but this, That we ought not to despair of the *Providence* of God; for look what is the reward and portion of virtue and industry in other men, the same and much more shall it have in *Christians*, their goodness shall have the like approbation, their moral virtues shall have the like esteem, their honest labours shall thrive alike: If sometimes it hath fallen out otherwise, it is but the same lot which hath befallen virtue and honesty, even in the *Pagan* as well as the *Christian*. In the *fifth of St. Matthew*, where *Christ* teacheth us, That the meek spirited shall possess the earth, think we that it was the intent of the holy Ghost to make men *Lords* of the earth, to endow them with *Territories* and large *Dominions*? That which he teaches us, is but a moral lesson, such as common reason and experience confirms, That meek and mild spirited men are usually the quietest possessors of what they hold. But that these speeches, and such as these in the *New Testament*, be not wrong'd by us, by being drawn to our avaritious conceits, and thought to halt, if sometime the meek-spirited become a spoil to the extortioner, and be stript of all he hath, give me leave to commend unto you one rule for the interpretation of them, which will give much ease to unstable minds. The holy Ghost delivering general propositions in things, subject to variety and humane casualties, is to be understood for the truth of them, as far as the things themselves are capable of truth, and according to the certainty of them. There are many propositions fram'd even in *Natural things*, of *Eternal truth*, no instance neither of time nor person can be brought to disprove them, our daily experience evermore finds them so. There is a second order of things created by God himself, subject to mutability, which sometimes are not at all, and being produced, owe their being sometimes to one cause, sometimes to another, the efficacy of the cause

no way being determined to this effect, but of it self indifferent to produce it or not. The managing of affairs, whether in publick of Common-weals, or in private of any man's particular state or calling; Moral rules of behaviour and carriage, yea, all the things that are spoken concerning the temporal weal or woe of actions good or bad, they are all ranged in this second order. Now in all these things it is impossible there should be propositions made of unavoidable certainty. If the rules and observations drawn for our direction, *ut plurimum*, usually and in the ordinary course of events, hold currant, it is enough to make them Maxims of Truth; it matters not though at some time, upon some occasions, in some person, they fail. Now from the condition of these things, the propositions made by the holy Ghost himself, are by their Authour not exempted. In the *Book of the Proverbs*, the holy Ghost hath registred such store of Moral wisdom, and Precepts of carriage in temporal matters, that all the wisdom of the Heathen, most renowned for Morality, come far short of it. These Precepts, though with us they have, as indeed they ought to have, much more credibility, as delivered unto us by an Authour of surer observation, and exempted from all possibility of errour; yet notwithstanding, in regard of the things themselves, they are of the like certainty, of the same degree of truth, when we find them in the Writings of these famous Ethnicks, whom it pleased the holy Spirit to endue with Natural wisdom, and Moral discretion, which they have, when we read them registred in the Oracles of God, and the same uncertainty have they in regard of some particulars, when they be spoken by *Solomon*, which they have, when they are uttered by *Plato*, or *Enripides*. *Solomon* much inveigheth against the folly of *Suretieship*; was it therefore never heard of, that a wise man was surety for his neighbour, with good success? *J. Caesar*, when he thought to have upheld his estate through mercy and clemency, lost his life; is it therefore false which *Solomon* teacheth, that *Mercy upholdeth the throne of the King*? He knew well, and his son had dear experience of it, that the peoples hearts are won and kept by mild and merciful dealing, rather then by rough and tyrannous proceedings: yet he could not be ignorant, that even Kings sometimes reap mischeif, and death there, where they have plentifully sowed love and mercy. Thus then,  
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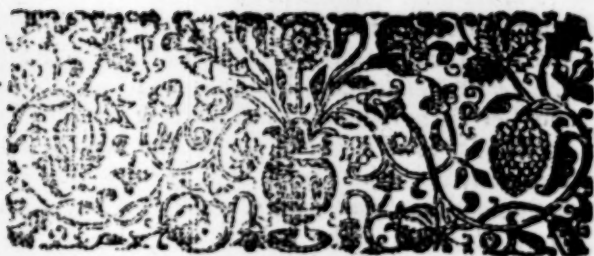
and no otherwise, are we to understand the holy Ghost preaching unto us the reward of the meek-spirited, and the promises of this life to the godly. For we are not to suppose, that God in his ordinary proceedings concerning his Elect, exempts things from that mutability and change, to which he made them subject in the day of their Creation. *All things come alike to all,* (saith the Wise-man) *There is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked, to the clean and unclean, to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not. As is the good, so is the sinner, and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an oath.* Which speech is true, in regard of those humane casualties, from which the good Christian is no more exempted, then the honest Pagan. But it is a maxim of eternal truth, and the joynt conspiracy of Heaven and Hell shall never be able to infringe it, *That all things work for the good of them that fear God.* Though sometime the meek-spirited men be turned out of house and home, and the godly man have not a place whereon to rest his head. By this then it appears, that the title of Christian men unto temporal blessings, is not cut of any Divine Right, giving undoubted assurance, but onely of common equity and congruity, by which it pleaseth God usually to crown honest counsels with good success. As then this claim is uncertain, so hath not the desire of Christians to intermeddle with secular business been scandalous to our profession. Julian the Emperour, in an Epistle of his to the *Bostrenses*, taxing certain seditious Christians, tells them directly, that their tumult sprang not out of any probable reason, but meerly, *ὅτι δικάζοντες καὶ ἔξετον αὐτοῖς, καὶ γράφον διαθήκας καὶ ἀλλοτρίας σφετερίζεσθαι κληρῶς καὶ πάντα ἑαυτοῖς περιτίμεν.* But onely because he had made it unlawful for them to sit as Judges between man and man, to interpose themselves in matters of Wills to interpret other mens possessions to their own uses, to make division of all things unto themselves: That much of this might be probable, I will not easily deny. He that shall look into the *Acts* of Christians, as they are recorded by more indifferent Writers, shall easily perceive, that all that were Christians were not Saints. But this is the testimony of an Enemy. Yea, but have not our Freinds taken up the same complaint? Doubtless if it had been the voice and approbation of the Bridegroom, that *secular State* and Authority had belonged to the Church, either of due or of necessity,

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the freinds of the Bridegroom hearing it, would have rejoyced at it; but it is found they have much sorrowed at it. St. Hilary much offended with the opinion, that even Orthodox Bishops of his time had taken up, that it was a thing very necessary for the Church to lay hold on the temporal sword, in a Tract of his against *Auxentius* the *Arrian* Bishop of *Millain*, thus plainly bespeaks them, *Ac primum miserari libet nostræ ætatis laborem.* And first of all, I must needs pity the labour of our Age, and bewail the fond opinions of the present times, by which men suppose the arm of flesh can much advantage God, and strive to defend, by secular ambition, the Church of Christ. I beseech you, Bishops, you that take yourselves so to be, whose authority in preaching of the Gospel did the Apostles use? By the help of what powers preach'd they Christ, and turn'd almost all Nations from Idols to God? Took they unto themselves any honour out of Princes Palaces, who after their stripes, amidst their chains in prison, sung praises unto God? Did St. Paul, when he was made a spectacle in the Theatre, summon together the Churches of Christ by the Edicts and Writs of Kings? 'Tis likely he had the safe conduct of Nero, or Vespasian, or Decius, through whose hate unto us, the confession of the faith grew more famous. Those men who maintain'd themselves with their own hands and industry, whose solemn Meetings were in Parlours and secret Closets; who travelled through Villages and Towns, and whole Countreys by Sea and Land, in spite of the prohibition of Kings and Councils. 'Tis to be thought that these had the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Did not the power of God sufficiently manifest it self above man's hate, when by so much the more Christ was preach'd, by how much he was forbidden to be taught. But now, which is a greif to think, dust and earths approbation gives countenance to the Sacred Faith: whilst means are made to joyn ambitious Titles to the Name of Christ, Christ hath lost the reputation of self-sufficiency. The Church now terrifies with Exile, and Prisons, and constrains men to beleive her, who was wont to find no place but in Prisons and Banishment. She depends upon the good acceptance of her favourites, who was wont to be hallowed in the fear of her Persecutors; she now puts Preists to flight, who was formerly propagated by fugitive Preists. She glories that she is beloved of the world, who could never have been Christ's, except the world had hated her. What shall we answer to this complaint? Our enemies are apt to traduce the good things in us, our freinds.



to flatter our vice and imbecillity : But when our freinds and enemies do both joyntly consent to lay open our shame, to whose judgment shall we appeal, or whether shall we flie? Whether? Even to thee, O Lord Christ, but not as to a Judge; too well we know thy sentence. Thou hast sent us messengers of peace, but we, like *Hierusalem*, thy ancient Love, have not understood the things belonging to our peace. O Lord, let us know them in this our day, & let them no longer be hidden from our eyes. Look down, O Lord, upon thy poor dismembred Church, rent and torn with discords, and even ready to sink. Why should the *Neutral* or *Atheist* any longer confirm himself in his Irreligion by reasons drawn from our dissensions? Or why should any greedy minded worldling prophecise unto himself, the ruines of thy Sanctuary, or hope one day to dip his foot in the bloud of thy Church? We will hope, O Lord, (for what hinders?) that notwithstanding all supposed impossibilities; thou wilt one day in mercy look down upon thy *Sion*, and grant a gracious enterveiw of freinds so long divided. Thou that wroughtest that *Great Reconciliation* between God and Man, is thine arm waxen shorter? Was it possible to reconcile God to Man? To reconcile Man to Man is it impossible? Be with those, we beseech thee, to whom the prefecution of Church Controversies is committed, and like a good *Lazarus* drop one cooling drop into their Tongues, and Pens, too too much exasperated each against other. And if it be thy determinate will and counsel, that this *abomination of desolation standing where it ought not*, continue unto the end, accomplish thou with speed the number of thine Elect, and hasten the coming of thy Son our Saviour, that he may himself in person sit, and judge, and give an end to our controversies, since it stands not with any humane possibility. Direct thy Church, O Lord, in all her petitions for peace, teach her wherein her peace consists, and warn her from the world, and bring her home to thee; that all those that love thy peace, may at last have the reward of the Sons of peace, and reign with thee in thy Kingdom of peace for ever. Grant this, O God, for thy Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee, and the holy Ghost, be ascribed all Praise, Might, Majesty, and Dominion, now and for ever.



*The profit of* GODLINESS.

The First

S E R M O N

ON I TIM. iv. 8.

*But Godliness is profitable unto all things.*



That which Zeba and Zalmannab tell Gideon, in the Book of Judges, *As is the man, so is his strength*, is true not onely as we are men, but as we are *Christians* too. As is the *Christian*, so is his strength for the performance of the *Acts of Christianity*. Some *Christians* are as *Jether* was, young, and unfit to draw the sword; others as *Gideon*, strong, and fit for manlike employments. Some *Christians* there are, to whom there can no better Argument be used, then the *love of Christ*, and the commemoration of their duties: such as *St. Paul* was, who to gain *Christ*, esteemed all other things as *dung*. Others there are that cannot think so meanly of the world at first, but as *Naaman* vowed to serve God, and yet would

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bow himself in *the house of Rimmon*; so they can be content to give their names unto Christ, but with some respect, and bowing to the world: and such are the greatest part of *Professors*. The *Sponse* in the *fortieth Psalm* could be content to forget her own people, and her Fathers house; but scarcely is there a soul so wedded to Christ, as that it can forget the world, that hath nurs'd and bred it up; that hath had so long, so inward, so sweet acquaintance and familiarity with it. This is a second and weaker sort of *Christians*: The holy Ghost being to deal with such, is content to condescend unto their weakness, and in this little peice of Scripture which I have read, seems as it were to shew a willingness to endure the world, to enjoy some part of our love: by an argument drawn from our love to gain and profit, he labours to win our love to him: and as *Rebecca* did with old *Isaac*, provideus such meat as our soul loves. In the words therefore, we will first by way of *Introduction and Preface* consider, what cause the holy Ghost might have to use this Argument, drawn from *Profit and Commodity*. Secondly, we will consider the words themselves. And first, of the reason of this Motive.

*Profit and Commodity* is a Lure, that calls the greatest part of the world after it. Most of the bargains which the world makes, are copied out according to that pattern, which *Judas* gave at the betraying of Christ, *What will ye give me, and I will betray, deliver him into your hands?* This question, *What will ye give me?* what commodity, what profit will accrue unto me? is the preface and way into all our actions. Good or evil men will do neither, except it be by way of bargain and sale. This common disease of the world, hath likewise seised upon the *Professors of godliness*: except this also bring us in some Revenue, it hath no favour. It was the divils question unto God concerning *Job*, *Doth Job serve God for nought? hast thou not bedged him on every side, and laid thine hand upon him?* Indeed he mistook *Job's* mind for *Job* served not God for this, but for another cause: yet (beleave me) he had great cause to ask the question; for who is it that can content himself to serve God for nothing? As *David* said to old *Barzillai*, in the Book of *Kings*, *Let Chimham go with me, and I will do him good*: so must God deal with us, if he will have us to serve him. God, like the *Husbandman* in the Gospel, may go forth at the first hour, and at the ninth hour, and at the eleventh

eleventh hour, early and late, at every hour of the day, and find idle persons, ( for whosoever labours not with God is idle, how busie soever he seems to be in the world ) but except he bring his penny with him, he shall find none to work in his Vineyard. Aristotle discoursing concerning the qualities and conditions of man's age, tells us, that Young men, for the most part, consider not so much profit and conveniency, as equity and duty; as being led by their natural temper, and simplicity, which teaches them to do rather what is good, then what is profitable. But Old men, that have ends of their actions, their minds run more on commodity and gain, as being led by advise and consultation, whose property it is to have an eye to profit and conveniency, and not onely to bare and naked goodness. I will not deny, but there may be found some such men, that are but young in the world, men that are children in evil, who know not how pleasant a savour gain hath, yet certainly the most men, even in their youngest days, are old and expert enough in the world. For we bring with us into the world the old man, whose wisdom and policy is to have an ear *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*, not to enterprize any thing, but for some further end then the thing it selfe; either the more free enjoying of our pleasures, or the filling of our purses, or the increase of our preferments. These are the gods of the world. These, like God, sit at the top of Jacob's Ladder, and all our actions are but steps and rounds to go up to them. God and goodness is not reward enough to draw men on. When God gave Laws to his own people the Jews, to bring them on the better, how is he faine to make many promises of possession of the Land, of freedom from bondage, of abundance of all things, which might work upon their affections? And hence it is, that themselves, when by their manifold back-slidings they had shut up the passages of God's good and gracious promises, complain in the Scriptures, *What profit hath come to us by serving of the Lord? or, Which way hath it availed us to have kept his Law?*

Again, as it is on the one side with goodness, in regard of gain, so is it on the other side with evil. Evil, though many love it very well, yet very few there are that are grown to that height of wickedness, as *meerly to do mischief*, without any other respect of reward. When the Patriarchs, moved with envy, had resolved to murder their brother Joseph, as soon as ever the *Ismaelitish*

*Merchants* did appear, as soon as any air of *gain* did shew it self, streight their thirst of bloud began to allay, *What profit*, say they, *is there in our brother's bloud?* Let us sell him rather to the *Ishmaelites*. Hope of gain, as if they had look'd upon the *Brasen Serpent*, presently asswaged their hot and fiery disease. All this that I have said doth plainly shew unto you, how potent *profit* and *gain* are to sway with our weak natures: that *God* himself, though he come with all spiritual graces possible, yet if he come *empty-handed*, if he bring not *something* which may work upon our weak and sensible nature, he may come and knock at our hearts, as himself speaks in the *Revelation*, but he shall find none that *will open to him*, none that will give him any entertainment at all. Now *God* who is *τολύρων*, & *πλούσιος* *εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων*, as *Clemens* speaks, who even studies ways how to save us, and is witty in inventing of means to bring us to him; amongst many other ways which he hath used, hath added this, and hath made this weakness of ours to draw us home. The *love of gain*, which is the *root of all evil*, and which occasioned the greatest sin that ever was committed in the world, is here made to bring forth *fruit unto godliness*, and becomes the *occasion* of the greatest good that can betide us. For as *Judas* for love of *gain* sold *Christ*, so here by the *love of gain*, we are taught to *redeem Christ* again. So be the very blemish and imperfection of our nature may be a mean to save us, *God* is sometimes content to give us leave to enjoy it. When *God* saw the *Jews* exorbitant lusts would not be bounded within these limits, which himself in *Paradise* at the beginning did ordain, he gave them leave, when they were weary of their wives, even upon sleight occasions, to put them away. Again, when he saw the desire of *gain* would not suffer them to live within the compass of *charity*, but that the custom of the world would draw them on to the practise of *Usury*; forbidding them the use of it to their brethren, gave them leave to practise it on strangers and *Cananites*. These *Tolerations* are no warrant to us, that the *actions* were good: But as it was observed of the wise men, that had the managing and bringing up of *Nero*, the Emperour, they permitted him to practise his lusts upon *Aste* a servant, *ne in supra illustrum faminarum prorumperet. si illa libidine prohiberetur*: lest if he were forbidden that, he should turn his lust upon some of the *Noblewomen*; no otherwise did *God* deal



deal with his people. Lest too strict charge and prohibition might peradventure the more kindle them, he permitted them some vent. And therefore if at any time they did travel, as it were, with the sin of *Usury*, to keep them from the practise of it upon their Brethren, he left the *Stranger* and *Cananites* as it were midwives to ease them of it. No otherwise deals he with us in this matter of *gain* and *profit*, then he did with his own people in the cases of *Divorce* and *Usury*. Thus to part our love between God and our own *gain*, is but a *toleration*: for to love God for any other respect, then of God himself, whether it be for health or wealth, or honour, be it for the fear of *Hell*, or the hope of *Heaven* it self, is at the least a weakness and imperfection in us: the reason of it is evident. That for which any thing is beloved, is of it self more beloved. When David dealt kindly and lovingly with *Mephibosheth* for *Jonathan* his father's sake, it is a certain argument that he loved *Jonathan* more then *Mephibosheth*. He that loves a man for *Money*, or for *Meat*, loves money and meat more then the man: For these are the causes and ends why he loves the man. Wherefore he that loves God for any other end then God, certainly loves that more then God. But we all know, that God is principally and solely to be loved, all things else in him, and for him, but *he onely for himself*. That which *St. Paul* saith, that *perfect love casteth out fear*, is true in a far more general sense. For *perfect love lays by all other respects whatsoever*. God must be loved by us, as *David* loved *Jonathan*, but the creature as *Mephibosheth*, in the second place, for *Jonathan's* sake. Wherefore when God by promising us these outward blessings, draws us on to love him, it is a certain argument that we love these things more then God, which is no less then a degree of *Idolatry*, to take the honour due to the Creatour, and give it to the creature: yet, as the *Husbandman* in the Gospel would not have the *Tares* pull'd up, for fear least the *Wheat* should come up with them; so it pleases God to tolerate these *Tares* in us, lest the rooting out of our affections to the things of this life, might draw a little too near the quick, and wrong our love to God. Out of the love therefore and desire he hath to our good, he doth apply himself to this our infirmity, and contents himself (for a time) to have a second room in our thoughts, if yet by this mean he may win us to himself; as a *skilful Artist*, that works

works upon an *evil matter*, if he cannot make what he would, yet makes that which the matter gives him leave.

And hence it is, that as in many places of Scripture he draws reasons from outward blessings, making our love unto them, a motive to bring us unto him : so especially in this little portion of Scripture, which I have read unto you, he makes our *love* unto *commodity* and *gain* the προμήθεια, as it were the *Spokesman* unto us for him, and to gain our *love* unto him. Am I not (saith he unto us) sufficiently fair of my self to procure your love? What is it then that I shall bring with me to win your affections? Is it gain? Lo, here it is, for *Godliness* indeed is *gainful* : Or is it not onely so, but some great and *extraordinary gain*? Why here it is, *again* of *infinite extent* and *latitude*, even good success in all the things you take in hand; *Godliness* is *profitable unto all things*. Is it yet more? would you have this assured to you for your lives? Why here it is. It is a *Gain* that hath a promise, yea, an *infallible promise* of *this life*. Is it yet more? would you have it accompany you not onely in *your lives*, but even lie down with you in *your graves*? Here it is. Such an assurance as no device in Law can make void; not of this life onely, but even of *the life to come*.

Thus having considered the causes, which we might suppose to have moved the holy Ghost to make choice of this motive, drawn from *gain*; we come now to consider the *words themselves*. In them I will especially observe *two notes*. First, that *Godliness* is *profitable*; and what *manner of profit* it is that *Godliness* brings. Secondly, we will shew the *latitude*, *compass*, and *extent* of that *profit*, in the later words, *to all things*. *Godliness* is *profitable unto all things*.

Every thing that is called *profitable*, is so styled in regard of the *end*, for the effecting of which it is ordained. All things therefore are not profitable to all ends. The knowledge of the *Merchants Trade* is profitable to him that practices Merchandize; but to *Shamgar*, to him that walks with his goad, or him that labours at the *Plough-tail*, it is nothing available. That *Godliness* is a *thing profitable*, no Christian man denies : but this many think is onely for *certain private ends* and purposes, which the world doth not much hearken after. He that shall provide for another world, he that shall forget his body, and care onely for the *state of his*

*his soul*, such a man *at the last* shall find the profit of godliness. But the man that thinks it meet to divide himself betwixt God and the world, that thinks it not fit *his Virgin should pass its time*, (as the Apostle speaks) but bethinks himself of *matching into the world*: to such an one the studies of piety may rather seem a rub and hinderance, then a profit and commodity. For what carnal man is there that can perswade himself, that piety will either improve his Wealth, or increase his Honours, or make him thrive in his Trade, or any way better his Estate? Is it not rather thought to be an hinderance to all these? by curbing our ambition, by moderating our over having desires, by bounding us within certain limits of contentment, of conscience, of moderation, and the like, which cut the very nerves and sinews of all endeavour to grow *extraordinarily great*? Nay, doth not piety rather come unto us, as the Angel of the Lord did unto Balaam, forbidding us to do many things, which if we did, they would be highly for our honour and preferment? yea, if *riches* do offer themselves, and by God's providence, without our care, come on abundantly, doth it not teach us to lay them out for *Christ's sake*, and not to lay them up for our own? So that if a man would define and tell what *Godliness* is, we might define it, *To be an Art teaching men not to be Rich, not to be Great, not to thrive in proportion to the rest of the world*. Yet notwithstanding all this, it is most true, that *godliness* is truly profitable many ways. I will briefly acquaint you with some of them.

First of all, in that gross and ordinary sense, in which the world takes profit and commodity: for it *bleses our store*, it gives good success to our *preferments*, it prospers all things that we take in hand. For what is more usual in the *Old Testament*, then promises unto the keeper of the Law, of *length of days*, of *possession of the land*, of *victory* against their enemies, of all those things which by the world it self are so much desired? Neither were these promises made onely for fashions sake, to draw them on; but they were plainly and evidently made good unto the people, to whom they were made. For God promises his blessings in that style, in which old Isaac speaks to Esau concerning Jacob, *I have blessed him, yea, and he shall be blessed*. For what is there of which the world doth make such store, in which God's own people had not their greatest share? Was there any people so victorious  
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a gainst their enemies, so long as they kept themselves unto their God? Was there ever any Nation which had such store of all things made for the use of man? It is almost an incredible thing to think, that so little a span of Land as they inhabited, should so abundantly bring forth all things requisite for the use of so mighty and populous a Nation. For matchless strength of body and feats of Arms, whom can the world oppose to *Sampson*, to *David* and to his Worthies? For wisdom and learning did not *Moses* and *Solomon* out-goe all the wisdom of the East? yea, all the wise men of the world besides? Their Kingdom indeed was but little; and herein onely, that is, in largeness of Dominion, the Great Monarch of the World may seem to have gone beyond them. But the reason of this we shall examine by and by, when we shall come to consider what causes there are, why many times the children of this world outgoe the children of the Kingdom in abundance of earthly good, notwithstanding piety onely hath the promise of them, and impiety nothing else but a curse. Neither is this harvest of profit onely in the *Old Testament*, as if the *New* were waxen barren. The *New Testament* indeed is not so frequent in mentioning of earthly blessings; and good reason why: For many things in the *New Testament* are not so fully taught, because they are supposed to be learn'd and known, as being sufficiently stood upon in the *Old*. In the *Old Testament*, scarce any page is there, which does not entitle good men to the possession of some temporal good: and for this reason, may seem the holy Ghost spares to be over-frequent and abundant in mentioning them in the *New*. So then, howsoever in our discourses unto you, we many times commend unto you simplicity and lowliness, and preach unto you poverty and patience, and continual persecution for the Truth's sake; yet piety doth not require at our hands, that we should be either short-witted or beggerly, but hath its part in all the blessings of this world, whether it be of soul or body, or of goods. That therefore which anciently the son of *Syrach* spake of these excellent men, who liv'd before his time, the same hath been true in *Christian Common-wealths*, and our own eyes in part have seen it; The noble famous men reigned in their Kingdoms, they bare excellent rule in their wisdom; wise sentences were found in their instructions. They were rich also, and could comfort, they lived quietly at home. Be it therefore Power, Riches, or Wisdom, or Peace, or  
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any other of *theſe Apples of Paradise*, which ſeem to the world ſo goodly, and ſo much to be deſired, God hath not ſo rained them down upon the cities of men, as that he left his own dry and unfurniſhed with them. I will not diſpute unto *whom of right* theſe bleſſings do belong, whether unto the *Reprobate*, or unto the *Juſt*? This is a queſtion which none but God can determine; yet hath the world been acquainted with ſome, who taking upon them to examine the *Title*, have given ſentence for the *Godly*, and pronounced that the *right unto the world belongs unto the Juſt*: which to do, in my conceit, is to do nothing elſe, but as the old *Romans* did, who when two Cities, contending for a piece of ground, had taken them for their *Judges*, wiſely gave ſentence on their own behalf, and taking it from both the other Cities, adjudged it unto themſelves. Let the *Title* to theſe things reſt where it will, thus much we may ſafely preſume of, That God, in whom originally all the *Right* to theſe things is, doth ſo beſtow them, as that they that are his, cannot doubt of that portion of them, which ſhall be ſufficient for their uſe.

Onely, my Brethren, let us not miſtake our ſelves in the means by which *godlineſs* becomes thus exceeding *profitable* unto us; for it is not with us in regard of theſe things, as it is with other men. It is not our great care for them, our early riſing, or late ſitting up, that brings them to us: The beſt and ſureſt way to provide our ſelves, of theſe things, is *not to care for them*, not to aſk them. For when our Saviour tells us, we muſt ſeek the *Kingdom of Heaven*, and all theſe things ſhall be caſt in upon us, he chalks out unto us the true way to poſſeſs our ſelves of the world ſufficiently; for what doth he elſe but tell us, that if we aſk as *Solomon* did, we ſhall doubtleſs be rewarded as *Solomon* was. When God, in the *Book of Kings*, had given *Solomon* a promiſe to have whatſoever he would aſk, and *Solomon* had onely aſked an *underſtanding heart*, to diſcern betwixt good and bad: Becauſe, ſaith God, thou haſt *asked this thing*, and haſt not aſked unto thy ſelf *long life*, or the *life of thine enemies*: Lo, I have done according to thy words, yea, I have given that which thou *askedſt not*, even riches. So that among Kings there ſhall be none like unto thee all thy days. Here is the true method of prevailing with God for *temporal things* and bleſſings. If we do earneſtly beg at his hands thoſe things onely, which are principally

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good for us, it is a thing so welcome to God, that even because we have done this, all other things which we ask not, shall abundantly be cast upon us. As *Laban*, when *Jacob* asked him *Leah* and *Rachel* to wife, gave them unto him, and not onely so, but gave him *Zilpah* and *Billah* as handmaids to wait on them, (a gift which *Jacob* never requested) So hath God some blessings like unto *Leah* and *Rachel*, he will give us the latter, *Zilpah* and *Billah*, though we never ask them.

I know it is a very hard matter to perswade the world of the truth of this, which hitherto I have taught. For as *St. Peter* tells us, that there shall come mockers, who shall ask, *Where are the promises of his coming? do not all things continue alike since the creation?* So are there many mockers in the world, who ask us, *Where are these goodly promises made unto the godly? where is the promise of the possession of the earth, made unto the meek spirited? where is the promise of gain and commodity made unto the godly?* Is it not with them as it is with other men? are there any men whose case is more miserable then theirs? have they not their shares in all the plagues that usually befall the world? We have heard that piety still carries a blessing with it; but the world takes it to be like unto that *Equus Scianus*, a certain Horse, which past for a By-word, a Proverb amongst our forefathers, No man could ever thrive that kept it. Beloved, he that shall look into the state and condition of good men, shall see that there is some cause of these querulous questions. For the settling therefore of the minds of Christians scandalized, we will, before we come to consider in what other sense *godliness* is profitable, first, remove certain errors which are like moles in the eyes of common Christians, and hinder them that they cannot see so clearly in what sense *these promises of earthly blessings* are made: and secondly, we will search the reasons, why notwithstanding these promises, good men have commonly the least part of the *worlds good*? and both these breifly.

The Errors to be removed are especially two.

The first, we usually mistake the nature and quality of *God's promises*. Men, when they hear of *God's promises*, to preserve those that are his, presently think, that God by these promises is bound to exempt them from *common casualties*, and as it were to alter the common course of the world in their behalf. And therefore

fore whensoever any common calamities, and inundation of evil, overflow the world, they presently expect a *Noah's Ark* to Ferry them over, and preserve them harmless. Beloved, these promises of God give us no ground thus far to presume. There is no way of *avoiding these common casualties*, but by providing our selves to bear our parts. *Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord shall deliver them out of all.* God hath not promised that good men shall have *no trouble*; but he hath made a *certain promise to deliver them.* This comfort therefore we have above all the world besides, that in all these general deluges of *Famine, of Captivity, of Pestilence*, it is no hard matter to descry, that God hath extraordinarily taken care of those that are his, and that in such sort as the world uses not to do. When his own people were led into captivity, the *Psalmist* tells us, that he *gat them favour and grace in the eyes of their enemies, and made all those that had led them away captive, to pity them.* When *Alaricus* the *Goth* had taken *Rome*, by publick proclamation he gave security to all those that fled into the *Temples* of the blessed *Apostles*, and made it *death* for any man to molest them. In which example *St. Austin* doth justly triumph, and challenges all the *Ethnick Antiquity* of the world besides, to shew where ever it was heard, that in open War the *Temples of the gods* gave security to those that fled into them: and doth very strongly prove, that all the distress and felicity that befell the *City of Rome* at the time of the *sacking of it*, was but of the *common casualties and custome of War.* But all the *graces and mercies* by which men found refuge and security, came onely for *God's sake*, and through the power of the *Name of Christ.* In these common miseries therefore which befall *Cities and Common-wealths*, we may easily read not so much the *Edit of Alaricus*, as the *Proclamation of God himself* in the *Psalmist*, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.* And sometimes openly, sometimes secretly, evermore certainly God doth deliver.

Secondly, an other errour there is, wherein we much abuse our selves, and mistake the promises of God. *They are many times made good unto us, when we beleive it not.* For as the *Jews* anciently would not beleive that *Christ* was come into the world, because he came not in that manner as they expected he should; so fares it with many *Christians* in regard of these promises of *gain*, of

*good success and deliverance.* Except God come home unto us in all our desires, except he do all that we think good he should, we are easily apt to except, and think, there is no truth in his promises. If we thrive not to our mind, if the success be not that which we expected, we think this is reason enough to charge God with breach of promise; whereas indeed we ought to know, that *be it little or much that comes unto us*, it is sufficient to *make God as good as his word*. For that a good man thrives at all, is merely from God. For if the *Devil* and the *World* could do with all, no part of the worlds good should fall on the righteous; be it therefore but little that they have, since they have it, so much against the *World's* will, it is a great argument of *God's extraordinary providence* over them, that they have *that little*. Since it is apparent, that the world opposes against it, and that by reason of their calling, they debar themselves of many the thriving Arts of the world; it must needs be, that if riches do come upon them, that God himself doth extraordinarily pour them on. Wherefore good men must not consider *how much*, or *how little* it is they have, but the means by which it comes unto them. All the *Prophets* and *Apostles* which were hungry, had not that offer which *St. Peter* had, *all kind of flesh let down from heaven*, and free choice to eat of what they listed. When *Daniel* was in *Babylon* in the Lions Den, God sends his Angel into *Jewry*, takes a *Prophet by the hair of the head*, carries him into *Babylon*, and all to carry but a *mess of pottage for Daniel's dinner*, *Daniel's fare* is meaner then *St. Peter's*, but the *miracle is as great*, and the care of *God* is the same. The righteous man that hath much is as *St. Peter*, he that hath least is as *Daniel*, the word and promise of *God* is alike made good unto them both. And thus much of these two Errors, of which the due avoiding shall keep us from mistaking of those promises, and charging *God* foolishly.

Now because much of that, which we have formerly spoken, was spent in proving, that *God* doth *force the world* many times, even in a very eminent sort, to *serve the necessities and purposes* of those that are his: yet since ordinarily the *case of good men* in the things of this world, is *meaner* then that of *the world's children*, their riches are many times small, if they be any at all, and promotion looks little after them: That we may a little the better content our selves, and know in what case we stand, give me leave to shew

shew you, how it comes about, that the wicked, though they have no promise, yet have a larger portion in the world's blessings, then the godly: Where it shall appear, that it cannot otherwise be, except it should please God to alter the ordinary course of the world.

The first cause therefore that the sons of this world thus usually climb aloft above the sons of God, and nest themselves in the tallest Cedars, is their infinite and importunate Ambition. From this root hath sprung forth both that infinite mass of wealth, which private men, and that boundless compass of Government, which great princes have attain'd unto. Nothing was ever more unjust, then the raising of these great Kingdoms; and if the Laws of equity and moderation might have taken place, they had never been. St. Austin saw no difference between the Roman Empire, and Spartacus his conspiracy, onely the one lasted a little longer, and this makes no difference in the thing it self. And hence it is, that God gave limits and bounds unto the Kingdom which his people had: and having poured out the vials of his wrath upon the usurping people that held the Land of promise from them, to whom it was due, he permitted not the Jews to grate too much upon the bordering Nations. And this is the reason why the Jews, that in all other respects went side by side, or rather before the rest of the world, onely in latitude of Kingdom yeilded to the Monarchs of the earth. For the one made the will of God, the other their own ambition, the measure of their desires. The most moderate, and wisest kind of men are many times slowest, in giving entertainment to these great thoughts of heart. In *Joathan's* parable in the Book of Judges, where the Trees go forth to chuse a King, the Olive would not leave his fatness, nor the Vine his fruit, nor the Fig-tree his sweetness, no not for a Kingdom: Onely the Brier, the basest of all shrubs, no sooner had the Trees made the motion to him, but he is very apprehensive of it, and thinks himself a goodly creature, fit to make a King of. Sober men, who best understand the nature of business, know well how great a charge extraordinary wealth, and places of Authority bring with them. There is none so poor, but hath his time to make an account of; were there nothing but this, what a sum would this amount unto? Add unto these, our Words, unto Words, Actions; unto all these, Wealth and Ability, and last of all, Honour and Authority: how do each of these successively, like places

places in *Arithmetick*, infinitely increase the sum of our accounts? No marvel then, if wise and confiderate men are slow in talking themselves so heavily, and rather content themselves quietly at home. Let the world go well or ill, so it be not long of them.

The second thing that makes them come on in the world, is their *spacious, wide, and unlimited conscience*, which can enlarge it self to the swallowing of any means, that bring *gain* and *preferment* with them; he that once hath *canterized* and *seared* his conscience, and put on a resolution to gain by all occasions, must needs quickly grow rich. But good men are evermore shie and scrupulous what they do, though there be no apparent occasion. Evil is of a shie insinuating nature, it will creep in at every little passage, all the care and wariness we can possibly use to prevent it, is too little. When *David* had cut off the lap of *Saul's* garment, the Scripture tells us, that *his heart smote him* because he had done this thing. I have often wondred with my self what it was that (in an action so innocent and harmless, done with so honourable intent, onely to bring a testimony of his innocency and righteousness) might thus importunately trouble his conscience: He intended no wrong unto *Saul*, not so much as in his thought; yet had he but a little advised himself, through *scruple and tenderness of conscience*, he would not have used so harmless a witness of his innocency. Common reason told *St. Paul*, that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and by instinct of the *holy Ghost*, himself learn'd, and taught, that it was but justice and equity, that men that labour in the Gospel, should live by the Gospel. Who feeds a flock, eats not the milk, and clothes not himself with the wooll of it? yet notwithstanding, that he might take away all occasion of evil, that lazie and idle drones, who suck the sweet of other men's labours, might not take example by him to live at other mens cost: that he might make the Gospel a *trimason*, free, without any charge, that men that have no silver might come, and buy, and eat; might come, I say, and buy the wine and milk of the Word without money, that the Gospel might not be slandered, as a means of gain, he would not use that liberty that God and men gave him, neither would he eat the milk, or wear the wooll of his own flock, but with his own hands and labour, purchas'd himself his necessary maintenance. What hope of the same extraordinary



extraordinary thriving, who are so *nice* and *scrupulous* of what they finger? What then must we think of those that *abuse godliness unto gain*, that refuse to do deeds of charity, except they bring them in some revenue? that read Scripture for no other purpose, but to cull out certain *thristy Texts* to pretend unto their covetousness and distrust, as that *Charity begins from it self*, that he is worse then an infidel that *provides not for his family*? But as for those other Scriptures that perswade us to be *open handed*, to *lend*, *looking for nothing again*; having *two coats*, to *part with him that hath none*: these we can gently pass by as *Meteors*, and *aiery speculations*, and think we have done God and men good service, when we have invented some shifting interpretation, to put them, and remove them out of the way. When *Azabel*, wounded by *Abner*, lay in the way wallowing in his own blood, the people which followed after *Abner*, stood still as they came to *Azabel*, till he was removed out of the way. Men are *willing* to be *Christians*, and yet unwilling to leave the thriving courses which the world takes, when in their pursuit of *gain*, they meet with these or the like places of holy Scripture, cannot chuse but be much amused, and stand still, as it were, at *Azabel's body*: Now those that have been the Authours of certain *mollifying Paraphrases* and *distinctions*, and the like, have removed these harsher places of Scripture, as it were *Azabel's body*, and made the way open and clear to our covetous desires. How *scrupulous* our fore-fathers were in expounding of these, or the like Texts of Scripture, themselves have left us notable Monuments. *St. Basil* makes a strange Supposition, and to it gives as strange an Answer: Wert thou brought, saith he, unto those streights, that thou hadst but *one loaf of bread* left, and that thou knew'st no means to provide other when that is spent, if there should come some *poor and needy man*, and ask thee food, what thinkest thou is thy duty to do? Even to take that *one loaf*, and put it into the hands of him that requires it, and looking up unto heaven, say, Lord, thou seest this *one loaf*, thou knowest the streights in which I am, and that there is no other means but thy *providence*: yet have I prefer'd the keeping of thy commands, before mine own necessities. Beloved, this is a point of piety, *cujus non audeo dicere nomen*, I should scarcely durst to have taught it, had I not had the warrant of so grave a man. For in this Age we are taught, that

that we must *begin from our selves*, that we must not tempt God by making our selves destitute of means, and other such *thriving doctrines*, which strongly favour of love unto the world, and distrust in God's promises. There may be many reasons of *mollifying some texts of Scripture*, and restraining them; but amongst those let that be the last which is drawn from *our commodity*: and, so there be no other cause to hinder, let not respect to our persons, or to our purses, restrain any Scripture from that latitude and compass of sense, of which it is naturally capable.

I will yet draw a third reason, why the wicked should thrive in the world above the rate of better men: and that is the *negotiating of the Devil* in these cases, who doubtless busies himself exceedingly, that those who do him service, may have their hire: and therefore whatsoever he can do in disposing of the things of the world, he will effect, and with all his might strive, that their *ambitions*, and *partial*, and *covetous desires* may have good success. Doubtless it was an overlasting speech which the Devil used unto our Saviour, when he offered him *all the Kingdoms of the world*, upon condition he would fall down and worship him. For whatsoever the issue of the *temptation* had been, he could not have made his *promise good*. Yet certainly there are many cases unknown to us, wherein the Devil, by God's permission, does *dispose of the world*. Job in his losses and afflictions takes notice of no such thing, yet we all know that the devil had an especial hand in them. Wherefore *wicked men*, if God do not hinder, doubtless have all the *service* that the world and the devil possibly can do them: and on the contrary side, could the devil and the world hinder, good men should have nothing at all. Needs therefore must they thrive, that have the devil and the world to farther them, and to do them all the good offices they can. Many other reasons may you frame to your selves, why the wicked should thus flourish in the world, which I must leave to your private Meditations. For I must not forget that there is yet a good part of my Text behind.

Now as Homer is wont to tell us, when he speaks of Rivers and Mountains, that men indeed call them thus and thus, but the gods have other names for them: so you must know, that hitherto we have spoken of *profit* and *gain*, as men are wont to like of it; we will now speak of it in a sense that God and holy  
Saints

*Saints* are wont to use. For, besides this first, there is a *second profit of Godliness*, by which it doth reflect upon the former. *Care and industry* without godliness, brings in the things of the world upon us, but in this case we cannot call them *profits*. *What profit is it for a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul?* Godliness it is therefore, that makes even *profit* it self profitable. For the true *profit* is the *enjoying, using, and bestowing* of them; and this alone doth *piety* teach. So that *piety* serves not onely as a *Bayly* to bring them in, but as an *Instructor*, to teach us how to lay them out. For it is a greater part of wisdom wisely to dispend them when we have them, then to get them at the first. As one told *Hannibal*, that he knew how to conquer better, then how to use the Victory: so many there are in the world, who know how to gather, but few that know *how to use*. How many do our eyes see every day, who make no end of *heaping up wealth*, but never bethink themselves how to *employ it*? By lying thus idly by us, it gathers a rust, as *St. James* tells us, *which rust eats out our soul*: but *piety*, *Abdita terris inimica lamina*, washes off the rust of it, and makes it bright by *using it*. One onely true use there is of these outward blessings, and that is it which our Saviour teaches in the *Gospel*, *Make ye friends*, saith he, *of the unrighteous Mammon*. The world, I know, makes it profit enough to have it; but this other profit that comes by expence, and laying it out, it can hardly be brought to learn. Many there are that can be content to hear, that *Godliness is profitable to them*, but that *Godliness should make them profitable to others*, that it should cost them any thing, that they cannot endure to hear. It was *St. Basil's* observation of old, *Οἷα πολλοὶ νηστεύουσιν, περισυχομένοις, ζητῶντας πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδελφάνον εὐσεβεῖαν ἐνδουκνύμεναι, ὁβολὸν δὲ ἐνὰ μὴ περιμένει τοῖς διλιβομένοις*: "I know many, saith he, that can with some ease be brought to *fast, to pray, to lament and mourn for sin, to perform all parts of ἀδελφάνος εὐσεβεία, of piety that cost them nothing*: but hardly shall ye draw them on to any part of piety, that doth require but the cost of an half-peny. Beloved, we that have the oversight of ye in Christ, are witnesses of your labour, of frequenting of prayers, of hearing, of thirsting after Sermons: all this is but *ἀδελφάνος εὐσεβεία*, you are very free of it, because it *costs you nothing*; but we would be very glad, and should give

up our account with much more joy, might we but understand a little more of that part of piety, which consists in bestowing of these good blessings, which godliness, I doubt not, hath gained you. Seldome speaks the Scripture of *laying up*, for this is a thing which of our selves we can fast enough practise, there needs no great pains to teach, where Scholars are so willing to learn. But Scripture oftentimes, and earnestly, deals with us concerning the *laying them out*, as being an hard lesson, and long we are a learning it. To use them that they may steed us in our last and greatest extremities; with them to purchase us freinds, that shall receive us into their *eternal Tabernacles*, this indeed is to make true profit of them, and this is performed by *godliness* alone. In the first profit of piety, namely, of *bringing in* unto us the things of this world, *godliness* hath others that *partake with her*. For honest labour and industry is a thing so pleasing unto God, that he gives it a blessing in the meer Moral and Heathen man: Impossible it is that a *diligent man* should not thrive, be the man what he will. But this second profit of *laying them out*, to make them *eternally profitable* unto us, by *charitable dispensing them*, this we owe alone to *godliness*. Beloved, of a Christian man's labour and industry, there is a double profit, one from men, and another from God alone. In the first, the world, with godliness, may have a great share; but in the second it hath no part at all: Godliness in the first can bear a great stroke, but it wholly and solely effects the second.

Thirdly, there is yet a further profit of *godliness*, which doth accrue unto us: For it makes to men not onely their wealth and riches profitable unto them, but likewise all those *inward endowments of body and soul*, which God bestows upon men. For whereas there are in us, as we are meer natural men, and strangers unto the covenant of grace, many excellent things; without *godliness* they are all nothing worth. In the fall of our first Parents, some things we did utterly lose, and some excellent things did still remain; but the profit of them was quite lost. They are unto natural men now, as the *Rain-bow* was unto the world before the *Flood*, the same still, but of no use. It is a wonderful thing to see, what gifts of wisdom, of temperance, of moral and natural conscience, of justice, of moral uprightness, do remain, not onely in the Books and Writings, but even in the Lives and

and conversations of many *Heathen men*, utterly devoid of the true knowledge of God; yet what profit reap'd they of these things, since all the good that doth remain in the natural man, can never further him one foot for the purchasing his eternal good. Suppose ye unto yourselves some such man as *Epictetus* was, let him have all graces that are, *piety* onely excepted, let him wear out himself with studies, pine himself with temperance, keep his hands clean from corruption, his heart from unchaste desires. Nay yet more, let us add unto these the patient enduring of all disgrace, of loss of goods, of banishment, yea, of torment of body for *Goodness* sake. (For so we find, that not onely *Christianity*, but even Moral goodness amongst Heathen men, sometimes endured a persecution.) Our Books are full of the commendation of *Regulus*, a famous *Roman*, who did undergo a kind of *Moral Martyrdom* for his conscience sake, and with great patience for a long time all the unspeakable torments of body, which a most cruel, perfidious, and bloody people could lay upon him, onely because he would not break his *Oath*. Let us, I say, suppose some one man, in whom all these things concur; and what shall these profit him, when having put off this body of flesh, he shall find one and the same place provided for him, and the wickedest wretch that ever lived? Indeed I cannot think, that in this one place, there is the same degree of punishment inflicted upon *Epictetus* and *Regulus*, and upon *Nero* and *Julian*. The Gospel distinguishes and tells us, that there is a servant that shall be beaten with many stripes, and a servant that shall be beaten with few stripes. All these great graces in Heathen men, may serve to lighten their weight of punishment, to diminish their number of stripes, they may procure them less inconvenience, but they bring them no positive profit at all. Add but onely godliness to these things, and forthwith they shall become exceeding profitable. This alone is that which gives them τὸ εὐαγγεῖον, a loveliness and beauty, which is of force to attract and draw the favour of God unto them. Those natural graces, they are at the most onely as it were the matter and body of a Christian man, a thing of it self dead, without life; but the soul and life that quickens this body, is godliness. They are of the same kindred and brotherhood with godliness, and God is the common Father unto them all, yet without godliness, they find no entertainment at God's



hands. As *Joseph* said unto his brethren, Ye shall not see my face, unless your younger brother be with you; The same is the countenance of God towards these; they shall never come to have any part of that blessed Vision of God, wherein all happiness doth consist, except this *Brother* be with them. And as the same *Joseph*, when his brethren came to him accompanied with their brother *Benjamin*, gave portions to every one of them, but *Benjamin's* part was five times more then theirs; so when these shall come to appear before God, accompanied with this *Brother*, they shall every one of them receive worthy portions from him, for *Godliness's* sake, but the portion of *Godliness* shall be five times more then any of the rest.

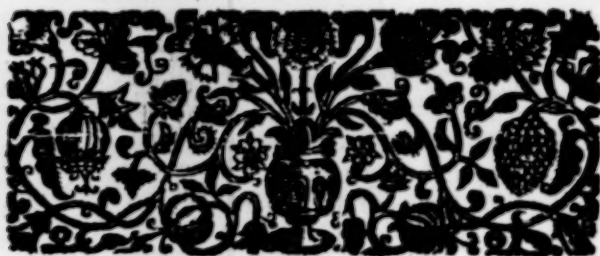
Fourthly, and last of all, there is yet one further profit of *Godliness*. For whereas hitherto we have shewed, that *godliness* makes that which we do possess profitable unto us, it shall now appear that *godliness* makes even the want of them advantagious unto us. That which makes all things profitable unto us, that makes even *Nothing* it self profitable, so that in respect of *godliness* it is alike gainful unto us, either to enjoy the things of the world, or not to have them. For I verily perswade my self, that it is as meritorious (if I may use the word) as great a part of *Religious Worship*, to know how to want these things for God's sake, as to know how to abound, and use them to his service. *Epaminondas* a *Theban Nobleman*, when the people in scorn had put him in a base Office, told them, that he would so manage it, as that he would make it a place of as great Honour and Credit, as any was in the State. *Godliness* is like this *Theban Nobleman*, and is able to make the basest and most penurious estate, equivalent unto the most Honourable Calling in the world. God, who made us out of *Nothing*, is able, and doth make *Nothing* as beneficial unto us, as if he had made us Lords of all his creatures. Neither to enjoy, nor to want, is a thing with God of any worth; but to know how to use, or to know how to want, this becomes beneficial to us. But the man that hath nothing in this world, if he have not this Art of enjoying nothing, *Perdidit in felix totum nihil*, hath utterly lost the benefit of this *Nothing*. When *Job* from so great an estate had fallen to *nothing*, by patience, by humble submission under the hand of God, by receiving calamities and giving of thanks, had purchas'd to himself a greater measure of glory, then if he had  
never

never tasted of misery. *Many do want*, and make their want a greater increase of evil unto them; for they do it either with *repining* at God's providence, or *secret indignation* and *envy* against them that abound, (both which, as they make the present evils worse, so they heap up wrath against the day of wrath) or if they can quiet their minds, and make a shew of *calmness* and *contentedness*, it is rather out of a *senselessness* and *stupidity*, then Religious discretion. As little children that laugh at their parents Funerals, because they do not understand their calamities. But to resign our selves up into the hand of God, to be thoroughly contented, that he should dispose of his creatures as he pleases, to want without repining, this is a part of *piety* as great as *giving our bodies to the fire*, or *entertainment of Christ* and his *Prophets*, of *founding of Churches*, of *Almsdeeds*, or whatsoever part of godliness is so much in Scripture commended unto us. What a comfort then is this to a brother of low degree, when he shall consider with himself, that his *want* is as rich as the greatest wealth? That between rich and poor, in regard of our *last Landing*, as it were, and entrance into our Haven, it is but as it was in St. Paul's broken Ship, some by swimming, some by broken parts of the Ship, some one way, some another, but all came safe to Land.

The End of the First Sermon.

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The



*The profit of GODLINESS.*

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The Second

S E R M O N

On I TIM. iv. 8.

*But Godliness is profitable unto all things.*



When I made my first entrance upon these words, you may be pleased to call to mind, that I considered in them two things: First, the *profit* that comes by *Godliness*, in the first words, *Godliness is profitable*. Secondly, the *Latitude*, compass, and extent of this *profit*, in the next words, *Unto all things*. [*Godliness is profitable unto all things.*]

In the first part, concerning the *profit* that comes by *Godliness*, I shew'd you, first, that *Godliness* was profitable in that plain and gross sense, in which the world in her language commonly takes the name of *profit*. For so I taught, and by example I proved it, that *Godliness* blesses our store, gives good success to all our drifts and counsels,

*conuuls, prospers our preferments, and makes all things successfull which we take in hand.*

Secondly, I shewed you, that *Godliness* is profitable in a sense, unto which the world is an utter stranger, for this is that which makes even *profit* it self profitable. For *wealth*, and *riches*, and the like, which the world commonly means, when it speaks of *profit*, in and of themselves are *not profit*: but the true profit of them is in the enjoying, using, and bestowing of them, and this alone doth *Piety* teach us. For this alone it was, that taught us to make them eternally profitable unto us, by *charitably dispensing* them. *Aristotle* discoursing to us concerning *Moral Virtues*, and man's happiness, could tell us, that *Virtue*, though it were an excellent thing, yet our happiness did not consist in *having it*, but in the *use of it*, and living according unto it. As it was *Aristotle's* opinion betwixt *Virtue* and *Happiness*, so is it betwixt *Riches* and *Profit*: Profit consists not in the possession of riches, but in the *using* them, and *bestowing* them.

Thirdly, I shewed you yet a farther profit of *Godliness*, in making not our riches and wealth, but our *inward faculties*, and *powers*, and *endowments of our souls* and minds, profitable unto us. For all these excellent faculties of *wit* and *apprehension*, of *learning* and *industry*, yea, of *honesty* and *civil behaviour*, if they were not joyn'd with *Godliness*, were utterly unprofitable. For all these might be, and were in very many Heathen men, who were utter strangers to the Covenant of Grace.

Fourthly, I taught yet a further profit. For *Godliness* makes not onely that which we do possess, but it makes even the *want of them* advantageous. For I shew'd it is a great part of Religious worship, to know how *patiently to want* these things for God's sake, as to know how to abound and use them to his service: so that in respect of *Godliness*, it is alike gainful to us either to enjoy the things of this world, or not to have them. *Job* by patiently wanting the things of this life, purchased to himself as great a Crown, as ever he did by enjoying them at full. Thus far at that time, and so I went away indebted unto you for my second part, which debt I now come to discharge.

The second part therefore which we are now to consider, is the *Latitude*, *Extent*, and *Largeness* of this profit of *Godliness*. *Godliness is profitable unto all things*. Of which, I shall be the less occasioned!

Occasioned to speak, because that in speaking of the former point, I have here been necessarily drawn to touch at it. For in that I have spoken concerning *rich* and *poor*, concerning *plenty* and *want*, that *Godliness* is *profitable unto both*, is part of this second point, namely, of the *Latitude* and extent of that advantage which comes of piety. Though therefore the more breifly, yet must we adde somewhat more concerning the wonderful compass of it, and shew, that as the *leaven* in the Gospel *transfus'd its force into the whole lump of dough*; so *godliness* does mix it self with every part of our life. They that have written in praise of *Musick*, have much admired it, for that great *sympathy* and *correspondence* which it holds with *man's nature*: that it so applies it self to all occasions, that whether a man be alone or in company, whether sad or merry, whether at his devotion or at his sports, in what estate soever he be, *Musick* is still seemly and fitting. Certainly then is *Godliness* wonderfully *Harmonical*, wonderfully *Musical*, that doth so easily accommodate and fit it self to all persons, all estates, all degrees, all sexes, all ages, all actions whatsoever.

The Arts of this world are by God's providence so divided, that they must of necessity belong onely to some; all the world cannot be practitioners in any one of them. If all were *Husbandmen*, what would become of the *Merchant's Trade*? If all were *Merchants*, where were the *Scholar*? The profit of every one of these may peradventure redound to many, the skill necessarily resides in few: And let us suppose all to be *professors of any one*, the profit of that must needs *perish*. But this wonderful Art of *Godliness* is of an higher nature, and hath a kind of *Metaphysical community*: it must descend unto all particulars; we must, if we will have any profit by it, be all professors of it.

Secondly, few or no Arts are there in the world, that are befitting *both sexes*, some are well befitting men, but are utterly unfit for women. To go abroad, to handle the sword, to manage foreign matters, this belongs unto the man; but to keep home, handle the distaff, to manage the business of the family, these belong unto the woman. But for the profession and practise of Piety, *ἡμοίως δέκτικον τὸ τὸλυ τῷ ἀφρέν*, saith St. Basil, Womenkind are as far forth capable of it as men are. And Gregory Nyssen tells us, that in prayer, and fasting, and other exercises of *Godliness* there have been women found, who have far surpassed men.

Thirdly,



Thirdly, in the world *Arts* and *Professions* are to be distributed amongst men according to their several *complexions*, as it were, and *constitutions* of mens wits. *Ex quo libet ligno non fit Mercurius*. Every temper of nature fits not every profession, as every soil will not bring forth all kind of seeds. And hence it is, that those who have delivered unto us their opinions, concerning the *institution of youth*, have advised men warily to observe, towards what *Profession* or *Trade* their *nature leans*, and to build upon this as upon a foundation. All this labour of examining and trying mens capacities and constitutions in the business of *piety* is at an end. For there is no constitution, no temper of nature unapt to receive impression from it. There is no Nature so stubborn, no wit so weak and silly, but can make a perfect *Christian*, and quickly by the help of the *grace of God*, inwardly working with it, beleave and understand the darkest mysteries of *Godliness*. The reason of this difference is evident. For *Man's Art* cannot alter the nature of the Subject on which he works: and therefore if he cannot do what he would, he must content himself to do that which the matter upon which he works will give him leave. As the *Sun* which warms the earth gives nothing unto it, onely stirs up the nature and faculty it finds in it, and so makes it bring forth fruit; so good education in any Art, if it find a Nature fit to receive and entertain it, it will cause it, as it were, to bud, and blossom, and bring forth fruit; but give, or infuse, or make a nature, it cannot. But the *holy Spirit* of God, where it pleases him to sow the seed of *Grace*, doth alter the very complexion and nature of the soil, and were our hearts as hard as flint, or as barren as the sand, he can make them as soft as wax, and as fertile as *Garden*, or the *Paradise* of God. *Create a new heart within me*, saith the *Psalmist*. The conversion of a sinner, is a kind of degree of *Creation*. But I must proceed.

Fourthly, *Aristotle* discoursing concerning the fit hearer and learner of *Moral* and *Civil Virtues*, quite excludes *Youth*, as utterly unfit for any such drift and end; And why? He is yet forsooth impatient of admonition, hot in passion; when these things are calm'd and allai'd, then is he fit wax to receive the impression of natural instruction. But he whom the *Schole of Nature* hath thus excluded, the *Schole of Grace* and *Piety* hath especially made choice of. *From a child to have known the Scriptures*. Suffer young

children to come unto me. He that receives not the kingdom of heaven like a young child. Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way? Many more testimonies of holy Scripture, which plainly declare unto us, that *Youth* is the fittest subject to receive the influence and operation of the holy Spirit of God. Let the passions of *Youth* rage never so violently, let him as much contemn and set at nought the good and grave advise of his *Ancients*, as ever *Rehoboam* did; yet God, that sits upon the fouds, and gives them Laws, and tames them, can bridle the unruliest passion of the most disorderly *young man*, and make him like unto young *Joseph* or *Daniel*.

Fifthly, Old men are very unfit learners of the lessons which the world teacheth, and almost impossible it is for a man to begin to study in his age. Therefore *Opismathie*, which is too late beginning to learn, was counted a great vice, and very unseemly amongst *Moral and Natural men*. For the longer we defer, the more unapt still we grow, our senses wax duller, our memory frailer, yea, our understanding too will sensibly decay. But in the *Schole of Christ*, none is too old to learn, no memory too short to remember his duty; no disgrace, no unseemliness, even for old men to come to *schole*. For the Spirit of God strengthens the memory, softens the brain, supplies all defects that Age brings with it, and makes it, were it as dry as *Aaron's Rod*, to bud and blossom, and bring forth ripe fruit unto righteousness. When *David*, in the *Book of Kings*, had invited old *Barzillai* to the Court; *Barzillai*, who had so kindly entertained him, when he fled from his ungracious son, he excuses himself unto the King, by reason of his age, his taste fails him, his hearing is gone, he hath lost all sense of *Court delights* and pleasures; and therefore he requests that favour for his young son *Chimham*, as a fitter person to make a *Courtier*. "I am this day, saith *Barzillai*, fourscore years old, and can I discern between good and evil? Can thy servant taste what I eat, or what I drink? Can I hear any more the voice of singing men, and singing-women? Wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burthen to my Lord the King? Let thy servant, I pray thee, turn back again, that I may die in my own city, and be buried in the grave of my father and of my mother. But behold, thy servant *Chimham*, let him go over with my Lord the King, and do to him what shall seem good

“good unto thee. Thus indeed it is in the Courts of earthly Princes, men by age do grow unſerviceable, and comberſome, and therefore there is a time for them to retire. The counſel which *Quintilian* gives his Oratour, *Deſmere cum deſideretur*, to reſign and give over whilſt as yet he is ſerviceable, belongs eſpecially unto *Courtiers*: Beſt for them to reſign their places with honour, whilſt yet they are able to do ſervice, leſt if they ſtay till age hath made them unſerviceable, they may peradventure be forced unto it with diſgrace. But in the *Court of Chriſt*, none is too old to do ſervice, there is no difference betwixt *Barzillai* and *Chimham*, their ſtrength and ſenſes are alike. Fourſcore years could impair *Barzillai*’s taſte and hearing, but the ſpiritual taſte and bearing, no age or length of days can make decay. It were to be wiſh’d, that in our *youngſt days*, we would dedicate ourſelves unto God’s ſervice, that we would think of that counſel which *ſeneca* gives his freind *Lucilius*, *Perge mi Lucili, & propera, ne tibi accidat quod mihi, ut ſenex diſcas*. On betimes, and make haſte, leſt that befall you which hath befallen me, *To learn in your age*. But if the grace of God ſhine not on us, till the *laſt hour* of our day, yet as the *Huſbandman* in the Goſpel, gives unto the laſt as unto the firſt, ſo will God give unto the eldeſt as unto the youngſt; their ſtrength and ability, as far as Chriſt’s ſervice requires it, ſhall return unto them again: as the fleſh of *Naaman* after his Leproſie became unto him again as the fleſh of a little child.

Sixthly, the Arts of the world ſeem to be ſomewhat of an *unſociable diſpoſition*, they hinder one another: and a very hard thing it is to learn, and praſtiſe perfectly more then one. The mind of a man diſtracted amongſt many things, muſt needs entertain them brokenly and unperfectly. But *Piety* is of a more *pliable nature*: no Art, no Profeſſion, no Trade whatſoever, unto which the learning and continual praſtiſe of piety can be any hinderance. He that ſtudieth piety alone all his days, ſhall find in it more then all the time he hath can bring to perfection. And yet the moſt troubleſome Arts that are, which take up and exact of us moſt part of our time, leave time enough for the learning of this ſacred Art. As it was with thoſe who gathered *Manna*, He that gathered little, had no want; and he that gathered much, had nothing over: every man gathered his Gomer full according to his

eating: so is it in the gathering of this *spiritual Manna*, he that spends all his time in it, and seems to gather much, gathers onely his *Gomer full*, as much onely as is sufficient for his spending; and he that is necessarily detain'd with other cares of this life by some Trade, or some other Vocation whatsoever, and seems to gather less, gathers notwithstanding his *Gomer full too*, even that which is sufficient for his use. No Arts there are that do so wholly take up the mind of man, as that they leave no room for any other thought. The experience of *Tradesmen* themselves doth witness thus much unto us, who in the midst of their most serious business and labour, can *talk*, and *sing*, and make themselves merry, and by this means deceive the time, and ease themselves something of the burthen of their labours. Even here is space enough for the practice of *Godliness*. For why cannot as well a *Prayer*, and *holy Meditations*, take up the rooms of these idle thoughts and talk? Certainly it is an *hallowing of our actions* to distinguish them, and *intersperse* amongst them *good and pious meditations*. So that for the practice of piety, it is not alway necessary for you to lay down your work, to come to Church and solemn Service, or still to use some such form as suffers you to do nothing else; but you may very well do it as you walk in the streets, as you stand at the stalls, as you sit at your shop-boards, and make every place a Church where you are. *Arator sive tenens Halelujah decantat; Judæus in psalmis sese evocat & curva attendens falce vites vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit.* It is *St. Hierom's* in his xvij. *Epistle*: The *Husbandman* as he holds the *Plough* may sing an *Hallelujah*: the *sweating harvest-man* may cool and refresh himself with a *Psalm*: The *Gardiner* whilst he prunes his *Vines* and *Arbours*, may record some one of *David's sonnets*. So that as the *Jews* report of *Manna*, that it had not one kind of savour with all men, but was *intaste unto every man* like unto that which he best liked: so *Piety* fits it self, as it were, unto *every man's palate*; and look what it is which he hath been bred up in, or best likes, *piety* will become like unto it, and taste as he would have it.

Seventhly, and last of all, as one said wittily in another case, *Nullius agricolæ cultæ stirps tam diuturna quam poetæ versu seminari potest.* No tree grows so well, as that which is planted by a *Poet's verse*; so in this matter of *piety*, it is far more true, that no Trade thrives so well, as that *no Tree grows so well, no Corn so fruitful, as that*

that which is set or sown by the hand of a *Religious Husbandman*. Now further, to prove that *piety* is exceedingly beneficial to every one of these, there is no better means then for you to believe it. The labours of Christian men are many times not successful, because themselves are distrustful. That which our Saviour so usually said to those who sought for remedy at his hands, *According to your faith, be it unto ye*, is said unto every Christian man, that looks for a blessing of his industry, it is *unto him according as his faith is*. But I need not strive to express my self, the holy Ghost himself hath sav'd me that labour, who in two several places of Scripture, the xxvj. of *Leviticus*, the xxviij. of *Deuteronomy*, hath most effectually shewn, how the profit of *Godliness* doth descend unto our most particular necessities.

"Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed in the field; blessed shalt thou be in the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy cattel, and the increase of thy kine, and in thy stocks of sheep. Blessed shalt thou be in thy basket, and in thy dough. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed when thou goest out. I will send you rain in due season, and the land shall yeild her increase, and the trees in the field shall yeild their fruit. And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time; and you shall eat your bread unto the full, and dwell in your land safely; and I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid. And I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land, &c. Therefore as the Scripture tells us of *Joseph*, that wheresoever, or with whomsoever he convers'd. he brought a blessing with him; when he was in *Potiphar's house*, he brought a blessing upon *Potiphar's house*; when he went into the prison, he brought a blessing with him to the prison; when he went into *Pharaoh's house*, he brought a blessing upon it, and upon all the land of *Egypt*. So *piety* doubtless, wheresoever it walketh, leaves a blessing behind it, as the *Hare* leaves the scent of her footing. Did *piety* afford us nothing else but its company, brought it no improvement to our estate, but onely taught us to be content with it, whatsoever it be, yet this were profit enough if men could see it. But because profit and gain is that which the world so much doats on, and hard, if not impossible it is to wean men from the love of it; it hath pleased God to annex unto *piety* such a force, that it shall increase and enhance:



hance what estate soever it shall apply it self unto. When *Cyrus* the King was gathering his Army, he made a proclamation to this effect, That whosoever would put himself into his service, should doubtless find great advancement of his estate; were he possessor of a little *Mannor*, he would make him *Governour of a City*; were he the *Governour of a City*, he would make him *Lord of a Province*; were he *Lord of a Province*, he would make him a *King of many Nations*. This which here our Apostle tells us, that *Godliness is profitable*, that *Godliness is profitable to all things*, is indeed the very drift of his proclamation. For it gives us to understand, that look what estate it is, to which *piety* adjoins it self, it shall receive not onely security, but even great increase and improvement from it. Thus hath appeared unto you, both the *profit that comes by Godliness*, and likewise the *exceeding largeness and compass of the profit*.

But for our further instruction, something yet is there, by occasion of this Text, farther to be learn'd. For lest any man of upright life and conversation, should, upon the reading of this, or the like Texts of Scripture, forthwith expect, that the world should come in upon him, that he should receive Grace, and Honours, and Preferments; and finding himself to fail in his expectation, and instead of all these, to meet with disgrace and reproach, should begin to call in question the truth of these promises, and charge God foolishly, let us a little consider the nature of God's promises in this kind. Wherefore we are to note, that God, although he be a most free and liberal Giver, yet notwithstanding, most of his *promises are conditional*. *The gift of God is eternallife*, saith *St. Paul*. Salvation is a meer and free gift: yet nevertheless, God gives it to none, but to those that live either uprightly, or penitently. As it is with the things of the life to come, so is it much more with the things of this life; they are a meer *Donative*, a Gift, an Alms; and wheresoever God bestows them, he bestows them freely. For do we all we can do, yet is not God a debtor to us for the least and meanest temporal blessing. And it is not to be thought, that he that out of his meer grace and liberality gives us Heaven, a thing of that inestimable value, would set a price upon the things of this life, and so sell them unto us, which are indeed things of no worth at all. Yet notwithstanding he *gives them not*, no not to those that are his, *without*

## The profit of Godliness.

2-5

without condition. It's worth noting which St. Basil hath, ὡς περ οἱ πατρικοί, &c. As Farmers, and Tenants, that Rent lands of other men, till the ground according to the will of him that lets it them: οὕτω καὶ ἡμῖν κατὰ συγγεγραμμένην ἢ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιμέλεια παραδίδεται. So the care and manage of this flesh of ours is committed unto us, κατὰ συγγεγραμμένην, upon Obligation, upon Indenture or Lease, that so husbanding this flesh of ours according to the conditions upon which it is let us, we may make it fruitful unto him that let it. Not our flesh only, but all things that pass between God and us upon conditions, they are let unto us by Indenture. Let us therefore, like careful Tenants, look into our Lease, and see what Conditions they are, which God requires at the hand of those, who look to take of God the things of this world, who claim a promise of him of the things of this life. These shall not find in other places of Scripture, where the same Doctrine is taught, but with some restraint, which here the holy Ghost seems to deliver absolutely. For this is the best way of interpreting of Scriptures, when as what is in one place briefly and concisely delivered, is expounded by another place, where it is more largely taught. Our Saviour therefore in the sixth of St. Matthew, treating of the things of this life, and our care for them, bids us first seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of him, and all these things shall be added unto us. That which here in my Text our Apostle calls Godliness, is by our Saviour exprest by the terms of seeking the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of him: that which our Apostle calls profit, our Saviour calls these things. Where our Saviour seems to me to speak with some kind of scorn and indignation, that our infirmity should force him to name the things of this life (as we commonly say) the same day with the things of the life to come. Wherefore having expressly named the Kingdom of God, and the righteousness of him, he passes over the rest, as disdainingly to name them otherwise, then by the general name of These things. As Ezekiah pulling the brazen Serpent, calls it no otherwise but by the scornfull name of Nehushtan, brazen stuff: so Christ willing to pull down in us the things of this life, (after which we run a whoring, more then ever the Jews did after the brazen serpent) telling us of Divine matters, wills us first to seek the Kingdom of God, and then shall these things, this Trash, this Nehushtan, this Leaden, Pewter, or at the best Brazen stuff

stuff of the world, be cast in upon us. Here then is the prime and principal condition to be kept by us, if we will claim a promise of the things of this life at the hands of God. Where we are to note, that not *quomodolibet* simply unto Godliness is there made a certain promise of profit, and the things of this life, but unto *Godliness upon condition*, if it be *first of all studied*, and sought out by us. If the first stone of our building be *Godliness*, the Kingdom of God, and the righteousness of him: then will the things of this life come in, otherwise no: or if they do, they come not in because of God's promise, but for some other cause. As it is with those who *build*, some things they provide for *main walls* and *foundation*, some things onely for *ornament* and *furniture*: that *Building* must needs prove weak, where that is laid for a *foundation*, which was provided onely for *garnishing*. These *outward things* are but a seeming kind of *furniture* for this life, but the *main wall* is *Godliness*. Her *foundations*, saith the *Psalmist*, are in the *holy Hills*. St. *Paul* telling us of some *builders*, who having laid a *good foundation*, built upon it *hay*, and *stubble*, shews what great damage they shall sustain by so doing: If this be the case of those builders, whose foundation is supposed to be good, what think we shall be the loss of *those builders*, whose very foundation is *hay* and *stubble*? as is theirs, who have laid the *things of this life* as their prime and corner-stone. *First, seek ye the Kingdom of God.* *First*, is a word of *order*, and *order* is *Θεον τι*, saith *Theon* in his *Comments upon Ptolomy*, it is a *Divine thing*, a *thing of wonderful force* and *efficacy*. For cost may be laid out, matter may be provided, labour may be bestowed, and all to no purpose, if there be not a *set course*, an *order* observed in the business. The experience of the meanest Tradesman amongst you, is able to tell you thus much. For whosoever he be amongst you that goes to practise his Trade, he cannot *begin* where he list; something there is that must be done in the *first place*, without which, he cannot go unto the *second*; something in the *second place*, which will not be done, except something be done *afore it*. Some *order* there is which prescribes a law and manner to his action, which being not observed, nothing can be done. As in all other business, so in this great business of *Christianity*, we may not think that we may hand over head, huddle up matters as we list; but we must *οὐδὲν βρᾶδυν*, we must keep a *method and order*, a *set course* in our proceedings.

ceedings. Not, *First, these things*, and then *the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of him*: but, *First, the kingdom of God, and Then, these things*. We have amongst our Books an Authour, who commending unto us the great use of *Method and Order* in our studies, tells us, that if a man could assure himself *thirty years of study*, it would be far more profitable for him to spend *twenty* of them in finding out some *course and order of Study*, and the other *ten* in studying according to this order, then to spend the whole, though it be in very diligent study, if it be with *misorder and confusion*. Howsoever it be with *Method and Order* in these *Academical studies*, certainly in our studies which concern the practise of Christianity, it cannot chuse, but be with great loss of labour and industry, if we do not observe that *Method and Order* which here our Saviour prescribes. *Simplicius* in his Comments upon *Aristotle*, makes a question, Whether Youths in their reading of *Aristotle's books*, should begin with his *Logicks*, where he teaches them to *dispute and reason*; or with his *Moral books*, where he teaches them to live *civilly and honestly*. If, saith he, they begin from his *Logick* without *Morals*, they were in danger to prove *wrangling Sophisters*: if from his *Morals* without *Logick*, they would prove *confused*. Thus indeed it fares in the knowledge of Nature, where all things are uncertain; thus it is with Students in the *University*, who have *Aristotle* for their God. Scarcely will all their *Logick* do them so much service, as to shew them where they would begin, or where end. But in the studies of *Christianity*, it is nothing so. *Christ* is our *Aristotle*, he hath written us a *Spiritual Logick*, he hath shewed us a *Method and Order*, what first to do, what next, and how to range every thing in its proper place. He that shall follow this, may be secure of his end, it is impossible he should lose his pains. But if we follow our own conceits, if we like best of our own courses, God deals with us no otherwise then parents do with their children: For so long as children follow the direction and advice of their parents, so long it is fit that their parents should provide for them: but if once children like best of their own courses, then it is but meet they should take the event and fortune of them. Yea, so much the more dangerous is our error of not observing the order and method that *Christ* hath given us, because it cannot afterward be remedied, we have for ever lost the claim to God's

promises in this kind. As *Cato* said of errors committed in Battel, *In aliis rebus si quid erratum est, potest postmodum corrigi, praeliorum delicta emendationem non recipiunt quia pœna statim sequitur errorem*: Errors in other things may be again amended, but the error of a Battel cannot possibly be remedied, because the inconvenience immediately follows upon the mistake. For if we have not observed this *Method* of our Saviour, if any thing have possess'd our thoughts, before or above the thought, study, and care of *Godliness*, we have *mist of our Method*, we have broken our condition, and therefore now for ever can we claim no promise of God in this kind. Here therefore is a most certain touch, by which we may come to examine our claim unto these promises; for if at any time we shall perceive our selves overtaken with passion and discontent, upon consideration that we be disgraced and impoverished. When as men, who, as we suppose, have nothing so much care of God, and the things that are his, do flourish in grace and favour with the world. Let us presently examine our selves, whether or no we have kept the conditions; viz, sought first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of him? or have given somewhat else the first room in our thoughts? Thus if we do, our own conscience will presently tell us, what part we have in these promises. For which of us can say, that, with *Samuel*, we have been dedicated to God from our first and tender infancy? What do I say? from our first? nay, how many of us are there, who can scarcely spare the latter end of our days for God? When the world hath crop'd the prime of our age, of our labour, of our industry; when it hath sifted and bolted out the flower, when our health and youth is spent in the world's service, with much ado can we be content to bestow our old, decrepit, sickly, and unprofitable part of our age upon God, and the study of Godliness? How then can we claim this promise at God's hands, that have thus grossly neglected our conditions? To conclude. When God, in the Book of *Kings*, made a covenant with *Solomon*, he tells him plainly what he and his people must trust to.

“1 *Kings* ix. 4. If thou wilt walk before me, as *David* thy father walked, in integrity of heart, and uprightness, to do according to all that I have commanded thee, and wilt keep my statutes and my judgments:

5 “Then will I establish the Throne of thy Kingdom upon *Israel* for



“ for ever, as I promised to *David* thy father, saying, There shall  
“ not fail thee a man upon the Throne of *Israel*.

6 “ But if you shall at all turn from following me, you or your  
“ children, and will not keep my commandments, and my sta-  
“ tutes, which I have set before you, but go and serve other gods,  
“ and worship them:

7 “ Then will I cut off *Israel* out of the land which I have given  
“ them; and this house which I have hallowed for my Name,  
“ will I cast out of my sight, and *Israel* shall be a Proverb, and a  
“ By-word among all people. Here are threats as well as promi-  
ses, and those promises are conditional. It is but just, that they  
who claim the promises, look well and truly to the conditions.

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## JACOB'S VOW.

A

# S E R M O N

On GEN. xxviii. 20.

*And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, &c.*



And Jacob vowed a vow. 'Οι ἑρμηνευταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνδρες εἰσι χαλμαρδοί. The Interpreters of Homer observe unto us, that he gives unto God one kind of *Dialect*, to Men another. When he brings in God speaking, he makes him use *fair, smooth, and clear* running words; but the speeches and discourse of men, he fits with words of *harder and harsher sound* and composition. ἑρμῆς and χαλμαρδοί, they are but two names of one and the same River; the one a word of pleasing sound taken up by the gods, the other a word of unpleasing

sing and rougher accent, used by men. *Moses* the great Interpreter of the Greatest God of Heaven and Earth, in those first words of my Text, seems to have borrow'd a peice of the same Art. For that which here in the language of the holy Ghost he calls a *Vow* (*And Jacob vowed a vow*) that καὶ ὀρκισάμενος, to speak according to the manner and phrase of men, is nothing else but a *contract* or *bargain*. *Vow* and *Bargain* in this place, are but ἐλάττω, and ὑπομάρτυρι. *Vow* is a Religious and Sacred word, and therefore best fits to express our carriages and demeanour with God: *Bargain* is a degenerate and sordid word, and therefore best suits with Merchandizing and Trafficking betwixt man and man. All things pass by way of *Contract* and *Bargain*. *Do ut des, facio ut facias*: service requires hire, and one good turn demands another. It was the divil that ask'd the question, *Doth Job serve God for nought?* But the Saints of God may above all other most truly answer, *That indeed they do not.* For God may go forth at all hours in the day, and find enough standing idle in the marketplace, yet shall he get none to work in his Vineyard, except he bring his *Peny* with him. When *Jacob*, in the xxx. of *Genesis*, returned out of the feild, *Leah* meets him, and tellshim, *Thou must come in to me*, for surely I have hired thee with my sons *Mandrakes*. *Jacob*, that great Saint of God, deals no otherwise with God himself, then he did with *Leah*; if God will have *Jacob*, he must purchase him with his *Mandrakes*, he must buy him with food and raiment: *If God will be with me, and give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, then shall the Lord be my God.*

In which words, the first thing very remarkable, is a singular disproportion which seems to be contained in them. *Demetrius Phalerensis*, a grave and judicious Writer, much blames an ancient Authour, who describing a small *Flie*, that lives amongst the grass, and nests it self amongst the trees, extremely over-worded, and over-spake himself in his expression of it: ἐνὶ μέτρῳ καὶ ὀρεῖναι, ἐνὶ μέτρῳ οἷς τὰς κοίτας δρύς, as if, saith he, he had spoken of the *Newean Lion*, or the *Caldonian Bore*, or some such great and terrible beast. He that shall observe the *Apparatus*, the great preparation that is here made, might well conceive, that there were some great matter intended. For first, here is a *Vow*. Secondly, here is the *Person* who conceives the *Vow*, *Jacob*. Thirdly, here is the *Person* to whom the *Vow* is made. Fourthly, here is the

the *End*, for which it is made. He that shall rightly sum up the *first three parts*, and truly consider the greatness of them, might justly think, that the last, wherein, as it were, the *Upshot* and total of the rest is comprized, did certainly contain some extraordinary matter. First, here is a *Vow*. This may not be in any light or *trivial thing*. Wise men are seldom serious, much less will they make a Religion in small matters. Secondly, here is the *Person*, Jacob; a person of great note and worth: For who greater in the House of God then Jacob? one of those famous *Triumpviri*, (*Abraham, Isaac, Jacob*) from whom God was pleased to *denominate* and *style himself*. Could such an *Eagle* strike at a *Flie*? Could a person of such note, make a *Vow*, or commence a *Suit* for a trifle? So great a Courtier in the Court of Heaven had learn'd his Courtship a little better, then to spend favour in small matters. *Quedam beneficia accipiente minora sunt*. Benefits and favours, such may be, as that they may be unworthy and too mean for him to whom they are tendred. When *Caligula* the Emperour had sent to *Demetrius*, a famous Philosopher, a round sum of money to tempt him, and try what was in him, he rejected it with scorn, and replied, *Si tentare me voluerat, toto illi experiendus eram imperio*: If the Emperour (saith he) had a purpose to try me, he should have cast his *whole Empire* at my feet, and tried me with that. And how can it be that *Jacob*, a person so far above *Demetrius*, could think of asking, or receiving a small and common benefit? As it is fabled of *Thomas Aquinas*, that being ask'd of *Christ* in a Vision, what reward he would have, reply'd, *Nullum, Domine, prater teipsum*; None, Lord, but thy self: So, Beloved, had God made proffer unto *Jacob* of all the benefits he had to give, I do not see what better choice he could have made, then that of *Aquinas*, *Nullum, Domine, prater teipsum*; None, Lord, save thy self. For the whole kingdom of Heaven it self, might it be without God, would not be worth the taking. The circumstance therefore of the party suing, must needs put us in expectation of some great matter. But we have not yet done. For to raise our expectation yet a little higher, a *third circumstance* offers it self. The circumstance of the *Person*, to whom the *Vow* or *Suit* is made, and that is God, the Great King of Heaven and Earth. So great a *Donor*, especially at the request of so great a *Suitor*, cannot bestow but some great benefit. *Quedam beneficia minora sunt, quam ut exire a mag-*

*nis viris debeant.* Benefits and favours must carry some proportion with the greatness and worthiness of the Donor. When a freind of *Alexander the Great* had ask'd him *ten talents*, he tendred to him *fifty*; and when reply was made, that *ten* were sufficient, *True*, said he, *Ten are sufficient for you to take, but not for me to give.* Beloved, had *Jacob* been but some ordinary suitor, and contented himself with some small suit, yet is it not likely that so *Royal a Donor as God is*, would see his Honour and Magnificence to suffer, by parting with some ordinary or contemptible favour. Hitherto all things speak and promise nothing but Greatness; But see here the great disproportion I noted unto you. For what is the end of all this serious and Religious Vow, or what request is it that this great Suitour moves to so great a Lord? Nothing else but bread, and raiment to put on, then shall the Lord be my God. A suit of the lowest and meanest rank imaginable. For which of us all would serve, I say not some great King, but even a mean Lord, at so cheap a hand? The wandring Levite in the Book of Judges, which hires out himself to *Micha*, thinks it not enough to have apparel and viſuals, but he will have *ten shekels by the year for his wages.* We have a common saying, *No service to the service of a King.* *Jacob*, it seems, finds it not so. The wandring Levite finds a better service with a Countrey Farmer, then *Jacob* doth with the great King of Heaven and Earth. Food and raiment, they are rather *Debita* then *Beneficia*, they seem rather *due debts* then favours. *Non homini dantur, sed humanitati.* None so wicked, none so contemptible, but thus much is due to him, if not to his person, yet to his very Nature and Being. Good Laws and Magistrates many times, and in many fashions, cut off offenders by death; but no Law did ever prescribe, nor no good Magistrate did ever practise to take away the life of any offender by starving him. *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, and some others, who are recorded to have practised this, are noted and pointed out for Tyrants and Monsters of their age. He who hath no right to his life, as having forfeited it to the Law for some offence, yet whilst his breath remains in him, hath a right unto his bread, and this a right which nothing can forfeit. How then shall we esteem this as a favour, for which *Jacob* doth thus Religiously oblige himself unto God? In the first of *Samuel*, God leaves it as a curse upon the posterity of *Eli*, that they should  
come



come and crouch for a peice of silver, and a morsel of bread; and say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests offices, that I may eat a peice of bread. When Jacob doth thus sell himself unto God for food and raiment, what is it else in outward shew, but a peice of that curse, which is laid upon the posterity of Elie?

Yet all this which we have said, and what else to the same purpose may be said notwithstanding, the parts of my Text do all hold one with another good symmetry and proportion, there is nothing amiss, nothing to be amended in them. As some curious Statues, if ye look upon them, not in their due light and distance, seem very ill-favour'd and disproportion'd; but view them at their light and distance, and nothing shall seem more beautiful, more proportionable. So, Beloved, fares it with this Text of Scripture, how deform'd and disproportion'd soever it may seem to sense, and in that which sense doth yeild; yet if we look into it in the right spiritual light, with which God endows those which are spiritually minded, we shall not find any thing fuller of true art and beauty. That I may therefore help you a little, and place you in the true light, I will consider this Vow of Jacob's, first, comparatively, in regard of himself; and secondly, absolutely, in its own nature; and out of both draw lessons for your instruction.

And first, of the Vow comparatively, in regard of the person vowing. Where

First of all I will speak a little by way of concession and grant. For let it be supposed, that it had been some small and contemptible thing that Jacob had ask'd, such a thing, that a great heart would scarcely have deign'd to stoop to; yet Jacob had done nothing unbecom'g himself. Timanthes was a famous Painter among the Antients, and it was observed of his peices, that there was always in them somewhat more then was express'd: He pictur'd Hercules sleeping, in a small Table, but that it might be known to be the draught of a man of extraordinary bulk and stature; he drew two Pigmies by him, taking the compass and measure of his Thumb. This act of Jacob's like to one of Timanthes peices, there is more to be understood in it then is express'd; for though it seem but small, and nothing proportionable to so great a person, yet if we compass and fathom it well, we shall understand a greater lesson contain'd in it. Jacob dedicating himself unto God, upon such easie terms, and accepting a thing so small, shewed most

most apparently what esteem he had of his God, and that he valued him in *his person*, not in *his benefits*, and hath left unto us an absolute example in what manner we ought to love our God. To love God for himself, this is to be a friend of God; to love him for his benefits, this is to be a Merchant. Could Jacob have passed by food and raiment, as well as he did all other good benefits of God, he would not have given himself thus unto God upon composition, but absolutely, and without condition. Now he is constrain'd to fall upon the condition of food and raiment; for without this he could not love his God, because without this he could not *subsist*, or have his being. By this he evidently witnesses, that he therefore, and for no other end desired to be, but onely to love and serve his God. It was God alone, and his good acceptance, which Jacob doth here compound for, under the terms of food and raiment. It was an excellent speech of Crispus Passienus, a witty Gentleman of Rome, *Quorundam se judicium malle quam beneficium, quorundam beneficium, malle quam judicium*: Some man's love is better then some man's money; some man's respect and good opinion is more to be esteem'd, then another man's benefit. *Malo Divi Augusti judicium, malo Clandii beneficium*. I had rather have Augustus's good opinion, then reap any benefit or commodity by him; for he was a wise understanding Prince: but I had rather reap some benefit by Claudius, then have his good opinion; for he was a Prince of shallow and weak understanding. Doth not Jacob here express the same conceit? It seems he doth: For when he came to compound with men, he made his bargain in another manner. When he came to Laban, he would not serve him for bread and raiment onely, but fourteen years he serves him for his wives, and six years for his flock: By these means he rais'd unto himself a great and numerous family, and became rich and wealthy. Why did he thus? could he not have covenanted with God, as he did with Laban, and so have grown rich at an easier hand? He could; but in dealing with God and with Laban, his end was not the same. *Maluit Dei judicium, maluit Labanis beneficium*: with God he sought acceptance and good opinion; with Laban he sought his own commodity, for what could the good opinion of a fool profit him? for spelt Laban a little but the other way, and Nabal is his name, and folly

is with him. Let us reflect a little upon our selves, *Χρόνον δαψνόντων χαρῶν ἡμῶν*, saith St. Chrysostom; See here the express image and character of an Apostle, that which we can hardly digest in St. Paul, to be content with food and raiment, that we see to be the practise of the antient Patriarchs, who were in so great a place of esteem with God. But as for us, which of us all doth solive, as if he could content himself with Jacob's portion, and serve God for food and raiment? *Malumus Dei beneficium quam judicium*: We serve God more for commodity, then to gain his good acceptance. And yet we see not that this doth give a deadly wound to our love to God, or rather indeed quite pluck off our mask, and shews that we have no love to God at all. Doth not our own experience shew us this? Such as are richly rewarded by us, if they bear us respect, and love, either we suspect it, or think it not a thing thank-worthy, because they are well hired unto it, but such who unprovok'd and of themselves affect and respect us, of such mens love we have no cause to be suspicious. Let us therefore look upon God, not on his benefits: Neither let us be too busie, too importunate to call for them. Whil'st they lie in the hand of God, they are like moneys put to the Bankers, the longer they lie there, they shall return with greater profit. It is an excellent thing to have God our debtor. Happy is that man, who having lived uprightly, hath had the least part of God's temporal blessings. For when God is so free of his secular benefits, *suspectam habe hanc Domini indulgentiam*; It shall not be much amiss, to be somewhat jealous of this his kindness: May be, it is to give us that answer which is in the Gospel, *Accepistis mercedem*, You have your reward. Let us not therefore over-hastily pull them out of the hands of God, lest peradventure we much diminish, or quite lose the reward which we expect at that day, *μὴ αἰτῶμεθα*, saith St. Chrysostom, Let us not ask of God these temporal blessings further then he himself hath given us leave. When he taught us to pray, *Dicens hunc diem nostrum*, that Father calls these words, *ὅπως τις ἐξ ὑμῶν, μήχρη τινὸς δὲ τὴν περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν αἰτησὶν ποιεῖται*; He calls them bounds and limits, shewing how far we are permitted to go in requiring these temporal blessings at the hand of God. All this have I spoken by way of concession and grant, (as I told you) by way of supposal, that the thing here covenanted for by Jacob,

is a *small and contemptible matter*. But if we speak uprightly, it is a great, a very great thing; *ἡ μὲν γὰρ φιλοσοφία*, as St. Chrysostom speaks, full of *Philosophical resolution*. The *Ethnick Philosophers*, who in contempt of the world and worldly things, went well near as far as Christians, have out of their own reason found out, and acknowledged thus much. The *Stoicks*, who were accounted a wise Sect of men, and great contemners of the world, have gone so far, as that they have plainly told us that; and the Books of *Seneca* the Philosopher are full of it, That a *wise and honest man*, if he have his necessary food and raiment, for true happiness is comparable even to God himself. This was somewhat a large Hyperbole, and over-reaching speech; yet out of it, thus much is apparent, that Jacob when he made this covenant, did not descend a whit beneath himself, neither did he ought, which did not well beseem so great a person.

The *Doctrines* which are here considerable for your instructions I will raise from these two heads. First, from the *Person* that makes the covenant. Secondly, from the *thing and covenant it self*.

And first, from the *Person*, this excellent lesson may be drawn, That it is no enemy to true state and greatness, to have but a small portion of the world's benefit. Jacob's portion, food and raiment, is an heritage well befitting great persons, men in greatest place and authority. Jacob, who was a great person indeed, and knew, doubtless, what would best maintain his greatness, would not have stuck to make demand of more, had he thought it had concerned his place and person. The world had a long time stood, ere poverty was counted an enemy, or disgrace to Greatness; and certainly he was an utter adversary to true and real worth, who first begat that conceit, and put any difference betwixt rich and poor. Jupiter, in *Lucian*, calling the gods together to a consultation, gives order that they should sit *πλεττινόν, ἔκ αἰετίνον*, according to the matter out of which they were made, not according to the Art by which they were framed: First, the gods of Gold and Silver, though but roughly and grossly made, without art; and next to them the Grecian gods of Ivory, Marble, and Brass, though wrought with much more art and skill. It was Jupiter, that is, the Devil, whom the Scripture calls the god of this world, that first set this order, that men should be ranged *πλεττινόν ἔκ αἰετίνον*, according to their wealth, not according to

their *worth*. For God, who best knows how the world ought to be managed, in the *seventeenth of Deuteronomy*, setting down the quality and manner of a King, expressly forbids him to *multiply horses*, or greatly to *multiply gold and silver*; but instead of these he commends unto him *pity, humility*, and the *frequent study of the Law*, for the true means and ways by which his *Kingdom should be upheld*. If it be thus with *Supreme Authority*, much more ought it to be so with *inferiour Power*. It was the speech of *Julian the Apostata* to his souldiers, *Nec pudebit Imperatorem cuncta bona in animi cultumponentem profiteri, paupertatem honestam*. Honest poverty can never be a disgrace to that King or Emperour, who places his greatest happiness in the culture of his own heart. He was an *Apostate* that spake this, but in this he was a *Christian*: and that *Christian* that thinks otherwise, in that he is an *Apostata*. Never went it better with Kingdoms and Common-weals, then when Authority and Magistracy were thus minded. *Itaque tunc illi pauperes magistratus opulentam Rempublicam habebant: nunc autem dives potestas pauperem facit esse Rempublicam*, saith *Salvianus*. Poor Magistrates make a rich Common-wealth, but a rich Magistracy makes the Common-wealth but poor. It may seem a *Paradox*, as the world goes, but if you look near, yeshall find it most true, that none are so fit to be raised to places of Eminency and Power, as those who can best content themselves with *Jacob's portion*. The practise of the world in another kind can shew it you. Men who seek out fit instruments for *Villany*, make choice of such as have no dependances, no families, no means, that are *sine re, sine spe*, that neither have any thing, nor hope of any thing to bias them. For men that stand alone, that are free from incombrances, that are onely themselves, and evermore most resolute in undertaking dangers. Now, Beloved, there is nothing more dangerous, then the true and impartial managing of place of Authority: so full is the world of those, *quorum interest*, whom it doth nearly concern, that justice and equity take no place. Now who so likely to walk *uprightly* here, as they who have *no respects* to sway them. And who so free from respects, as they who *content themselves with least*? What is it that can sway them from their integrity? whose person need they to respect? what losses need they fear? But he that hath his *ambition*; his *hopes*, his *ends*, his *freinds*, his *fears*; how is it possible he should



should ever drive right? The *Mariners* tell us, That their *Compass* can never be set right near unto *Iron*; for *Iron* hath an *attractive force*, and perpetually makes the *Needle* to *swerve*. Men in place of *Authority* are like the *Compass* in a *Ship*; and by these the whole *State* does direct it self. *Ambition*, *Hope*, *Fear*, and the like, these are so many *Irons*, every one of force to *sway the Needle*, and who sees not then in what danger we go? From hence come all those mischeifs under which we groan, *corruption* in place of *Judicature*; in our *Elections*, *Bribery* and *Perjury*, and preferring persons worthless, or at least not so worthy, upon the *Letters of great Persons*, whom we dare not displease. For when our own *ambition* hath made us obnoxious to great persons, needs must we lay our selves, our offices, our consciences, at the feet of those on whom our hopes are built. All these inconveniences were at an end, if *great men* could but think favourably of *Jacob's* portion, or learn of *Jacob*, That *honest poverty* is no disgrace to *Greatness*: But *Greatness* flies to these helps of *Wealth*, and worldly *Pomp* onely, as the *Lame* doth unto his *staff*, because, for the most part, it wants that true and natural strength, by which it ought to be upheld. For when we have well search'd the point, we shall see, that store of wealth, and outward glory, are nothing else but the miserable supplies of other things more necessary, more substantial, which are wanting. For were it not for these *supporters*, *Greatness* without *Integrity* and uprightness must needs fall to the ground. *Nihil enim turpius est quam excellentem esse quemlibet culmine, & despicabilem vilitate, Quid est enim aliud principatus sine meritorum sublimitate, nisi honoris titulus sine homine? aut quid est dignitas in indigno, nisi ornamentum in luto?* There is nothing more odious then to be *great in place*, and contemptible in life and carriage. For what is *honour* without desert, but a bare *inscription* upon a rotten carcase? or what is *dignity* in a *worthless person*, but a *jewel* thrown into the dirt? To supply therefore the lameness of it, and to keep it from falling, that which is wanting in *inward worth*, must be made good with *outward pomp* and shew, which are but as *nails* to fasten *Idols* to the wall, who cannot stand of themselves for want of life. For let no *great person* deceive himself, if he have not the true life of greatness, he is but an *Idol*, and the publick reverence which men yeild him, is but a kind of *Idolatry*. *Seneca* having considered with

with himself the *vanity of idol-worship* used in his times, tells us, that wise men did such things, *tanquam legibus iussa, non tanquam diis placentia*; not out of true zeal to please the gods, but because the Laws prescribed this form of service. Beloved, all this ceremony and outward honour which is given to these *civil Idols*, to worthless persons, seated in place of greatness, it is but a kind of *Idol-worship*, proceeding, not out of any true zeal to their persons, but onely the Laws and Customs under which we live, command us to yeild reverence unto persons in Authority, let their lives be what they will. When *Shishak* King of *Egypt* had taken away those *golden sheilds*, which *Solomon* had dedicated in the Temple, *Rehoboam* his son (that wise man) supplied them with *brazen sheilds*. Beloved, *piety, integrity, invictus adversus gratiam animus*, unswayed constancy, these and the like are these *golden sheilds* which should hang up in our Temples of honour: But if any man, having lost these, supply them with *outward pomp* and *glory*, he doth but as *Rehoboam* did, instead of *sheilds of gold*, he brings in nothing but *Nehushtan*, base and *brazen stuff*. So then it appears, that *Jacob's portion, honest poverty*, is no impediment to *Jacob's greatness*, nay, it's rather a way to encrease it.

Yea, but ye will say, That *wealth* and outward means may serve to *adorn* and set forth *virtue and integrity*, and commend it to the world; and in this respect *Jacob* might have done well to have had some thought of it in his covenant with God. No, Beloved, it did not deserve to be thought of. It is but an error to think, that *integrity* and *uprightness* of life receives any beauty or lustre from any thing without it. It is reported of the *Rhodians*, that having a Statue of excellent work, to adde grace unto it, they would *gild* it; and when they had so done, they saw they had much obscured the workmanship, and therefore were fain to *wash off the gilt* again. Shall I apply it thus, that true *piety* is a thing of such excellent workmanship, that *riches* and *outward lustre* added to it, are but like the *Rhodian gold*, which must be *washed off* again? No, Beloved; but this I will say, That as it receives *beauty and ornament* from no estate of life, so it gives it unto all. Be it a *poor and low estate*, or be it in a *rich and ample estate*, it is the same in both; it makes both *poverty* and *riches* alike acceptable unto God, and it gives unto all estates that beauty, that art and life, of which they are capable. *Eadem virtute & mala vincitur*

*vincitur fortuna, & ordinatur bona.* Indeed *Aristotle*, our great Master in the Schole of Nature, would needs perswade us, that to make up a complete happy man, besides the *inward virtues* of the soul, there is required a measure of the *outward benefits*, both of *Person*, and of *Fortune*. But, Beloved, these *Peripatetical discourser*, that thus compound an happy man of so many ingredients, they are like unto the *Bills* of some deceitful Physicians, who to make the greater ostentation and shew of Art, are wont to put in many *Ingredients*, which do neither good nor harm.

Hitherto I have spoken of *Jacob's Covenant* relatively, with respect unto *Jacob's Person*. The rest of the time I will take up in considering the *Precept simply* and alone by it self, and shewing you in breif what reasons they are which moved *Jacob*, and so ought to move us, thus to covenant with God for food and raiment onely.

And first of all, we shall not need to seek far, here lies a reason hard at hand, which though it concerns not *Jacob*, yet nearly concerns us: Would you know what it is? It is *Jacob*, the person of whom all this while I have spoken. One and the same *Jacob* is to us both a *Precept*, and a *Reason*, and an *Example* thus to do. For which of you all, Beloved, who seriously and religiously reading this passage, is not prompted by his own heart thus, *Si Jacob, cur non & ego?* If *Jacob*, so great a person, so powerful with God and man, if he thought it fit thus to do, then how much more should I? And so much the more powerful is this reason, because it brings an *Example* with it: For in *precepts* of difficulty, no reason so effectual as an *Example*, especially of some great and worthy personage; such a reason is of force above all other *reasons* and *precepts* whatsoever.

For first of all, *bare precepts and reasons* are *speculative*; much may be said, and yet still room left for doubting, either of *possibility*, or of *conveniency* and *profit*, or the like; and every such doubt and scruple abates much of desire to enter into action. But a *reason* accompanied with an *example*, and that of some memorable and great *Person*, this leaves in us no doubt at all, neither of *possibility* nor *conveniency*.

Again, of *Reasons* and *Precepts*, that may sometimes be said, which one speaks in *Herodotus*, This Shoe was made for *Hestians*, but *Aristagoras* wears it. For many times to give a *precept*, and to do

do it, is more then one man's work. A thing which doth exceedingly hinder the practise of many good lessons; for he that will perswade a good lesson, shall hardly do it, if he follow it not himself. But here we have one that perswades us, by the strongest and most effectual manner of perswasion, namely, by *example* and action. And that you may see I have cause to please my self in this *reason*, I must confess, I do not see to what Logic place I can go, to draw thence a more forcible motive. For let all the *precepts*, all the *examples* of Christians tending thisway, be laid in the scale, and this one *example* shall weigh them all down. For *many things*, *many circumstances* are there, which should make this resolution familiar and easie to us, which to *Jacob* must be very hard, and therefore of the greater merit. For first, *St. Paul* hath given us the precept, *Having food and raiment, we ought therewith to be content*; and many Christians have left us their examples upon record. But who gave *Jacob* any precept, or left him an *example*? For ought appears, himself was to himself both precept and *example*. Again, he had not the like promises. (so far forth as we can conjecture by what is written) at least he had them not so fully, so evidently, so plainly laid down as we have; he saw them but obscurely, under *Types* and *Figures*; but with us, all the *vail of Types* and *Figures* is quite removed. Last of all, he had not the like abilities as we have. For (if what we teach in our Books be true) there is a *larger measure of grace*, enabling us to the fulfilling of this duty, shed in the hearts of us Christians, then was given the Fathers before the coming of our Saviour. All these laid together, serve to shew the strength of this our first reason. *Si Jacob, cur non Ego?* If *Jacob*, who was to meet with so many disadvantages to wrestle with so many difficulties, from all which we are free: If *Jacob*, I say, could make *such a vow*, then how much more ought we to do it. And let this suffice for a *first reason*.

Our *second reason* let be this, To us in this life there is nothing necessary but *food and raiment*, and therefore ought we, as *Jacob* here doth, covenant with God for nothing else. A reason of very good consequence: For, Beloved, while we are in this life, it doth much import us not to trouble our selves with *superfluities*. The Scripture every where tells us, that we are *strangers and pilgrims* upon earth; that the *world is not our countrey*, and that we  
seek

*seek a city to come* : Now (Beloved) our own experience tells us, how dangerous a thing it is for *strangers, pilgrims, and wayfaring-men* to be *incumbred with unnecessary stuff, and baggage*. First, it *hinders us in the way*, and makes us drive on but slowly. Secondly, it *exposes us to the danger of thieves and robbers*. How dangerous it is to grow rich in a *strange place*, *Jacob* himself, of whom we speak, is a notable instance; for while he sojourned with his *Uncle Laban*, and kept his estate but low, no man envied, no man troubled him: But no sooner was his *stock increased*, and he grown wealthy, but presently the countenance of *Laban* was changed, his sons give out harsh and angry words, and he is fain to flie for his life. *Magno consilio jacturam sarcinarum impedimentorumque contempsit*, saith one of *Alexander the Great*, It was a singular part of wisdom and of good advise, which *Alexander* used in the *Battel* against *Darius*, that he contemned the loss of his stuff and carriages: And when *Parmenio* complains of it, Go tell him, said *Alexander*, that if we gain the *Battel*, we shall not onely recover our own again, but possess our selves of what was our enemies. Beloved, this spiritual *Battel* that we fight against the *world*, is much like to that of *Alexander* against *Darius*, *sine jactura sarcinarum*, it will never be won without *loss of our stuff and carriages*. And let no man be dismayed for this; for behold, a greater then *Alexander*, even the Captain of the Lord of Host, our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, hath assured us, that if we gain the *Battel*, (and gain it we shall, if we be not *too careful of our stuff*) we shall not onely recover our own again, but possess our selves of what was our enemies, with a thousand-fold encrease. When *Joseph* sent for his Father and Brethren into *Egypt*, he sent them *bread, and meat, and provision* for the journey, for the way; but withall, he sends them this message also, *Regard not your stuff*, for the good of the land of *Egypt* is yours. Beloved, our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that true *Joseph*, who is gone before to provide us a place, as himself told us, hath sent us *bread, and meat, and provision* sufficient for our way: but for that *superfluous stuff of the world*, he wills us not to regard that, for the good of a better land then that of *Egypt*, is all ours.

But all this while I have not proved the main, That *nothing else is necessary but food and raiment*. Indeed; if nothing be necessary but *food and raiment*, then shall we do well to let all the rest fall



away. But how appears it, that all things else are *superfluous*? Thus; Let your conversation be in heaven, saith the *Apostle*. If it must be in heaven, then must it be like to that of the *Angels*: Do the *Angels* care for silver and gold, for the treasures, and honours of the world? Or if thy self wert an *Angel*, wouldst thou do it? The *Body* we bear about us, lays upon us a necessity of food and raiment; from which necessity *Angels* are exempted, because they have no bodies. This onely excepted, what difference is there betwixt us and *Angels*. Having therefore food and raiment, the rest we need no more then the *Angels* do: And why then should we desire them any more then the *Angels* do? Look then for what reason they are not necessary for the *Angels*, for the same reason they are *superfluous* for us.

But here I see I may be question'd. What then shall become of all these goodly things of the world, which men so much admire? riches, pleasures, and delights, so many good creatures in the world, were they not made to be enjoyed? If *Jacob's* portion be nothing else but food and raiment, why did God provide more then that? Was it his pleasure, that all the rest should run waste? I answer, I would be loth to oppose that common principle of Nature, *Deus & Natura nihil faciunt frustra*, God and Nature are not wont to lose their labour. There is use for those things, but not that peradventure which we would make. There goes a fable, that when *Prometheus* had stol'n fire out of Heaven, a *Satyre*, as soon as he saw it, would needs go kiss it. There may be many good uses of *Fire*, yet kissing none of them. They who thus plead for the things of the world, they would do as the *Satyre* did by the *Fire*, they would kiss them, and hug them, and love them as their own soul. This is that use, or rather abuse, which, if I could, I would willingly remove; will you know then the chief use for which they were made? It is somewhat a strange one, and one of which you will have no great joy to hear; They were made for Temptation. They are in the world as the *Canaanites* were in *Canaan*, to try and prove us whether we walk in the ways of God or no. For it was the purpose of God, that the way to life should be narrow, that man should be the subject of obedience, and virtue, and industry. For this purpose, by the very ordinance of God, are so many enticements, so many allurements, so many difficulties, *ut fides habendo tentationem, haberet etiam probationem*, as

Tertullian

*Tertullian* speaks; that our obedience and love unto God, encountering and overcoming so many temptations, so many difficulties, might at length approve it self unto him. Seems it so strange a thing unto you, that God should make a thing onely for *Tentation*? What think ye of the *Tree of knowledge of good and evil*? it was a fair fruit, it was beautiful to the eye, yet was it made for no other use that is known to us, but onely to be a trial of our obedience, and that yet it should be more difficult, God hath mingled these very temptations even with our necessities. For this very Vow of *Jacob*, how strict soever it may seem to be, yet it is full of danger. Food and raiment become temptations, dangerous above all others. For how easily do they degenerate into wantonness, the one into pride, the other into luxury? So that as it seems, we must circumsise and pare even this our Vow, and covenant with God, not in large terms of food and raiment, but for no more of that also then is necessary. As for those other glorious superfluities of the world, he makes best use of them, that least uses them; and he sets the truest price of them, that least esteems them.



DIXI CUSTODIAM.

A

S E R M O N

On PSAL. XXXVj. 1.

*I said, (or resolv'd) I will take heed to my ways.*



Efore of a Good desire—— *Beati qui esuriunt & sitint justitiam*; now it will follow well, to make way for an *Absolute Resolution*, here in two words.

These two words must ever be link'd together in this order:

1. *Dixi.* Purpose and Resolution.
2. *Custodiam.* Practice and Execution.

First, a *settled purpose* must usher the way. Then the *Action* must follow hard at heels.

——— *Mature factio opus est.*

In these two our whole life is compris'd. For man is by nature an active creature, he cannot be long idle; either for good or bad he must take up his *Dixi*, and proceed to his *Custodiam*. For he was born for *labour*, as the sparks flie upward.

And

And well it is that he was so; otherwise, he would find as they do, (*Qui transgrediuntur naturam* in this point) That *Idleness* is but a preparative and introduction to do evil: and as *fat grounds* (if you sow them not with good seed) will quickly abound with *weeds*: so the soul of man left empty and void of good purposes, will soon  $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\nu\tilde{\chi}\alpha\iota$ , be over-spread and overgrown with evil intentions.

*Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.* Therefore (if Nature do not, yet) *Christian wisdom* at the least should move us quickly (with *David*) to take up our *Dixi*, resolve for action.

*David* in that case sets the words thus, [*Dixi custodiam*] he makes *Resolution* take the upper place, and go before *practise*; and *Nature* it self requires it should be so.

Yet it may be good *Heraldry*, first, to range them in this order, (*Custodiam dixi*) to take heed, to be well advised what we resolve; for *resolution* is the immediate cause of *Action*, the onely thing that sets us all on work: *Reason* (be it never so good) is yet of no force without a *strong resolution*.

A *strong resolution* is of great force, though the reasons be weak or none at all. There is great reason we should be very careful upon what we set our *resolutions*: For  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha$ , *dixi*, (I am resolved) is with most men a word of great weight.

*Quod dixi, dixi.*

There were anciently a *sect* of *Philosophers*, who thought themselves bound  $\epsilon\mu\mu\iota\tau\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ , to make good whatsoever they had resolved. We read of one of them in *Epicetus*, of his time, of his acquaintance, that for no reason resolved to die, by pining and abstaining from all necessary sustenance; when he had begun to put it in practise, being required a reason, *cur sic?* he answered,  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha$ , I have said, I am resolved it shall be so: and scarcely could his freinds perswade him to break his resolution.

This *sect* of *Philosophers* is not yet extinguished; more or less we are all of it: Many men in most things, all men in some things, have no other reason but their  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha$ , *dixi*, they are resolv'd upon't. In such a posture have they voluntarily put themselves, and in that they purpose to pass on.

Now a resolution if it be taken up in

A { *Lightness* and *vanity*, } is a singular { *Folly*,  
           { *Sin* and *wickedness*, } { *Madness*.

As

As being nothing else but *pertinacy*, a *reprobate sense* and *induration*.

So ( *contra* ) if it be taken up for the *guiding of our actions* to *goodness*, for *sanctity*, *integrity*, and *uprightness* of life ; it is an *admirable virtue*, and the very *Crown of Christianity*. For that excellent virtue of *perfect righteousness*, which is so in commendation ; that *constancy* and *unsway'dness* in our lives and actions ; that *Rock* which no tempest can move ; that perpetual and *habituated goodness*, which no hard fortune can dant, no felicity can corrupt, that to which our Saviour hath promised *Salvation*, ( *he that continues to the end, shall be saved* ) All this is contained in this word, *Dixi, I am resolv'd.*

Again, from whence comes that main imperfection of our lives ? *Unsettledness*, and flitting from one thing to another ? frequent relapsing into sins once forsaken ? Whence are we so easily carried with every wind

of { *Fear.*  
*Hope.*  
*Commodity.*

All is, because we have not yet learned our *Dixi*, are not yet *resolv'd* : we know not what to *will*, or *will*, till present occasion take us ; we have not advis'dly decreed ; set down before hand what we will follow in our lives, in our conclusions.

And without that [ *Dixi* ] a man is but like a Ship without a *Ballast*, easily overturn'd with every blast. 'Ανὴρ διψυχὸς ἀστατός ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, The *double-minded man* is *unstable* in all his ways. The kingdom of *Judah* was full of such men : for amongst *twenty two Kings* who sat in the Throne, *nine* of them totally relaps'd and fell away to *Idolatry*, and all the *Priests* and *People* with them.

But we need not go to fetch Examples so far, so long since ; our own Kingdoms and latter times are able sufficiently to store us. How easily were the branches of *Popery* lop'd under *Hen. 8.* and and the very stumps of it rooted up under *Edw. 6.*

How easily did it recover again under *Queen Mary*, both *Top* and *Cut* ? and yet ( with the same facility ) was it again lop'd, rooted up under the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth* ? Certainly were *Religion* a matter of *conscience*, and not of *formality*, undertaken first with *Dixi custodiam*, out of *Love* and *Conscience* ; it could

not



not be that so often, so easie, so general a change could be made, from one Religion to another.

The like we may see in all *moral courses*, interrupted by inconsistency, mutability, and change: He that can *comply*, and peice in with all occasions, and make an easie forfeiture of his honesty, makes it a custom to relapse into sins formerly repented of, may well impute it to this, that he hath *not taken up a resolution*; that he hath not made his *Dixi custodiam*, like unto the Laws of *Medes and Persians*, which *alter not*; and without which a man is like the *sea*, moved and troubled with every wind that blows upon it: For would he say the word, this *Dixi custodiam* would quit him from the greatest part of his follies and sins too. How said I? (would he but speak the word? Nay I fear me) most men think these two words, [*Dixi custodiam*] a greater difficulty then so, and more indeed then they have.

For (first for) *Dixi*: It is not a word of such strange and unknown sound, which we that are aliens (by nature) from the Covenant of Grace, utter strangers to the language of God, can never learn rightly to pronounce? Are we able to sound it in our hearts throughly? to take up this *resolution*?

*Resp.* I see no reason, but that I may say, *We are able*: For first, *David* did it, not by any *spirit* peculiar to himself, as that by which he *Prophecied*, and did those things which lay not within the rule of common persons. 2. *David* did it, who was by nature as great a stranger to the Covenant of Grace as we. 3. *David* did this for *example* to us, and it is here recorded, that we might learn to do the like. But all this were labour lost, if it were impossible to do it.

2. *Custodiam*, this is enough to prove *Dixi* feasible.

But yet there is a greater doubt for [*custodiam*] Having learn'd this language, taken up this *resolution*, are we able to *stand* to it, to *make it good*? Was there ever man, who had so settled his *resolution*, (*custodire vias*) but that he was sometimes constrained to leave his right way, and wander, in spite of all his (*custodiam*) careful watch he kept?

*Resp.* For answer to this question, I must confess I am in a streight. For methinks 'tis no good argument to say, we *know of none* that have so kept their ways, Therefore it is *impossible* they should be kept.

Yet

Yet if I should say, it were possible, whether I should offend the truth, I cannot so easily pronounce; but (sure I am) I should offend the times. For many learned men can delight themselves in discoursing of the weakness of man's nature, of the difficulty, yea impossibility of keeping the Laws of God. 2. Again (on the contrary side, should I say, that we are bound to take up this (*Dixi custodiam*) Resolution with David, but with reservation, that in this life we can never be able to make it good; I do not see what I could do more to dishearten, to deter men from entertaining this lesson of *Christian Resolution*, which (above all lessons in the world) I would have commended unto them. For what wise man will attempt that, which he knows before-hand to be impossible?

To those who enquire whether it be possible to bring this *Dixi* into *Fieri*, make it good in *practise*, I answer (as the Angel doth, *Revel. vj.*) *Veni, & vide*, try and make experience *an possibile*. For many things have been thought *impossible*, till experience hath proved them *possible*.

It is observed by those who writ the Acts of *Alexander the Great*, that he enterprized many things with good success, which no man else would ever have attempted, because they doubted of the possibility of the enterprise. Let us be like *Alexander*, and attempt impossibilities. It may be experience will discover that to be possible, which fear never could.

They are *ill discoverers*, that think there is no Land, where they can see nothing but Sea. How many (of late times) have ventured their persons, their purses by Sea and Land, in new Discoveries, and new Plantations; of the good success whereof, they have had little or no assurance before hand? How much better and surer adventure were this whereof we now treat, which if we attain unto, the honour and profit is infinite? If we fail of it, the very missing of it cannot be without a great and rich return?

We read of a Father, who dying, commanded his sons to dig in his Vineyard, for there they should find much Gold: Accordingly they did so, and Gold they found none; yet the digging and moving of the earth about the roots of the Vine, caused it to bring forth so abundantly, that it yielded them a rich revenue. What if God do so by us? Suppose he commands us to dig for Gold, to keep his Laws, which yet he knows we cannot; yet the labour

labour it self ( though it miss the end intended ) cannot but infinitely benefit us ; for our very endeavour ( in this kind ) is much set by. *Est aliquid prodire tenus.* — He that by striving to keep all, hath kept most, hath done himself an happy turn.

And now lastly ; by so much the more I will exhort you, to make through trial and experience of your selves in this point of *Christian Resolution*, because the want of experience it is, which makes the question of *Possibility* a matter so difficult to determine.

For to make this trial requires *all our power, all our will* : And which of us have served God so ? Many men in some things perchance have done their best, yet in some things they were utterly defective ; in many things, wherein they did ill, they might have done much better then they did. Shew me the man who hath made experience of the uttermost of his strength in the service of God ; and who can tell what the issue might be, if that were done, that was yet never done ?

Could I therefore persuade my self or you to put this matter to trial, which might peradventure be able to satisfy that question, wherein ( otherwise ) it is no great matter whether we are satisfied or no. If we cannot entreat this of our selves ; yet at least let us ( *in secundis consistere* ) take up such resolutions as others have done before us, go as far in the execution as they have done ; let us begin with *David*, here, *Dixi custodiam* ; let us say with *Joshua*, ( *alt. 15.* ) *As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord*. Or with *Matthias*, *Though all the nations under the Kings dominions fall everyone from the Religion of their fathers, yet will I, and my sons and brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers*, 1 *Mach.* ij. 29. Or with them in *Hier.* ( *51. 5.* ) *Come, let us join our selves to the Lord with a perpetual covenant, that shall not be forgotten.* Or with *Job*, *Though he slay me, yet will I put my trust in him*. How glorious

We have all need thus to encourage our selves, to take up such resolutions as these ; for the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked ; who can know it ? *Jer.* xvij. 1. Because the Lord searcheth the heart, to give every man according to his ways, and the fruit of his doings.

Hitherto I have spoken of *Dixi* and *Custodiam* in their Generals ; now I would come to look upon them in these circumstances, which may not be omitted : Wherein,

1. We may observe the *tense*, *Dixi custodiam*. *David* onely *promises* that he will do it, but shews not *when*; this may seem to countenance those, who promise God fairly every day, yet do no more but *promise*. A common error, wherein many trifle and spin out their life to no purpose. As *Antigonus*, ὁ δούλων, always ready, but never doing; *St. George* always on horseback, but never rides: so we ὁ φυλάξοντες, that will but do not. This error was far from *David's* thought. Nor is the word it self *dilatory*, it puts not off till the time to come; it binds him for the present.

1. It is a rule of the Canonists, *sponsalia per verbum*, &c. Persons contracted in words of the future, make the Contract good for the present.

2. In the practise of *Law and common Equity* betwixt man and man, every *Obligation* by which we bind our selves for the time to come (if so be the particular time be not expressly specified) binds us for the present, if it be of money to be paid, or service to be performed. So here, he that contracts with God (as *David*) *Dixi custodiam*, binds himself for the present; and if he neglect any occasion, any time whatsoever, he hath offended against his Contract.

2. It is the person, *Dixi custodiam*. *David* puts it not upon *Abiathar* (the High Priest) or any of his Prophets or Chaplains; but takes it as a duty, he will perform himself, not by a proxy: for in these cases, every man must look to himself, and amend his own ways. *Kings and Priests*, who have a general oversight over your ways, are bound to give you warning and direct you. When that is done, they are excused, you must (every one) lay to your hands, take heed to your own ways.

In your *Husbandry* for the world, you are wont to say, *The Master's foot doth soil the ground, The Master's eye doth fat the horse*; nothing so well done, as that which the Master of the house looks to, posts not over to his servants. Were you as wise for God as you are for the world, careful of the spiritual husbandry of your souls, as that of your grounds and cattel, you would not so much call upon us, (your *Ministers*, i. e. servants in this case) as take your selves into your own hands, and then think your ways well husbanded, when your own eyes see them. There is good use to be made of *others eyes*, for the guidance of our ways; and they are wise men that will suffer their *seers* to tell them plainly what

what they think ; yet (when all is done) every man must take up *custodiam* in his own person.

The happy success of careful taking heed to your ways, consists not in our Teaching, or reproving, but in your learning and amending.

3. The object. { In general, *My ways*.  
                           { In particular, *That I offend not in my tongue*.

For therein the Prophet (it may be) had been overtaken; he had been *over-lavish in his language*, given some offence *with his tongue*; and now he resolved to redress all his ways, and that in special. And the naming of that alone had included all.

1. St. James tells us, *If any offend not in word, he is a perfect man, able to bridle the whole body*: In the judgment therefore of St. James, when David purposeth not to offend in word, he taketh the immediate way to perfection, to bridle the whole body, to overlook all his ways, to offend in nothing.

2. No one sin will well be cured, except all go out, and there be a general reformation of all our ways. It was accounted a great cruelty in Haman, when Mordecai had offended him, to wreck himself not onely upon him, but upon the whole Nation of the Jews. That which was cruelty in Haman, may be Religious policy in us, if any one sin offend us, to let the whole Nation suffer for it.

It was a law amongst the Macedonians, if any one of the family had committed Treason against the King, he was not to die alone, but all of the lineage and kindred were to die with him, the better to secure the King; they thought fit to remove all out of the way that might harbour any resolution of revenge. Therefore well might David (having found treason against God) in the sin of his tongue, think best to proceed according to the Macedonian Law, and remove the whole family and lineage of sin: For sins are good-fellows, ἀγαθὰ τινε, go always in droves and companies; and (if we leave any untouch'd) they are likely to revoke, and call home their former sins again.

3. It is to no purpose to endeavour the removal of some one sin alone: For in regard of Heaven, the loss of it, one sin doth as much as a million. Therefore when we go out against sin, we go out with the same commission that Saul did against the Amalekites, one of these whom Saul spared, lived to cut his throat, and



executed that *judgment* upon *saul*, which *saul* neglected to do on him: So, if we let but one sin alone, there may come a time when that one sin may ruine us.

Therefore let *Dixi custodiam* be of the extent it is here:

- { 1. In the first person.  
2. To bind us for the present.  
3. Over all our ways.

These three *Circumstances* shew the meaning of the words.

And now since you know what they mean, what think you of taking them up for your own? Can you find in your hearts thus to resolve? Will you try whether it be possible to make it good or no? I shew'd (you last day) that the onely way to know whether it be possible, is to make *trial your selves*; and that you have this for your comfort, that in other cases, by *making of trial*, many things have been *found possible*, which till then many wise men thought *impossible*.

If other kind of trials have sped so well, why may not God give the like success to this, which certainly is more pleasing to God.

Do ye rightly apprehend what I mean? I do not say it is possible for any man to keep the *whole law*, and *never offend*. It is too late for you and me to make trial of that; for we have all offended deeply; and without the Merits and Mediation of Christ we are utterly lost. But this I say, When a man is in *David's case* here, when he is brought to the knowledge of God, and his own miserable estate, to the free pardon of great offences that he hath committed; may he not then resolve for the time to come, as *David* doth? May he not then keep that resolution, not so as *never to slip*; but *not to fall*, and *leave his right way*? Is he bound to think it *impossible*? shall he so discourage himself from the happiest experiment in the world? I know many men hold it *impossible*, and live accordingly; but I would have all under my charge to hold it possible, and to live as they meant to prove it. Or (if you will needs think it *impossible*) be persuaded to undertake it howsoever; for if you do your best, and cannot effect it, that *endeavour* will be highly prized.

Shall I speak plain? I imagine it is *impossible*; for I fear we have brought our selves to that pass, that it comes not far short of *impossibility* for us to do it. Yet why should we not venture upon

upon impossibilities in this so good a cause, as well as we do (of our own accord) in other cases? Is not the greatest part of our lives spent in attempting things meerly impossible? *Petrarch. Ita se res habet, ad impossibilia studium omne conversum est.* We would want nothing, never be troubled, not be sick, not die, this all desire, *this is impossible*: Why do we not as much desire not to sin, which is the onely cause of all our want, trouble, sickness, and death too? If you would be exempted from them, little offended with them, take up this *Dixi custodiam*. If you will be affrighted with this *impossibility*, you shall have enough of all the other. Therefore among so many *impossibilities*, we undertake for our own fancy. Let us attempt this one of perfect *Christian cautelousness*; especially since God commands us, and *David* here undertakes the practise of it.

Certainly, either *David* saw some possibility in it, which we do not see; or else he thought some *impossible attempts*, were not misbecoming us. And would you but look a little to the *Institution and Discipline* of the ancient Monks, or to the practise of our adversaries the *Jesuites* of our times, you would wonder what strange examples you might find of the obedience of *inferiours* toward *their superiours*, even in cases of apparent impossibilities.

If one of you which are *fathers* should bid your little children bring you that which you knew were beyond his strength, onely to try him; would you not commend, reward his endeavour? And do you think your heavenly Father hath not as much love and respect unto his own children?

By this time (I hope) you are in clarity with these words; with the main word *Custodiam*, *I will observe, I will take heed*.

Now I will tell you what it is: It is a word of that singular weight and moment, that it contains in it all the *Christian art and wisdom*, by which, whatsoever the force and fraud of sin and hell can secretly suggest, or openly oppose, is frustrated and defeated altogether.

If we surveigh and sum up all the forces which the *Devil, Flesh, World*, are able to raise, those *Babes & Zaras*, Satan's deep unfathom'd policies, *хитрости*, spiritual jugglings and couzenages, all devises and means whatsoever, by which he abuseth us, or we our selves; This one word, [*Custodiam*] *I will take heed*, contains that in it, which disannuls them all,

Galen

Galen observ'd it of the diseases of the body, τὸ δ' ὁρίσασθαι νοσήματα ὅν τινα ἀπάντως, &c. To suppose there were some *one cure of all maladies*, were extreme folly. Among the world, the diseases that our frail bodies are subject unto, every one (if we will cure it) must have a proper remedy; if we will prevent it, must have a proper Antidote. Besides the difference from the temper, age, complexion, custom, trade, and diet of the patient. But (in the cure of souls) though our spiritual diseases be more and more dangerous; yet all these, if you would cure and remove them, prevent and shun them, have but one remedy, antidote, and preservative. Would you know what these are? The one is μετανοία, *Repentance*; the other is Custodiam, *cautelousness*. These two Simples, cheap and easie, growing in every man's Garden, are *universal medicines* in all our spiritual diseases, the *one curing*, the *other preventing*; the one *lifting up* when we are fall'n, the other *supporting us* that we fall not. All *Gilead* will yeild no other balm but this. We have not (as some Physicians have) a Box and a Box; one receipt for great persons, and another for meaner: the spiritual cure of our souls admits of no such partiality, but from the Scepter to the Spade, there is but one way to prevent sin, *Custodiam*; cure sin committed, μετανοίητε, *Repent ye*.

Now of these two, *David* here (like *Mary* in the Gospel) teacheth you to make choice of the better part. For let it not offend you, if I compare these two great Christian virtues,

{ *Cautelousness*.  
{ *Repentance*.

and not onely compare, but much prefer the one before the other.

I know the doctrine of *Repentance* is a worthy lesson, the joy and comfort of our souls, we drink it in with thirsty ears; yet (let me tell you) to be all for it, is some wrong and impeachment to this *Christian cautelousness* and *wariness* here commended. For as the *ancient Romans* were wont to use *vomiting*, to procure them an appetite for farther eating; so it seems many Christians use *Repentance*: When we have *surfeited* and are sick of sin, by *repentance* we disgorge, cast it up again; *bibit*, & *vomit*; sin and repent, repent and sin again. Thus goes our life away. *Polybius* tells us, though man be generally accounted the *wisest* of all creatures, yet some have thought him the *foolishest* of all other: For the *Fox* will never return to the *snare*, which he hath once escaped;

escaped; nor the *Wolf* to the *pit*, nor the *Dog* to the *Staff* that hath beaten him; onely *Man* will never be taught to beware: *sed peccat fere semper in iisdem*, though he smart never so oft, yet will he return to the same offence and fault again. He that should well observe the follies of men, might more pardonably take them to be utterly more devoid of memory, then *Aristotle* holds it of *Bees*, so easily do we forget the danger of sin, ( and being now driven of ) return to it again.

Now a great part of this our folly we owe to the doctrine of *Repentance*, as it is commonly taught and understood. For as trusting to the help of the *Physicians*, hath overthrown the health of many, while they think they may use excess, take their pleasures the more securely, because they see the remedy: So it is to be feared, that relying upon the promises made to the repentant man, hath been the ruine and the overthrow of many a soul: For repentance is *physick*, and therefore to be used sparingly, and with good manners, lest too familiar use of it make it cease to be a duty, and a cause of presumption and wantonness.

There is not any Doctrine, in the delivery whereof we ought to walk more warily and wisely, then in the Doctrine of *Repentance*; so quickly may we make that an invitation to offend, which was ordained as a *Farewel*; turn the remedy of sin into an occasion of sinning. The discipline of the ancient Church was never to admit any to publick penance more then once, and if (after such kind of penance) he offended scandalously again, like the *Lep*er in the Law, he was shut out of the camp, never to return unto the congregation.

Nay (in the Scriptures) we shall never find an example of *Repentance* upon relapse and falling, but into sins once repented of. Do not think this fell out by chance, but rather probably conclude from thence, either our Fore-fathers durst not make trial of any such conclusion, and to make no practise of it; (or if they did) yet it pleased not the holy Ghost that any such example should stand upon record, lest peradventure it might prove a president to posterity; most men being quick scholars at such kind of lessons.

Will you know whether all this tends? This is my meaning, It is better for you to study health, [Custodiam] then physick, [Repentance.] Labour rather in prevention, not to commit it again,

again, then in *repenting*, the same remedies afterward. Think of our Saviour's counsel to one that he had cured, *Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.* And indeed *repentance* ever goes with this condition, *Sin no more, &c.* He that repents and forsakes his sin, shall find mercy, (saith the Wise-man.)

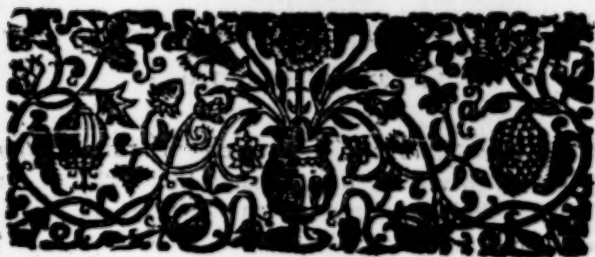
Now therefore, since *Repentance* at best is but a *Remedy*, the benefit of it (except we manage it wisely) *uncertain*; the danger, if we use it too often, may be great: Let us not suffer the hope of frequent *Repentance* to abuse us; for this is but the cold comfort of a miserable man: But with our *serious repentance*, let us take up this resolution as *David* did; for it is folly to wound our selves, that we may need the *Salve* again. It is a good thing to seek what we have lost, and this *repentance* doth: but it is a thing of higher excellency not to be of the *lacking hand*, but to enjoy still what we have. And this the benefit of *Cautelousness*, [*Dixi custodiam.*]

But leave we therefore this comparative discourse, and so come (in the second place) to treat of this *Virtue* in it self.

*Custodiam* is but *care, wariness*, and he that hath this one Art, needs no other. The good providence and mercies of God appear in this, that propounding a course of eternal life to men of all sorts, he hath laid it down in such terms, that nothing but *negligence* and *uncautelousness* can hazard it. Might he not have done this in a more high and reserved manner, with respect to some sorts and orders of men? If he had done so, the greatest part, I will not say of mankind, but of the professors of Christianity, had perished, finally perished. If he had required great knowledge, sharpness of wit, what had become of slower spirits, and shallower capacities? But he saith, *Not many wise, not many learned.* And there is some reason for it, *de facto*, (as we may guess by other cases.) For men of low abilities are more jealous of their actions, and the jealousy makes them the more *cautelous*. And if they use the like caution with their craftiest enemy the Devil, it must needs be *custodiam, safety.*

2. If God had required great strength, extraordinary abilities, and stoutness of men, then the greatest part had perished, because of weaker temper: but he rather chuseth the *weak things of the world to confound the strong.*





# Miscellanies.

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Mr. HALE'S Confelsion of the

# TRINITY.

**T**He Sum of whatsoever either the *Scriptures* teach, or the *Scholes* conclude concerning the Doctrine of the *TRINITY*, is comprised in these few lines.

**G**OD is *ONE*; Numerically *ONE*; more *ONE*, then any single *Man* is *One*, if *Unity* could *suscipere magis & minus*: Yet, *GOD* is so *ONE*, that he admits of *Distinction*; and so admits of *Distinction*, that he still retains *Unity*.

As He is *ONE*, so we call Him *GOD*, the *Deity*, the *Divine Nature*, and other Names of the same signification: As He is *Distinguished*, so we call Him *TRINITY*; *Persons*, *FATHER*, *SON*, and *HOLY GHOST*.

In this *TRINITY* there is *One Essence*; *Two Emanations*; *Three Persons*, or *Relations*; *Four Properties*; *Five Notions*:

[ "*A Notion is that by which any Person is Known or Signified.* ]

The *One Essence* is GOD, which with this *Relation*, that it doth *Generate*, or *Beget*, makes the *Person* of the FATHER: the *same Essence*, with this *Relation*, that it is *Begotten*, maketh the *Person* of the SON: the *same Essence*, with this *Relation*, that it *Proceedeth*, maketh the *Person* of the HOLY GHOST.

The *Two Emanations* are, to be *Begotten*; and to *Proceed*, or to be *Breathed out*: The *Three Persons* are, FATHER, SON, and HOLY SPIRIT. The *Three Relations* are, to *Beget*; to be *Begotten*; and, to *Proceed*, or to be *Breathed out*. The *Four Properties* are; the First, *Innascibility*, and *Inemanability*; the Second, is to *Generate*; these belong to the FATHER: the Third, is to be *Begotten*; and this belongs unto the SON: the Fourth, is to *Proceed*, or to be *Breathed out*; and this belongs unto the HOLY SPIRIT. The *Five Notions* are; First, *Innascibility*; the Second, is to *Beget*; the Third, to be *Begotten*; the Fourth, *Spiratio Passiva*, to be *Breathed out*; the Fifth, *Spiratio Activa*, or, to *Breathe*; and this *Notion* belongs to the FATHER and the SON alike; for, *Pater & Filius spirant Spiritum Sanctum*.

Hence it evidently follows, that he who acknowledgeth thus much, can never possibly scruple the *Eternal Deity* of the *Son of God*.

If any man think *this Confession* to be *Defective*, (for I can conceive no more in this point necessary to be known) let him supply what he conceives *be deficient*, and I shall thank him for his favour.

How

## How we come to know the Scriptures to be the Word of God?

**H**OW come I to know that the *Works* which we call *Livie's*, are indeed *his* whose name they bear? Hath God left means to know the *prophane Writings* of men? hath he left no *certain means* to know his *own Records*?

The first and *outward means* that brings us to the knowledge of these Books, is the *voice of the Church*, notified to us by our *Teachers* and *Instructors*, who first unclasp'd and open'd *them* unto us, and that *common duty* which is exacted at the hand of every learner: *Oportet discentem credere*. And this remaining in us, per-adventure is *all the outward means*, that the *ordinary* and *plain* sort of *Christians* know.

To those who are conversant among the *Records of Antiquity*, farther light appears: To find the *ancient Copies* of Books, bearing these *Titles*, to find in *all Ages* since their being written, the *universal consent* of *all the Church*, still resolving it self upon these *writings*, as *sacred* and *uncontrolable*; these cannot chuse but be strong *Motioners* unto us, to pass our consent unto them, and to conclude, that either these *Writings* are that which they are taken for, or nothing left us from *Antiquity* is true. For whatsoever is that gives any strength or credit to any thing of *Antiquity* left to posterity, whether it be *Writings* and *Records*, or *Tradition* from hand to hand, or what things else soever, they all concur to the *authorising* of *holy Scriptures*, as amply as they do to any other thing left unto the world.

Yea, but will some man reply, this proves indeed strongly that *Moses* and the *Prophets*, that *St. Matthew* and *St. Paul*, &c. writ those Books, and about those times which they bear shew of, but this comes not home; for how proves this that *they are of God*? If I heard *St. Paul* himself preaching, what makes me beleive him that his *Doctrine* is *from God*, and his words, the words of the *holy Ghost*? For answer. There was *no outward means* to persuade the world at the first rising of *Christianity*, that it is infallibly from God, "but onely *Miracles*, such as *impossibly were naturally to be done*. Had I not done those things (saith

a Vide Basil.  
313. B. C.

our Saviour ) *which no man else could do, you had had no sin* : Had not the world seen those *Miracles*, which did unavoidably prove the assistance and presence of a *Divine power* with those who first taught the will of Christ, it had not had sin, if it had rejected them : For though the world by the *light of natural discretion*, might easily have discover'd, that that was *not the right way*, wherein it usually *walk'd* ; yet, that that was the *true path*, which the *Apostles* themselves began to tread, there was *no means* undoubtedly to prove, but *Miracles* ; and if the building were at this day to be raised, it could not be founded without *Miracles*. To our *fore-fathers* therefore, whose ears first entertain'd the word of life, *Miracles* were necessary ; and so they are to us, but after another order : For as the *sight* of these *Miracles* did confirm the doctrine unto them, so unto us the *infallible records of them* : For whatsoever evidence there is, that the *Word* once began to be preach'd, the very same confirms unto us that it was accompanied with *Miracles* and *Wonders* ; so that as those *Miracles* by being *seen*, did prove unanswerably unto our *fore-fathers* the *truth of the doctrine*, for the confirmation of which they were intended ; so do they unto us never a whit less effectually approve it, by being *left unto us upon these Records* ; which if they fail us, then by *Antiquity* there can be nothing left unto posterity which can have certain and undoubted credit. The *certain and uncontrollable Records of Miracles*, are the *same* to us the *Miracles* are.

The *Church of Rome*, when she commends unto us the *Authority of the Church* in dijudicating of *Scriptures*, seems onely to speak of her self, and that, of that part of her self which is at some time existent ; whereas *we*, when we appeal to the *Church's testimony*, content not our selves with *any part of the Church* actually existent, but add unto it the *perpetually successive testimony of the Church in all Ages since the Apostles time*, viz. *since its first beginning* ; and out of both these draw an argument in this question of that force, as that from it not the subtlest disputer can find an escape ; for who is it that can think to gain acceptance and credit with reasonable men, by opposing not onely the *present Church* conversing in earth, but to the *uniform consent of the Church in all Ages*.

So that in effect, to us of *after-ages*, the greatest, if not the *sole outward mean* of our *consent to holy Scripture*, is the *voice of the Church*

*Church*, (excepting always the *Copies of the Books* themselves, bearing from their birth *such or such names*) of the *Church*, I say, and that not onely of that part of it, which is *actually existent* at any time, but *successively* of the *Church* ever since the time of our *blessed saviour*: for all these testimonies which from time to time are left in the *Writings of our fore-fathers* (as almost every Age ever since the first birth of the Gospel, hath by God's providence left us store) are the *continued voice of the Church*, witnessing unto us the *truth of these Books*, and their *Authority* well: but this is onely *fides humano iudicio & testimonio ac quaesita*; what shall we think of *fides infusa*? of the *inward working of the holy Ghost*, in the consciences of every beleiver? How far it is a *perswader* unto us of the *Authority of these Books*, I have not much to say: Onely thus much in general, that doubtless the *holy Ghost* doth so *work* in the heart of every true Beleiver, that it leaves a *farther assurance*, strong and sufficient, to ground and stay it self upon: But this, because it is *private* to every one, and *no way subject to sense*, is *unfit to yeild argument* by way of dispute, to stop the *captious curiosities of wits* disposed to wrangle; and by so much the more *unfit* it is, by how much by experience we have learn'd, that men are very apt to call *their own private conceits*, the *Spirit*. To oppose unto these men to reform them, our *own private conceits* under the name likewise of the *Spirit*, were madness; so that to judge upon presumption of the *Spirit in private*, can be no way to bring either this or any other controversie to an end.

If it should please God at this day to *adde* any thing more unto the *Canon of faith*, it were necessary it should be confirmed by *Miracles*.

Concerning



Concerning the Lawfulness of Marriages betwixt  
First Cousins, or Cousin-Germans.

Septemb. 8. 1630.

Worthy Sir,

**I**T is too great an Honour which you have done me, to require my judgment (if at least I have any judgment) in a matter in which your self, both by reason of your skill and degree, cannot chuse but over-weigh me: yet such as it is, since you are pleased to require it, lo, I present it to you, and wish it may be for your service.

**I**N Marriages, two things are most especially to be considered, *Conveniency*, and *Affection*: *Conveniency*, thereby to advance, or otherwise settle our Estates to our content: *Affection*, because of the singular content we take in the enjoying of what we love. Now because these Two are great parties, and sway much in the manage of our *Temporal Actions*, by common consent and practise of all men, they freely take their course, save onely there where the *Publick Laws of God or Men* have given them some check and inhibition, for the propagation of Mutual Love and Acquaintance among men. And for avoiding of *Confusion in Blood*, God and Men have joyntly enacted, that it shall not *not be lawfull* for us to make our commodity, or place our affection by way of *Marriage* within certain Degrees of *Propinquity* and *Kindred*: but this was with some restraint. For as *St. Augustine* tells us, *Fuit autem antiquis Patribus religiosa cura-num ipsa propinquitas se paulatim propaginum ordinibus dirimens longius abiret, & propinquitas esse desisteret, cum nondum longe positam rursus Matrimonii vinculo Coligare & quodammodo revocare fugientem.* Now the question is, How far in the Degrees of *Propinquity* this restraint doth reach? and where we may begin to couple and lock again?

For the opening of which *Quary*, let us a little consider in general of all kinds of *Propinquity*, so shall we the better find, where we may safely begin.

All

*All Degrees of Propinquity amongst which Moses may be supposed to seek a Wife, are either of Mothers and Daughters ; or Aunts and Nieces ; or Sisters and Cousins. Now as in the Ascending Line of Mothers, I may not marry my Mother ; so can I not marry my Grandmother, nor Great-grandmother, and so infinitely upward : Insomuch as if Eve were now alive, and a Widow, no man living could marry her, because all men are her sons. In the Descending Line of Daughters, as I may not marry my daughter, so neither my Grandchild, nor Great-grandchild, and so infinitely downwards. Again, in the Ascending Line of Aunts, I may not marry my next Aunt, so nor my Great-Aunt, nor her Aunt, nor hers, and so upwards in infinitum. In the Descending Line of Neices, as I cannot marry my first Neice, so nor my second, nor third, nor fourth, unto the thousandth Generation, because I am properly Uncle to them All, how far soever distant in Descent. As for marriage with Sisters, notwithstanding that the immediate sons of Adam ; because God created onely one Woman, were constrained to marry their Sisters ; yet, ever since, by General consent of all Nations, it hath been counted Incestuous. So then, all Marriage with Mothers, Daughters, Neices, being expressely prohibited ; if Moses will marry within his Kindred, he must seek his Wife amongst his Cousins.*

Now here is the Question, Where he may first adventure to make his choice ? If we look to ancient Laws of God and Men, we shall find, that in any Degree whatsoever marriage was permitted, beginning even from the First-Cousins, or Cousin-germans. For if we look into Moses, we shall find no restraint imposed upon Cousin-Germans ; and how ever some have pleaded, that there is a Degree farther off prohibited, and therefore by consequence this must be taken for prohibited : this ( as hereafter I shall make plain in the sequel of my Discourse ) is but a meer mistake. And not onely my self, whose insight into matters may peradventure not be great : but those whose sight is far quicker than mine, could see in the Law of God no prejudice to the marriage of Cousin-Germans. For not onely Zanchy,

(a) Calvin, (b) Beza, (c) Bucer, (d) Melancthon, in a word, all the Divines of the Reformed Churches, of whose judgment and learning we have any opinion, do grant, that First-Cousins may couple, any thing in God's Law notwithstanding, I must confess my ignorance.

(a) 18 Levit. (b) in Lib. de Repudiis. (c) in Judicium. cap. 1. & Matth. c. 4. (d) de Conjugio.

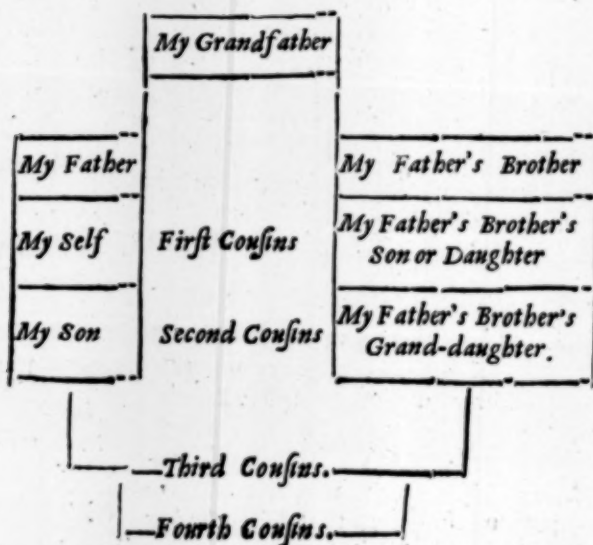
I know

I know not any of our Reformed Divines that have written, that have thought otherwise. Indeed Calvin having first acknowledged, that the Law of God doth not impeach it; yet gives advice in regard of the scandal the Churches might suffer, to abstain from Marriage in that Degree; and so accordingly the Churches of Geneva, of the Palatinate, Misnia, Thuringia, and Saxony, have severally by their several Constitutions prohibited it. But this toucheth not the case; for I perceive the question is of *Second Cousins*, unto whom those Churches (which forbid the *First Degree*) expressly give leave; for I find it recorded, \* *In tertio*

\* Zepper. de  
Lege Mosaic.  
l. 4. c. 9.

*æqualis linea gradu permitti possunt conjugia:* where that those words, in *tertio gradu*, deceive you not, and make you to think that not *Second*, but *Third*

Cousins are permitted to marry, you must understand that *Second Cousins* are in the *Third degree of Kindred*, and *Third Cousins* in the *Fourth*, and so forward, by the Account of all Lawyers; which that you may see, and because in my ensuing Discourse I shall have occasion to refer unto it, I will set down some part of the Stem, so much as shall concern our purpose.



By this rude Draught you may see, that if you count the *Degrees of Kindred* betwixt *Second Cousins*, you shall find them *six Degrees* distant by the *Civil Law*, and in the *third Degree of the Canon Law*. For in the *Civil Law* the Rule is, *Quot sunt persone tot sunt Gradus Stipite dempto*, [*Stipitem*] we call him that *stands at the Top*, and in whom the *Cognition* first unites, who here is my *Grandfather*. But, in respect of the *Second Cousins*, here is *Great-grandfather*: If then you begin with *Second Cousins*, and count about till you come to *Second Cousins* again, leaving out the *Grandfather*, you shall find them to be *six persons*, and so *six Degrees in Kindred*. Now *two Degrees* in the *Civil Law*, make but *one Degree* in the *Canon Law*, where the Rule is, that in *Linea equali quoto gradu distant à stipite, toto distant inter se*: By which you see that *Second Cousins*, being in the *Third Degree* from the *Grandfather*, they are *three Degrees* distant from each other. I have stood a little upon this, for this cause, that if any one should perchance put you off with the *Authority* of the *Churches* which I have mention'd, you might not be deceived through the *equivocation* which seems to lurk in those words, in *Tertio Gradu*.

But to return to our question of *Cousin Germans*, as there is nothing in the *Law of God* which forbids marriage betwixt them; so accordingly was the practise of *God's own people*; for so we read that the daughters of *Zelophehad* were married to their *Uncle's Sons*; and *Caleb* gives his Daughter *Achsab* in marriage to his *Brother's Son*; and sundry instances more in this kind might be given. Now that those things should be done by *dispensation* and *permission* onely (which I see is pleaded by some men) I know no warrant nor reason for it: so that what may be done in this case by the *Law of God*, I think is out of question.

Let us see a little what the *light of Nature* taught the *Gentiles*. Amongst them the wisest and most potent were the *Romans*, whose *Laws* have long been esteemed for the *soundest and best*, by the general approbation of the most and greatest Kingdoms and *Common-wealths in Europe*.

Now amongst these, the *Romans* both by their *Law* and practise did warrant *Marriages between First Cousins*; their *Law* is plain, and thus we read it in their *Pandecks*, about the beginning of the 23.6. *Si nepotem ex filio & nepta ex altero filio in potestate habeam nuptias inter eas me solo auctore contrahi posse: Pomponius*

m m

scribit,

*scribit, & verum est.* This one Text is sufficient, though I could quote many other Testimonies out of their Law concerning this kind of Marriage.

What their practise was, these instances which ensue will be sufficient to shew : Anciently under the first Kings, *Dionysius Halycarnassens* tells us, that two daughters of *Servius Tullius* were married to *Lucius* and *Arms* their Cousin-germans, Nephews to *Tarquinius Priscus*. *Livie* in his 42. 6. brings in one *Spurius Ligustinus* reporting, that his father had given him for wife his Uncle's daughter ; and thus he speaks to his own praise and commendation, as it will appear, if you please to peruse the place. *Tully* in his *Orat. pro Cluentio*, tells us, that *Cluentia* was married to *Melius* her Cousin-german : & *erant hæ Nuptiæ* (saith he) *plane dignitatis plane concordie* : which I think he would never have said, had their lien upon such marriages any note of infamy. *Augustus* the Emperour gave his daughter *Julia* in marriage to *Marcellus*, nephew to *Augustus* by his sister *Octavia* : And *Quintilian* tells us, that his son ( whose immature death he doth bewail ) was designed, when he came to age, to marry his Uncle's daughter ; and *Marcus Brutus* was married to his Cousin-german, as *Plutarch* relates.

Out of this heap of instances it appeareth, that in the *Roman Common-wealth* throughout all Ages, and amongst all sorts of people, *Marriages between First-Cousins* ran uncontrolled : The first that gave restraint unto them was *Theodosius the Great*, which Law of his is yet to be seen in that Book of his Laws, called *Codex Theodosianus*. But this Law continued not long, for his own sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius* quickly revers'd it ; and inleiu of it made this Law, which is extant in the Book called *Justinian's Code*, and stands for good Law amongst the *Civilians* at this day, *Celebrandis inter consobrinis matrimoniis licentia legis hujus salubritate indulta est, ut revocata prisce juris auctoritate, restrictisque calumniarum fomentis, matrimonium inter consobrinos habeatur legitimum, sive ex duobus fratribus, sive ex duabus sororibus, sive ex fratre & sorore nati sunt : & ex eo matrimonio editi legitimi & suis patribus successores habeantur.* Thus stood the case concerning those Marriages, until the Bishops of *Rome* began to grow great, and took upon them to make Laws : For then, whether to make way for *Dispensations*, whereby to get money, or for what other By-respects, I know not ; not only *First and Second cousins*, but all *Cousins* until the seventh Generation, were



were expressly prohibited to marry mutually: till at length the Bishop of Rome freed the three latter Degrees, and prohibited marriage onely to *Cousins in four Descents*: and so till this day among those that acknowledge the superiority of that See, all marrying within four Degrees, except it be by Dispensation, is utterly forbidden.

And if it be lawful for me to speak what I think, I verily suppose, that not from any reason, but onely by reason of the long prevailing of the *Common Law*, Marriages betwixt *near Cousins* were generally forbora. And from hence arose a scruple in the minds of many men, concerning the lawfulness of such Marriages: But all cause of such scruple amongst us is long since taken away. For at what time we cast off the yoke of the Bishop of Rome in the 33 year of King Hen. 8. a Statute was Enacted in Parliament, which was again confirmed in the first of Queen Elizabeth, that no degrees of kindred should be forbidden Marriage, but onely such as were set down in the *Levitical Law*, and amongst the degrees specified in that Act as lawful (if my memory fail me not) *Cousin-germans* are expressly mentioned.

To sum up all then what hitherto hath been said, What reason have we to doubt of the lawfulness of that, which the Law of God permits, the people of God practised, the best and learnedest Divines have acknowledged, the wisest amongst the Gentiles in their Laws and Practises have approved, and our own *Municipal Laws*, under which we live, expressly allow.

This had been enough to satisfy any gain-sayer whatsoever. And indeed I had ended here, but that when your letters came to my hands, there was delivered with them a *Schedule*, containing reasons perswading all such kind of Marriages to be utterly unlawful. Concerning the authority of which Discourse, to profess what I think, I take him for a very pious and zealous man; and I earnestly desire of him, if ever he chance to be acquainted with what I write, to conceive of me as one who *delights not in opposition*, except it be for the Truth, at least in opinion. My advise to him is to adde Knowledge to his Zeal, and to call again to account his reasons; and more diligently to examine them. The strength of his discourse is not so much his Reason, as his Passion, a thing very prevalent with the common sort, who as they are seldom capable of strength of reason, so are they easily carried away with passion.

nate discourse. This thing ought to be a warning to us of the *Clergy*, to take heed how we deal with the people by way of passion, except it be there where our proofs are sound. *Passion is a Good Dog, but an ill Shepherd. Tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem*; it may perchance follow well, but it can never lead well. I was much amazed to read his resolution of preaching in this case so earnestly, as to *break her's*, or *his heart* (who desire to marry) or his own, or all — He that suffered himself thus far to be transported with affection, ought to have furnish'd himself with stronger reasons than any I here can find: But I will let his passion go, for to contend with it were infinite; for Passion hath Tongue and clamour enough, but no Ears. The Reasons, so many as I think require answer, I will take up in order as they lie in the *Paper*. And first, I find one *phrase of speech*, which is very predominant, and runs almost through the veins of the Discourse; it is this,

That Christians *loath*, Christians *abhor*, men, women, and children *cry out* against *such kind of Marriages*. But who are those Christians of whom he speaks? If he means the better sort of Learned and *Judicious Divines*, he is certainly deceived, for I have shewed already the contrary; and let him for any information, if he can, produce for himself some *one Protestant Learned Divine*. If he mean some of the ordinary sort: I answer, 'tis the fault of their Guides, who ought better to have informed them. And whereas toward the latter end of the Discourse, we are told of a *dying woman, afflicted in conscience*, because she had married her *Cousin*: First, I ask, of what weight the judgment of a silly woman is? Secondly, I answer, that this proves not the thing to be unlawful. Now let our *Acts* be what they will, good or bad, yet if we do them, supposing them to be *unlawful*, we sin. It is a Ruled Case amongst the *Canonists*, *Conscientia erronea ligat habentem*, He that doth a good action, taking it to be unlawful, *to him it is unlawful*. If therefore *against her conscience* (though peradventure *mis-informed*) she married her Cousin, she deserved the *torment of mind*; and yet *Marriage between Cousins-germans* may be lawful enough. Wherefore I pray you advise those, concerning whom this question is proposed, that if they find in themselves any doubt concerning the *lawfulness of the action*, they forbear to attempt it, until all *scruple be removed*. But

I see

I see that the main foundation of this discourse is laid in these words of *Moses*, — *You shall not approach to any that is near of kin, to uncover her nakedness*: where by near of kin, *First, and Second Cousins* amongst the rest are thought to be meant. For answer to which, we say, That the enumeration of particulars (which *Moses* in that place maketh) is a sufficient comment upon those words, and those who are reckon'd up expressly together with all others, in whom the same reason is found, are to be esteemed for near of Kin, and besides them no other; I say those in whom the same reason is found. Because some Degrees there are, which are not mentioned by *Moses*, and yet are confessed to be prohibited. It is not forbidden a woman to marry her mother's sister's husband: yet it is not lawful; for the man is forbidden to marry his father's brother's widow. Now the same reason is there betwixt a man & his father's brother's widow, which is betwixt a woman and her mother's sister's husband, and therefore both are understood as alike forbidden, though both be not alike expressed. But for a full answer to these words, I refer the Authour of this Discourse to *Francisc. Hottoman*, a learned Civilian, and an earnest Protestant, who in his disputation, *de jure Nuptiarum*, cap. 6. hath these words, *Qui vero propinquorum numero sint non cujusque hominis nati sed solius dei judicium est, qua de causa eadem lege illos ordine nominatim enumerat ut facile intelligatur, quos non enumerat, propinquorum numero habendos non esse, quoniam ut dici solet, quod lege prohibitoria vetitum non est permissum intelligitur.*

Now the better to work us to a conceit, that such marriages are unlawful, the examples of the Gentiles are called to help; and we are informed that *Plutarch*, a grave Writer, tells us of one who was greatly endangered by marrying his Cousin-german; certainly it was great want of examples, which moved the Gentleman to make choice of this: A worse for his purpose he could not easily have found. For indeed it is true, that *Plutarch* tells us, that some one (*who, or when*, he tells not) was publicly questioned'd for it; but withall he tells us, that *he was absolved*, and a Law made, that for ever after no man should be questioned'd for so doing. More of these examples were not likely much to prejudice our cause. For certainly they that absolved the party, and made a Law, that no man ever after should be molested on the like occasion, in likelihood could do it, upon no reason, but upon conceit, that the accusation was founded upon an error.

But

But what the authority of *Plutarch* cannot do, that peradventure the judgment of *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, *St. Gregory*, and no less then *Ten Councils*, will effect; for all these are brought and urged to discountenance all marriage betwixt near *Cousins*. First, for *St. Ambrose* and *St. Austine*, no marvel if they speak suspiciously concerning this kind of Marriages, since they lived at the time when the Law made by *Theodosius* in prejudice of them was as yet unrepealed: Indeed *St. Ambrose* would make us believe, that such Marriages are against the Law of God; but in that point he was deceived. *St. Austine* speaks more cautelously concerning this kind of marriages, and acknowledging, that by the Law of God they were permitted, observes, that they had been but lately prohibited by humane Authority. And as for *St. Gregory*, it is well known that the Bishops of *Rome* had already began to enlarge their *Phylacteries*, and taken upon them to make Laws far more then they needed: and now looking bigger then their Fellows, *All Councils*, especially in the *West*, were made with some respect to what they had decreed. No marvel therefore if so many Councils are brought to cry down Marriages with *First* and *Second Cousins*, which the *Popes* had already discountenanced; we should rather much have marvelled if any Council had appeared in favour of them. All therefore that these Councils have said in this point, is in a sort to pass for nothing else but the will of the Bishop of *Rome*, to which how much we are to attribute, I leave to the Authour of the Discourse to judge. And should we attribute any thing to *St. Gregory*, his greatest Authority makes nothing against our cause: For he in his Answer to *Austin* our English Prelate, forbids the Laws onely against *First Cousins*, against *Second* and *Third* he hath no quarrel; nay, his words sound quite contrary, *Unde necesse est*, saith he, *ut in tertia*, which is the case *vel in quarta generatione*, *Fideles sibi licite Conjungantur*. So that this Authority of *St. Gregory* may well enough return to the place where it was taken, for any harm it is likely to do. The same may be said to *St. Ambrose* and *St. Austine*, that in the case they may be admitted without any danger. For what they say concerns onely *First Cousins*, which falls a Degree short of the case.

There is yet one reason of some consequence remains. For we are informed, that it must needs be that Marriage betwixt *First Cousins* is forbidden, because a Degree farther off is forbidden. For this

this purpose we are ask'd, *Is not thy Father's Brother's Widow farther off, then thy Father's Brother's Daughter?* I answer No; for my Father's Brother's Widow is my Aunt; but my Father's Brother's Daughter is my Cousin German; but my Aunt is nearer to me then my Cousin. Look but upon the Draught of Degrees which I have before drawn, and if you count from Me to my Father's Brother, (which is the place of my Aunt) you shall find but three Degrees; but from Me to my Cousin-german, or First-Cousin, you shall find four Degrees. And whereas we are told, that to make amends for this we must take notice, that my Uncle's Widow is tied to me onely by outward affinity, but my Cousin-German is near to me by blood and consanguinity. I answer, that the difference betwixt Affinity and Consanguinity in this place helps not at all: It is confess'd, that look what degree of Consanguinity is forbidden, the same degree of Affinity likewise is forbidden, if any be contracted: For as I may not marry my Mother, so I may not marry my Father's Widow; my Daughter, and my son's Wife; my Neice, and my Nephew's Wife, are all alike forbidden to me. And by the same Analogy, as I may not marry my Aunt, so I may not marry my Uncle's Widow. Yet to help the lameness of this reason we are told, (but not for news I trow, for who knew it not?) that in Consanguinity, some degrees further removed are excluded marriage; for instance, my Brother's Grandchildren to the Fourth and Fifth Generation: yet all this wind blows no corn; for it is already granted, that I am excluded the whole Line of my Neices, not onely to the Fourth and Fifth, but to all Generations possible. And here the Line of Neices suffers the same which the Line of Mothers, of Aunts, of Daughters doth, which are wholly excluded in the furthest degree imaginable; so that the total exclusion of Neices proves not the marriage of First and Second Cousins unlawful; much less doth the exclusion of them to the Fourth and Fifth Generation: So that any Law of God, or sound Reason notwithstanding, Marriage betwixt First Cousins may very well pass for lawful. But whereas some of the Antients, and likewise some of the Modern Churches, out of scrupulosity, have excluded marriage betwixt First Cousins; yet neither any of the Antients, nor any Churches at this day that I know (the Church of Rome onely excepted) have prejudiced the marriage of Second Cousins: so that whosoever they be that marry in that degree, if themselves be perswaded of the lawfulness



*ness* of their Action, they have no cause to doubt of the *Blessing* of God upon them and their posterity.

That which remains of the Discourse yet untouched, is of no great weight, though of some *beat*; for indeed it is nothing else but *Rhetorical* and *passionate* amplification, and to return Answer to it were but to lose my labour: If this which I have done give you content, I have my desire. Onely thus much I request of you for my pains, that you will cause your *Amannensis*, to transcribe a *copy of my Letters*, and at your leisure send it me. For whereas I was long since desired to deliver my self in this point, in the behalf of a great Person of this Land, who is now with God, I kept no copy of my Meditations, by which error I was now as far to seek as ever, which was the cause which made me slower in returning Answer to your Letters. This courtesie, if you shall be pleased to grant me, you shall for ever oblige unto you,

*Your true Freind and Servant,*

JOHN HALES.

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THE

## The Method of Reading Profane History.

**I**N perusal of *History*, first, provide you some Writers in *Chronology*, and *Cosmography*. For if you be ignorant of the *Times* and *Places*, when and where the things you read were done, it cannot chuse but breed confusion in your reading, and make you many times grossly to slip and mistake in your discourse. When therefore you set to your Book, have by you *Helvicus* his *Chronology*; and a *Map* of the Countrey in which you are conversant; and repair unto them to acquaint you with *time* and *place*, *when*, and *where* you are. If you be versing the *Ancient Histories*, then provide you *Ptolomy's Maps*, or *Ortelius* his *Conatus Geographici*: if the latter, then some of the *Modern Cards*.

As for *Method* of Reading *History*, note, that there are in *Story* two things especially considerable. First, the *Order of the Story* it self: and secondly, *Moral*, or *Statistical observations*, for common life and practise.

For the latter of these, there needs *no method* in reading; all the method is in *digesting* your reading, by bringing it into *Heads* or *Common places*, or *Indices*, or the like. For in this kind, read what Books, and in what order ye list, it matters not; so your *Notes* may be in some *such order* as may be *useful* for you. For the former, that is the *course and order of the Story*; The *order of reading* ought to be the same with the *order of the things themselves*; what was *first done*, that is to be read in the *first place*; what was next, in the next place, and so forward; the *succession and order of time and reading* being the same. This if you mean to observe *exactly* (which I think it is not so necessary for you to do) you must range your *Authors* according to the *times*, wherein the things they writt were *acted*, and in the same *order* read them.

But before you come to read the *acts of any people*: as those that intend to go to *Bowls*, will first see and view the ground upon which they are to play; so it shall not be amiss for you, first, to take a *general view of that ground*, which you mean more particularly

particularly to traverse, by reading some short *Epitoms*. So, ere you read the *Roman Story*, ( for that way you mean your studies shall bend ) first, read carefully *L. Florus*, who breifly continues the story from *Romulus* till *Augustus*, shut the Temple of *Janus* : And if you would yet go lower, adde then unto *Florus*, *Entropius* his *Breviarium* ; who from the same point brings the Story unto *Jovianus* the Emperour. This will give you a general taste of your business, and add light unto particular Authours.

This done, then take *Livie* in hand. Now because *Livie* is very much broken and imperfect, and parts of him lost ; it may be question'd, whether were better to read *Livie* throughout, bawking his imperfections, before you meddle with any other ? or when you come to any imperfection, to leave him, and supply his wants by intercalation of some other Authour, and so resume him into your hands again, *toties quoties* ? For answer, Were it your purpose exactly to observe the course of the story, it were not amiss where *Livie* fails you, before you go to his next Books, to supply the defect out of some other Authours : but since this is not that you principally intend, but some other thing ; and again, because variety of Authours may trouble you, it will be better for you to read *Livie* throughout, without interruption. When you have gone him through, then, if you please, you may look back, and take a view of his imperfections, and supply them out of some other Authours, partly Latine, as *Justine*, *Salust*, *Cesar's Commentaries*, *Hirtius*, *Velleius Paterculus* : partly Greek, as *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, *Dionysius*, *Halycarnassensis*, *Appianus*, *Alexandrinus*, *Dion Cassius* : out of which Authours you may reasonably supply whatsoever is wanting in *Livie*.

Having thus brought the Story to the change of the Empire, you must now begin another course ; and first you must take in hand *Suetonius Tranquillus*, who being carefully perused, your way lies open to the reading of our Politician's great Apostle *Tacitus*. Now the same infelicity hath befallen him, which before I noted in *Livie* : for as this, so that is very imperfect, and broken, a great part both of his *Annals* and *Histories* being lost. And as I counsel'd you for *Livie*, so do I for *Tacitus*, that you read him throughout, without intermingling any other Authour ; and having gone him through, in what you shall see him imperfect, *Dion Cassius*, or his Epitomizer *Xiphiline*, will help you out : though by reason of

of your fore-reading of *Suetonius*, you shall find your self, for a good part of the Story, furnish'd before hand.

And thus are you come to the Reign of *Nerva*, where *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* ended; hitherto to come is a reasonable task for you yet.

If you shall desire to know the State and Story afterward till *Constantine's* death, and the *Division of the Empire*, or farther, to the fall of the *Western Empire*; let me understand your mind, and I will satisfie you.

For the Editions of those Authours hitherto mentioned; your choice is best of those, whom either *Lipsius*, or *Gruterus*, or *Causabon* have set forth: though if you be careful to buy fair Books, you can scarcely chuse amiss; your *Greek Authours*, if you list not to trouble your self with the Language, you shall easily find in Latine sufficient for your use. Onely *Plutarch*, what ever the matter is, hath no luck to the Latine, and therefore I would advise you either to read him in *French*, or in *English*. But as for *Tacitus*, the cheif Cock in the Court-basket; it is but meet you take special good advise in reading of him: *Lipsius*, *Savile*, *Piscena*, and others, have taken great pains with him in *emaculating the Text*, in *settling the Reading*, *opening the Customs*, *expounding the Story*, &c. and therefore you must needs have recourse unto them; yet this in onely *Critical*, and not *Courtly Learning*: *Tacitus* for your use requires other kind of Comments. For since he is a *Concise*, *Dense*, and by repute a very *Oraculous Writer*, almost in every line pointing at some *State-Maxim*: it had been a good employment for some good Wit, to have expounded, proved, exemplified at large, what he doth for the most part onely but intimate. Something our Age hath attempted in this kind, though to little purpose. *Gruterus* hath collected certain places here and there, collected out of him: and *Scipio Ammirati* hath glossed him in some places according to the shallowness of the new *Italian Wits*. But *Annibal Scotus*, Groom of the Chamber to *Sixtus Quintus*, hath desperately gone through him all, whom I would wish you to look upon, not for any great good you shall reap by him (for he is the worst that ever I read) onely you shall see by that which he hath with great infelicity attempted, what kind of Comment it is, which if it were well performed, would be very acceptable to us.

From the *order of Reading*, we come to the *Excerpta*, and to such things as we observe and gather in our reading. Here are two things to be marked: First, the *matters and things* which we collect; Secondly, the *manner of observing, gathering, registering* them in our paper-books for our speedy use.

To omit all that which belongs to the *style and language* wherein your Authour writes, in which I suppose you mean not much to trouble your self; *matters* observable in *History*, may be all rank'd under *three heads*; First, there is the *Story it self*, which usually we gather by *Epitomizing* it. Secondly, there are *Miscellanea*, such as are the *Names and Genealogies of Men*; *descriptions of Cities, Hills, Rivers, Woods, &c.* *Customs, Offices, Magistrates, Prodigies*; certain quaint observations, as who was the first *Discoverer*, when the *Romans* first began to use *Shipping*? or to coin *gold*? what manner of *Moneys* the *Ancients* used? their manner of *War and Military Instruments*; and an infinite multitude of the like nature. Thirdly, there are *Moralia*.

For the *first*, you need not trouble your self about it, it is already done to your hand. For there is almost no story of note, whereof there is not some *Epitome*, as good as any you can frame of your own. Indeed, if you did intend any exact knowledge of *History*, it were good you did this your self, though it were *Actum agere*: Because what we do our selves, sticks best in our memories, and is most for our use. But since your aim is at something else, you may spare your own, and make use of others labours. The *second Head* is pleasant, but is meerly *Critical and Scholastical*, and so the less pertinent to you, and therefore I shall not need to speak any more of it. The *Third*, which I called *Morals*, is that *Penelope* which you must woo; under this I comprehend all *Moral Sentences and Common Places*, all notable examples of *Justice, of Religion, &c.* *Apothegms, Vafre & simulanter dicta & facta*; *Civil stratagems and plots* to bring ends about: *censures upon mens persons and actions*: *considerations upon mens natures and dispositions*: all things that may serve for *proof or disproof, illustration or amplification* of any *Moral place*: *considerations of the circumstances of actions, the reasons why they prove successful*; or their *errors*, if they prove *unfortunate*: As in the *second Punick War*, why *Annibal* still prevailed by *hastning* his actions; *Rabius*, on the contrary, by *delay*. And this indeed is one of the special profits that  
come;



comes by *History*. And therefore I have always thought *Polybius* (might we have him perfect) one of the best that ever wrote *Story*. For whereas other *Historians* content themselves, to touch and point at the true reasons of *Events* in civil business; *Polybius*, when he hath *Historically* set down an *action* worthy consideration, leaves it not so, but reveiws it, insists, and, as it were, *comments upon it*, considers all the *circumstances* that were of any force in the manage of it; and contents not himself, as it were, to cast its water, but looks into its bowels, and shews where it is strong, and where diseased. Wherefore I would have you well acquaint your self *with him*, and especially with *those passages* I now spake of, that they may be patterns to you to do the like, which that you may with greater assurance and profit do, make special account of those who wrote the things of their own times, or in which themselves were *Agents*, especially if you find them to be such as *durst tell the truth*. For as it is with *Painters*, who many times draw Pictures of fair Women, and call them *Helen*, or *Venus*; or of great *Emperours*, and call them *Alexander*, or *Caesar*; yet we know they carry no resemblance of the persons whose names they bear: So, when men write and decipher *actions*, long before their time, they may do it with great wit and elegance, express much *politick wisdom*, frame very beautiful peices; but how far they express the true countenance and life of the actions themselves, of this it were no impiety to doubt: unless we were assured they drew it from those, who knew and saw what they did.

One thing more, ere I leave this Head, I will admonish you of. It is a common *Scholical error* to fill our papers and *Note-books* with observations of great and famous events, either of great *Battles*, or *Civil Broiles* and contentions. The expedition of *Hercules* his off-spring for the recovery of *Peloponnesse*, the building of *Rome*, the attempt of *Regulus* against the great *Serpent of Bagradas*; the *Punick Wars*, the ruine of *Carthage*, the death of *Caesar*, and the like. Mean while things of ordinary course and common life gain no room in our *Paper-books*. *Petronius* wittily and sharply complain'd against *Scholemaisters* in his times, *Adolescentulos in Scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident, sed piratas cum catenis in littore stantes & tyrannicos edita scribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum suorum capita prædicant, sed responsa in pestilentia data aut virgines tres aut plures immolentur;*

*molentur*; in which he wisely reproves the error of those, who training up of youth in the practise of *Rhetorick*, never suffered them to practise their wits in things of use, but in certain strange *supralunary arguments*, which never fell within the sphere of common action. This complaint is good against divers of those, who travel in *History*. For one of the greatest reasons that so many of them thrive so little, and grow no wiser men, is, because they sleight things of *ordinary course*, and observe onely great matters of more note, but less use. How doth it benefit a man who lives in peace, to observe the Art how *Cesar* managed wars? or by what cunning he aspired to the Monarchy? or what advantages they were that gave *Scipio* the day against *Hannibal*? These things may be known, not because the knowledge of these things is useful, but because it is an imputation to be ignorant of them; their greatest use for you being onely to furnish out your discourse. Let me therefore advise you in reading, to have a care of those discourses which express *domestick* and *private actions*, especially if they be such, wherein your self purposes to venture your fortunes. For if you rectifie a little your conceit, you shall see that it is the same wisdom, which manages *private business*, and *State affairs*, and that the one is acted with as much folly and ease, as the other. If you will not beleive men, then look into our *Colledges*, where you shall see, that I say not the plotting for an *Headship*, (for that is now become a *Court-business*) but the contriving of a *Bursership* of twenty nobles a year, is many times done with as great a portion of *suing*, *siding*, *supplanting*, and of other *Court-like Arts*, as the gaining of the *Secretary's place*; onely the difference of the persons it is, which makes the one *Comical*, the other *Tragical*. To think that there is more wisdom placed in these specious matters, then in private carriages, is the same error, as if you should think there were more Art required to paint a *King*, then a *Countrey Gentleman*: whereas our *Dutch Pieces* may serve to confute you, wherein you shall see a cup of *Rhenish-wine*, a dish of *Radishes*, a *brass Pan*, an *Holland Cheese*, the *Fisher-men* selling *Fish* at *Scheveling*, or the *Kitchen-maid* spitting a *loin of Mutton*, done with as great delicacy and choiceness of Art, as can be expressed in the *Delineation* of the greatest *Monarch* in the world.

From the order of Reading, and the matters in Reading to be observed,

served, we come to the *method of observation*. What order we are for our best use to keep in *entring our Notes into our Paper-Books*.

The custom which hath most prevailed hitherto, was *common* placing a thing at the first *Original* very plain and simple; but by after-times much increased, some augmenting the number of the *Heads*, others inventing ~~quainter~~ *quainter* forms of disposing them: till at length *Common-place-books* became like unto the *Roman Brevi-arie* or *Missal*. It was a great part of *Clerk-ship* to know how to use them. The *Vastness of the Volumes*, the *multitude of Heads*, the *intricacy of disposition*, the pains of committing the *Heads* to *memory*, and last, of the labour of so often turning the *Books* to enter the observations in their due places, are things so *expensive of time and industry*, that although at length the work comes to perfection, yet it is but like the *Silver Mines in Wales*, the profit will hardly quit the pains. I have often doubted with my self, whether or no there were any necessity of being so exactly *Methodical*. First, because there hath not yet been found a *Method of that Latitude*, but little reading would furnish you with some things, which would fall without the compass of it. Secondly, because men of confused, dark and cloudy understandings, no beam or light of order and method can ever rectifie; whereas men of clear understanding, though but in a *mediocrity*, if they read good Books carefully, and note diligently, it is impossible but they should find incredible profit, though their Notes lie never so confusedly. The strength of our *natural memory*, especially if we help it, by revising our own Notes; the *nature of things themselves*, many times ordering themselves, and *tantum non*, telling us how to range them; a *mediocrity of care* to see that matters lie not too *Chaos-like*, will with very small damage save us this great labour of being *over-superstitiously methodical*. And what though peradventure something be lost, *Exilis domus est &c.* It is a sign of great poverty of *Scholarship*, where every thing that is lost, is miss'd; whereas rich and well accomplish'd learning is able to lose many things with little or no inconvenience. Howsoever it be, you that are now about the noon of your day, and therefore have no leisure to try and examine *Methods*; and are to bring up a *young Gentleman*, who in all likelihood will not be over-willing to take too much pains; may, as I think, with most ease and profit, follow this order.

In your reading *excerpe*, and note in your Books such things as you like: going on continually *without any respect unto order*; and for the *avoiding of confusion*, it shall be very profitable to allot some time to the *reading again of your own Notes*; which do as much and as oft as you can. For by this means your Notes shall be better fixt in your memory, and your memory will easily supply you of things of the like nature *if by chance you have imperfectly noted them*; that so you may bring them together by *marginal references*. But because your Notes in time must needs arise to some bulk, that it may be too great a task, and too great loss of time to review them, do thus, Cause a large *Index* to be fram'd according to *Alphabetical order*, and *Register* in it your *Heads*, as they shall offer themselves in the course of your reading, *every Head* under his *proper Letter*. For thus, though your Notes lie confused in your Papers, yet are they digested in your *Index*, and to draw them together when you are to make use of them, will be nothing so great pains as it would be, to have ranged them under their *several Heads* at their first gathering. A little *experience* of this course will shew you the great profit of it, especially if you did compare it with some others that are in use.

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*A Letter*

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## A Letter to an Honourable Person, concerning the WEAPON-SALVE.

*Honourable Sir,*

I Am very sorry that a *Gentleman of your quality*, so desirous of information in a *point of obscure and subtle Learning*; should find so slender means to satisfy your desire, as to be constrained to *reflect on me*, a man of no great capacity, and by reason of my privacy, unacquainted abroad, and of my small abilities, not able to make Experiments, and trie conclusions.

Yet, that I may not seem to neglect your love, and courtesie, of which, upon all occasions, you have not fail'd to make liberal expression, I will rather hazard my judgment with you, then my good manners, and try what I can deliver unto you concerning the late proposal you made unto me, in the matter of the *new devised cure of wounds*, by applying the *Salve to the Weapon that did the mischief*.

Where first I must request you to consider, that my attempt is weightier in refuting the conceit, then theirs was, who have first broached it. For first, I am to *prove the Negative*, a thing in Nature and Art very difficile. For always the *proving part* lies upon the *Affirmer*: and he that means to acquaint me with a *Novelty*, must make account to *prove it to me*, and not look that I should undertake a *refutation of it*.

Again, he that undertakes to inform the world with a *discovery of Secrets*, and vent *Paradoxes*, shall never want favourable hearers: For the mind of man much delighting in *Novelty*, accepts easily and with delight, what shall be opened in that kind; and every shew of *probability* shall be taken as *lawful proof*: whereas the *Refuter* must be sure to look to the strength of his reasons, and be they never so weighty, yet any probable shew of escape from them, shall be accounted a sufficient defeat.

But to leave *prefacing*, the first thing I would require you to reform, is your opinion you have conceived concerning the *Antiquity of Weapon-Salve*; for me thinks you speak of it, as of a



thing of some *Antiquity* and years, whereas indeed it is a *child of yesterday's birth*.

There have of late appeared in the world a new kind of *Students*, who by *trying conclusions*, and *making experiments*, especially by the *Fire*, have made discovery unto us of many *strange and pleasant effects in Nature*, which in former Ages have not been known. To put on these men, and commend them a little more unto us, there hath been not long since within the compass of *these twenty years*, a merry *gullery* put upon the world, concerning a *Guild of men*, who style themselves *The Brethren of the Rosie Cross*: a Fraternity who, what, or where they are? no man yet, no not they who beleive, admire, and devote themselves unto them, could ever discover. *Otrebins* (a Gentleman well acquainted with your great *St. Johns-man*, the Champion for the *Weapon-Salve*) in a Tract of his lately written, *De vita, morte & Resurrectione*, would perswade us, that doubtless they are in *Paradise*, which place he seateth near unto the *Region of the Moon*: Well may that be some *Fools Paradise*; for certainly that there is any *earthly Paradise* at all, no wise man will easily beleive. These men, whosoever they are, or their defenders, have taken up that *new devised Learning* delivered to us by *Chymicks*, and *Paracelsians*, and now hotly endeavour to possess the world with it. Wherein I must give them this commendation, that they have given us abundance of *delightful Experiments*, and that is the thing that gains them the reputation they have. But two things they have attempted with no felicity or good success.

First, they endeavour to make us beleive, that the *ancient Principles of Philosophy*, which hitherto great Clerks have Canonized, are to be rejected, and new from them to be received in their rooms. And, secondly, that this may be the better effected, they have brought in a *new Language*, which they make by collecting of *Epotick words and phrases* out of *Paracelsus*, and adding unto them *forms of speech* borrowed from the *holy Scriptures*, and of these have framed us that *style of Language*, which you read not onely in the *Anthour* you write of, but in *Paracelsus* himself, and others who follow him. But all this attempt, upon examination, is proved fruitless. For neither have they shaken the truth of any Principle (I say not in the *Trivials* and *Quadrivials*, as old Clerks were wont to name them, but neither in

in *Physical* not *Metaphysical* Learning; which is more subject to quarrel ) of which the world hath hitherto been perswaded, nor added *any new* to increase the number of them: Onely they have said the same thing in other words, and, which is strange, all their new Experiments, which are the cheifest strength of their cause, are plainly and evidently demonstrable out of the ancient Aphorisms. The Authour whom you commend unto me, what a noise makes he with his *Volatile* and *Essential* Salt, *Balsom* of Nature, *Vivifying Spirit*, and other trim Phrases of the same cut? Now what is it, think you, that is contained under this *abstruse* Language? Certainly no more, but onely that *Mass* of *Moisture* and *Heat* in us, which follow upon the temperature of every mixt body, and wherein all Specification, all Vegetation and Animation doth reside, which in our ordinary Schools we call *Humidum primogenium*, and *Calidum innatum*. Anatomize other of their new and quaint phrases, and you evidently deprehend the same Sophistry. So that if you desire a definition of this new Learning, you cannot better express it, then by calling it, *A Translation of Vulgar Conceits into a new Language*.

Sir, from these men, amongst many other pleasant phantasies, hath sprung the conceit concerning your wonderful *Weapon-Salve*, which, that I may shew you upon what firm foundation it stands, lays claim to three great proofs, but indeed performs none of them: I see *Reason* promised, *Phrases* of *Scripture* used, and *Experience* pretended; But I cannot yet discover any thing demonstratively proved, by any of the three.

For the *Reasons* are nothing else but certain Generalities, which prove no more but this, that if any such thing as *Curing* by *Weapon-Salve* be existent, such or such *Concentricks* or *Epicycles* of *Sympathies* and *Antipathies*, of *Eradiations* or *Emanations* of *Spirits*, may well be thought to be the causes of it: Whereas true and lively *Demonstration* doth not onely suppose the thing to be, which it endeavours to prove; but shews that necessarily it must be so, and possibly it cannot be otherwise. For this kind of proof arises out of such principles, as which being apprehended by the understanding, leave no room for con-

tradition, by reason of the light they bring with them.

*Scripture* is promised, but with worse success, for what proves it in the behalf of *Weapon-Salve*, to plead, that the *Spirit of God* moves in all things? that *Sanative faculty* is of God? that *God's power and Spirit* is not to be confined, but will pass a termino in terminum, according as is the will of him that sends it forth? For still it remaineth to be proved, that this *All-doing Spirit of God* hath left any such force in things, as is pretended. The discourses which by these kinds of men are made out of *Scripture*, many times are not far dwelling from danger, that I may not say from *Blasphemy*. For what means your *Doffour* to tell you in one part of his Book against Mr. *Foster*, that the virtue of *Elisba his bones*, by which he raised the dead to life; the voice of the *Souls under the Altar* in the *Revelation*; is the effect of that *Volatile Balsam of Nature*, of which he so much treateth? For so he must mean, or else his speech concerning them is impertinent. He must a little temper his language that way, or else as he threatens Mr. *Foster* with the *Star-chamber*, so perchance himself may hear from the *High-Commission*, who shall do well to take to task and censure speeches of such danger. I understand you are well acquainted with the Gentleman. I would you would advise him to beware of such uncantelous speeches, in which, whilst he seems to praise the work of *God*, in nature, he doth as much disadvantage his *Supernatural* and *Miraculous Acts*.

So then, *Reason* and *Scripture* being removed, the onely defender of *Weapon-Salve* must be *Experience*. A proof, I confess, of great weight, were there certainty of it. For if our *senses* do deceive us, which are the first admitters of all ground of *Science* and skill, what certainty can we have of anything? Besides, that mine *Aristotle* hath told me, I confess, and I beleive him, that it is a true sign of weakness of understanding, to follow our *Reason*, against our *Senses*. Here *Magnam mihi invidiam sentio esse subeundam*. For first I see the *Authorities* of great and noble Personages used to gain credit to this conceit: for they are alledged not onely for the beleif, but for the practise of it. Secondly, the frequent experience made of it, must needs decry all those that stand up against it. To the first (saving all good respects to all persons in their places) I must crave pardon, if I think that *Civil Greatness*

*ness* ought to have no room in my Topicks. For in case of trial by *Reason*, I have done *Greatness* all the honour it can demand of me, if I recede from it with that reverence that I owe. My *Reasons* must be tried by *Peers* of the same rank, like to true *Jury-men* of the same Country; else at the Bar of *Reason*, I shall except against *Civil Greatness* as a *Stranger*, or demand some *Act* of *Parliament*, by which I may find it to be free denized.

But of this enough. To the *Experience* it self, I answer, That still I doubt, whether there ever were any such *Trial* as might certainly plead for it. For it is not onely true that *Hippocrates* tells us, *ἡ δὲ πείρα σφαλερή*, *Experience is dangerous*; but, it is as true, that *Experience* is many times very fallacious. For it is hard so to make trial of any conclusion (at least of many) by reason of *divers concurrences*, of many particulars, which are seen in most *Experiments*, amongst which *concurrents*, it is a hard matter to discover what it is that *works the effect*: And oftentimes that *falls out in Nature*, which befell the Poet,

*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*

The effect is wrought by one thing, and another carries the glory of it. A better instance of this cannot be found, then this very case which is now in handling. A man is wounded; the *Weapon* taken, and a *wound-working Salve* laid to it: In the mean while the wounded person is commanded to use *abstinence* as much as may be, and to keep the wound clean; whilst he thus doth, he *heals*, and the *Weapon-Salve* bears the Bell away: whereas it is most certain, that wounds not mortal (for I hope their *Salve cures not mortal wounds*) will of themselves grow whole, if the party wounded abstain as much as possibly he can, and remove from the wound such things as may offend. For nothing hinders wounds from cicatrizing, more then *concourse of humour* to the diseased part; and keeping things irritatory about the orifice of the wound; The first of these is performed by *abstinence*, which is naturally a drier: the other by keeping the wound clean: He that can do these two things, shall need no other *Chyrurgery* to cure an ordinary wound.

Now whereas it is pleaded, that for further *experience* sake, it hath been tried, the *Salve* being thus applied, the party grieved hath

hath been at ease; but immediately upon the removal of the *Salve*, the party hath fallen into torment and pain: who sees not that this onely remains to be said to make the tale good? For naturally a man would look for this part of the story, to hold up the cowples, as *King James* was wont to say. And therefore I must crave pardon for the present, if I advise my self well ere I pass any part of my beleife unto it.

Hitherto have I onely used my buckler, and put off the thrust; you perchance would gladly know, how I can use my weapons. Truly I must confess, I am not very good at it. I find in my self that *imperfection*, which I see most Scholars complain of, that they know better how to *refell what is false, then to confirm what is true*. Yet to give you as good satisfaction as I may, I will endeavour to draw such reasons, as may serve in some good measure to shew the *impossibility of it*.

And first, I would willingly know, if any such thing be, how he that was the *first Author of the discovery* of it, came first, like a second *Columbus*, to take knowledge of it. The ways that lead us to the knowledge of all conclusions, of which we have any knowledge, (for I speak not of things taken up *Historically*, and upon trust) are but two: first, *Experience*; secondly, *Ratiocination*; and the one of these is commonly the way to the other, by comparing one thing with another, and applying *actives* and *passives*, and thence producing sundry conclusions; and making one an occasion of another, as man is in these cases a witty creature. Now I would willingly know from *which of these two*, the knowledge of this *Weapon-Salve* was first derived? From *Experience* it could not be; for see you not what a *multitude of particulars* must concur, ere any such *experience* could be made? First, the *salve* must be made: a *Salve* of strange ingredients: and who would make such a *Salve*, except he first knew it would *work this cure*? and *such a knowledge before the making of the Salve*, cannot possibly be imagined: For into whose head could it possibly sink, that such a *Cure* could be thus wrought, except he had formerly collected it by *Reason* or *Experience*? The first, it is *impossible* he should have; the second, it is granted he had not: so that the *salve* must at first be made in likelihood for some *other use*, and being made for some other end; by  
what



what chance must it come, that it is found to cure after this strange manner? no man in his right wits could think of applying it to the *Weapon*; some casualty must fall out to discover this force: as it fared with *Bercholdus Swartzius*, who first invented *Gun-powder*, who having made a mixture of *Nitre* and *Sulphur*, by chance it conceived *Fire*, and went off with incredible celerity and noise; and from that chance came he, and others after him, to make that use of it that now we see: Even some such chance must here be. First, the *Salve* made for some other end, must fall on the weapon, and that upon the place where the blood was, and there rest, and then some man must observe it, and find that it wrought the cure. Now who would ever apply himself to expect such an event? So then, *Experience* could never open this mystery, and therefore *Reason* much less.

It remains therefore, if any such thing be, the first knowledge of it must come by a kind of *Revelation*, and that must be either from above, or from beneath: And I persuade my self, that this apparent difficulty of the first discovery of it, was the cause of the imputation of some *Sorcery* or *Witchcraft*, which of late hath stuck upon it. Certainly if any such thing be, it will be hard to exclude some either *Supernatural* or *Unnatural* way, by which the first discovery of it must come in; I would be loath to wrong any man, by fowling him with any vile aspersions; and I am yet far enough from it, because I believe not the thing? Yet if any such thing be, I should think the *Original* knowledge of it proceeded from some such principle I spake of, yet will I not charge any, that either believe or practise it, with stain of *Witchcraft*. For howsoever, he who first knew it, might receive it from some *Spirit*, (for *Spirits*, by reason of the subtilty of their nature, and long experience, know certainly more mysteries in nature than we do) and therefore might justly undergo a hard censure: yet those to whom afterwards the knowledge of the mystery descended, might be free from all blame. Upon occasion of a great *Plague* in *Grece*, recourse was had to *Apollo's Oracle* for remedy: where they received this answer, That they should double *Apollo's Altar*: Now *Apollo's Altar* was a *Cube*: and hence it came to pass, that so many famous *Mathematicians*, both amongst *Ethnicks* and *Christians*, both anciently, and even

even at this day, do labour to find out the demonstration of *doubling the Cube*, a thing yet never was done. In this action they which first consulted with *Apollo* were to blame, ( for *Apollo* was the *Devil* ) but they which by industry would have found it, if they could, were not guilty of the first consulters fault. So might it here well be, that he that first discovered the *Weapon-Salve*, might know it by the ministry of some *Spirit*; yet they who afterward practised it, might be guiltless.

But leave we this, and consider yet some other reason. I have often much mused, why this *Salve* is called the *Weapon-Salve*? For I ask, Cannot this *Cure* be done, but *onely by means of the Weapon*? It may seem, by your *Doctours Apology*, It may: for he tells us, It is done by the *bloud upon the Weapon*, and by reason of a *seed of life* lurking in it, which by the *Salve* is *wakned*: If this be so, then wheresoever the *bloud falls*, there apply your *Salve*, and you shall work the same *Cure*; any *linen*, or *stool*, or *floor*, or *Wall*, or whatsoever else receives the *bloud*, may receive the *Salve*, and work the *Cure*; a thing of which I never yet heard: neither do I think the practise of it stretcheth beyond the *Weapon*: else we shall give the *Salve* so many names, as chance shall allot it places to be applied unto? Whence it follows, that either it is *not done by the Weapon*; or *done by a thousand things* as well as it; or that there is *some strange quality in the Weapon* to work the *Cure*; which quality yet remains to be discovered.

That I kill you not with length of discourse, I will urge but one reason more, and that shall be drawn from the very *cause it self*, unto which your *Doctour* attributes this *Curing faculty*. He first supposeth some *Eradiation* and *Emanation of Spirit*, or *secret quality*, or whatsoever, to be directed from our bodies to the *bloud* dropped from it. Secondly, that in the *bloud thus drop'd*, there remains a *Spirit of life*, congenious to that in the body; which stirred up by the *Salve*, conveys upon this *Beam* a *healing quality* from this *bloud* to the *body*. Thirdly, he grants, that not *onely in the Blond*, but in the *Urine*, after it is gone from us, remains the like

like *Spirit*, which by the like *Beam* from a party sick of the *Jaundies*, conveys a cure to him: for so he tells of a great Person, who usually works such *Magnetical Cures* of that disease, by a *Paste* made of the *Asbes* of a kind of *Wood* amongst us, (it is the *Barbary*: For that *Wood*, by our new Doctrine, *De signaturis rerum*, by reason of the deep *Yellow* by which it is dyed, is thought to have in it something *Sovereign against the Jaundies*) mix'd with the diseased *Parties Urine*. Nay more, our *Hair*, our *Nails*, and *Skin*, pared from us, have the same *Spirit* of life; and from our bodies to them whil'st they are subsisting, proceeds the like *radii*: and by such device he thinks a starved member may be recovered, as you may see in his Books. Now I suppose if it be thus with the *Urine*, with the *Hair*, and *Nails*, and *Skin*; why then should I not conceive it to be so with our *Sweat*, with our *Tears*, with every excrement that falls from us, as our *Spittle*, and *Flegme*, and the like? For, what reason can your *Doctour* give to confine these things to some part of our *Excrements*, and not enlarge them unto all? As for the amputated members of our bodies, it fares with them no otherwise, as it appears by the *Neapolitan Gentleman's Nose*, cut out of his servant's arm, (*one letter altered in that word would have made the story much pleasanter*) and of others the like reported and believed by him.

The vanity of which conceit that you may discover, let me request you to observe this with me. Look what way we may be pleasur'd and convenienced, by the same way we may be harm'd and wrong'd. The beams then that pass from us to these things, which come from our bodies, as they may be the conveyers of good to us, so may they be the ministers of mischief: for if they encounter with things good, and sympathizing with them, they relieve and cherish us; so if they meet with their enemies, with antipathizing materials, may they not distress and annoy us as much? Certainly to think otherwise, is merely voluntary and unreasonable. See now, I pray you, into what infinite hazard this Doctrine casts us; there is not a drop of

Cloud, of Sweat, of Spittle, and Flegm ; not any part of our Flesh, our Nails, our Hair, our Stool, but hath in it a Spirit of life, homogenous to that in our bodies ; and beams that emanate perpetually from our bodies to them ; but, as they may comfort us, being well encountred ; so, if they meet with ill company, they may distress us : A thing so much the more to be feared, by how much the things that annoy us are in number more, then the things that pleasure us. Now what mean we then to be thus negligent of our droppings, as to let them fall at random into the earth, the fire, the water, and God knoweth where, since there is such danger depends from them ? Were this doctrine true, it were not possible, that either Man or Beast (for it is the case of Beasts too, as appears by his discourse about an Horse) should enjoy one moment of health and safety.

Sir, were I at leisure, and free from other occasions, which at this time of the year especially attend me by reason of my place: as poor a Philosopher as I am, I think I might challenge any reasonable man, at this trial, and not think over-well of mine own undertakings. This which I now have commented is very *subitany*, and I fear *confused*. Mr. Bagley, who was by me all the time I wrote it, would not conceive, that the frequent discourses betwixt his little son and himself, could be an hinderance to me ; and truly, to confess the truth, I found it not much to further me. And lest I quite weary you out, I will onely adde this one thing concerning our admirers of *Weapon-Salve*.

I have read, that a Learned Jew undertook to perswade Albertus, one of the Dukes of Saxony, that by certain Hebrew letters and words taken out of the Psalms, and written in Parchment, strange Cures might be done upon any wound : As he one day walked with the Duke, and labour'd him much to give credit to what he discoursed, in that argument: the Duke suddenly drew his sword, and wounding him much in divers places, tells him, he would now see the conclusion tried upon himself. But the poor Jew could find no help in his *Semhamphoras*, nor his Hebrew characters, but was constrained to betake himself to  
more

more *real Chirurgery*. Sir, I wish no man any harm, and therefore I desire not the like fortune might befall them who stand for the use of *Weapon-Salve*: onely thus much I will say, that if they should meet with some *Duke of Saxony*, he would go near to *cure them of their errors*, howsoever they would shift to *cure their wounds*: Thus have I freely imparted my judgment to you in this point, which having done, I leave it to your favourable construction, and rest as ever,

Your Servant,

From Eton Colledge  
this xxij. of November. 1630.

JOHN HALLS.

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LETTERS

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LETTERS

JOHN HALL

JOHN HALL

JOHN HALL



Mr *HALES*

# LETTERS

From the *SYNOD* of *DORT*

TO THE

Right Honourable Sr. *DUDLEY CARLTON*,

*Lord Embassador, &c.*

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*



AY it please your honour: We arrived at *Dort* this last night betwixt six and seven of the clock; our passage was without any impediment at all, and wheresoever we were to take boat still we found some ready to put off, as if they had waited our coming. Immediately upon my arrival I went to My Lord Bishop, and as soon as I had done my message unto him, I forthwith went to *Monsieur Bogermannus*, who humbly thanks your Honour for your great courtesie towards him, and promises to acquaint your Lordship by me with whatsoever passes in the Synod: had he known of so convenient means of writing to your Lordship, I suppose he would have written: but when I spake with him I knew not so much my self. *Festus Hommius* and *Polyander* I have not yet seen, and it will be the afternoon ere I shall speak with them, because this morning they have a sitting. Whatsoever hath past in the Synod formerly, your Lordship shall understand by a packet from my Lord Bishop; whatsoever speeches or other passages are to be copied I shall this afternoon get of Mr. *President*, & I will not fail to send your Honour the transcripts of them, when *Daniel* returns. What shall be disputed

2 Mr. Hales *Letters from the Synod of DORT*

of or decided in the next Sessions at the Synod, I will at large in form your Lordship by the next messenger, mean time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort this 14<sup>th</sup> of  
Novemb. 1618.

Your Lordships Chaplain,  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

Y Our Honour shall here receive inclosed an *index* of all the acts of the Synod since the beginning, till the 12<sup>th</sup> of this present. It is not that which I required, but is so much as *Festus Hommius* (whose writing it is) could spare your Lordship. My desire was to obtain not only the bare conclusions, but the whole manner of proceeding, with all particulars propounded and concluded in the Synod: but it seems this was thought *nimis grande postulatum*. If I can come so far to perfit my notes of all the former sessions, as that I shall be able to express them in form as I did the session, on Saturday last, and by Gods help will express the following sessions, I will in time acquaint your Lordship with it. Mean while I come to the session on Monday morning, 12<sup>th</sup> of this present.

It had been in some of the Former sessions determined that there should be chosen six Divines for the *Translation of the Bible*, three for the Old Testament, and three for the New with the *Apocrypha*: and likewise Revisors one out of every Province, to whom the work being done should be brought to be revised and censur'd. In this present Session they proceed to the choice of them. The manner of election was by *Scrutiny*: the Deputies in every Province in *Scripto* exhibiting one. The Scrutators were two of the Seculars, *D. Simon Schottus*, Secretary of Middleburrough, and President this week, and *Martinus Gregorii*, these calculated the voices and pronounced the election. And first for the translation of the Old Testament were chosen these three, *Job. Bogermannus*, *Guil. Baudaritus*, and *Gerson Bucerus*: for the translation of the New, were chosen *Jac. Rolandus*, *Hermannus Fanckelius*, and *Petrus Corneli*. From these they proceed to the nomination of the revisors. Here arose a doubt concerning the province of *Utrecht*. For because they are equally divided three Contra-Remonstrants, and and three Remonstrants, they could not agree upon the nomination of a Revisor for that Province, which thing bred a demurre in the  
Synod.

Synod. The *Præses* required the judgment of the Synod, what they thought fit to be done. Some thought they might be altogether past by. For there would be Revisors enough, though that Province chose none. Others thought fit it should be deferr'd till the end of the Synod, and then some one of that Province should be chosen *communibus suffragiis totius Synodi*. A third sort determined that it should be deferr'd till that Province were reconciled in itself, ( which it was hoped would be at the end of the Synod ) and then they should name some one of their Province to be approved by the rest of the Translators and Revisors; and this sentence past for currant. So that for the present there is no Revisor for the Province of *Utrecht*. Another doubt yet was moved, for one of the Provinces had named two *paribus suffragiis*: the question was who should stand. It pleased the Synod to put it to Lots. And so the *Præses* wrote their names in two little Tickets of paper, each by itself, and rould them up, and delivered them to *Martinus Gregorius*; that which he took stood, that which he refused, was presently torn. The Revisors for the Old Testament were these, *ex Geldria Ant. Tyssius*: *ex Suyd-Hollandia Jo. Polyander*: *ex North-Holl. P. Plancius*: *ex Zelandia Jod. Larenius*: *ex Frisia Sibrandus Lubbertus*: *ex Transsilvania Jac. Revius*: *ex Groning. D. Gomarus*: *ex Drentia Onias Boethus*. The Revisors for the New-Testament were these. *Ex Geldria Seb. Dammannus*: *ex Suyd-Holl. Festus Hommius*: *ex North-Holl. Goswinus Geldorp*: *ex Zelandia Ant. Walaus*: *ex Frisia Bern. Fullenius*: *ex Transsilvania Jo. Langius*: *ex Groning. Ubbo Emmius*: *ex Drentia Jo. Cuperus*. It was farther enacted, that if any of the Translators should die, or by Sickness became unable for the Service, that then he that was next him in number of voices in the Scrutiny should succeed in his place: If any of the Revisors should die, or be sick, power was given to the *Præses*, the two Assessors, and the two Scribes to depute another in his room: and so this Session concluded; "in which though little was done, yet was it long adooing by reason of  
"the Scrutiny.

Upon Tuesday the 17. of this present, the Deputies met in the morning, where the first thing that was proposed was concerning those of *Drent*. For whereas the day before they had named two Revisors for the Translation, they now upon better advice

require to be excused in that behalf, because in their Province the Belgick Tongue was not well known. Which Petition of theirs was accepted. In the second place it was thought good, that since all the business concerning the Translation was determined of, there should be a repetition made in the Synod of all that had passed about it: to this purpose, that if any thing were either omitted or misrelated, it might be rectified: forthwith followed a Narration of all that had been done, where some small exceptions not worth relating were stood upon. In the third place was proposed the defect of the *Afternoon Sermons* and *Catechizing*, especially in the Countrey Villages; and the Synod was moved to deliver it self concerning Remedies of this Defect. What had been heretofore decreed in some of their Synods concerning this matter was publickly read. The Impediments were, First the negligence of the Pastors; Secondly Combinations, that is double Benefices, when men having two Cures could not sufficiently attend both: Thirdly the difficulty of reclaiming the Country people on the Sundayes either from the Sports or from their Work. The Synod beginning to consider of means to cut off these abuses, *Festus Hommius* amongst other things complained, that through the negligence of the Remonstrants it came that Catechizing was so much decay'd; which words of his, it is thought, will be an occasion of some choler, though for the present they passed uncontroled. Many delivered their opinions how the forementioned hinderances of Afternoon Sermons and Catechizing might be removed. First by imploring the help of the States General, that it would please them by their Authority to prohibit that ordinary prophanation of the Sabbath by working or playing: Secondly by requiring the like help of the particular Magistrate in every Town and Village: Thirdly by taking away those Combinations: Fourthly by providing of sufficient Schole-Masters in every Village who should not only teach Grammar, but instruct Youths in the principles of Religion: Fifthly that the Pastors should not omit afternoon Sermons by reason of the negligence of their Auditors, but should perform them, though they brought to the Church none but their own Family: that the Pastors and Deacons and Seniors should deal with their Friends and acquaintance and bring them to Church with them. Sixthly that if any

Pastor



To the R. Honourable Sr. D. Carlton L. Embassadour 5

Pastor neglected to perform this Duty, he should be subject to Ecclesiastical Censure. Seventhly that the Deputies of other Nations should be requested to make overture of their Customs in this behalf. Lastly that diligent inquiry should be made throughout all the *Classes*, whether Catechizing and afternoon Sermons were observed. It was decreed that in every Parish there should be two Sermons every Sunday, of which that in the Afternoon was to be Catechetical. That the ministers should give good example by bringing their own Family to Church; that the help of the Magistrate should be implored; that Combinations should be taken away. When all was done, then was that required which should have been done afore: the Deputies of other Nations were desired to deliver their Customs in this behalf. Where first my Lord Bishop shewed that with us in *England* the Magistrate imposed a pecuniary Mulct upon such as did absent themselves from Divine duties; which pecuniary Mulct generally prevailed more with our people, than any pious admonitions could. Those of the *Palgrave's* Countrey shewed that each Sunday they had two Sermons, and such as were absent, were first admonish'd by the Clergy, and if this sufficed not, they required the help of the Civil Magistrate. Those of *Geneva* told us, that in the Churches in their Cities they had every Sunday four Sermons, &c. Those of *Breme* that they had three Sermons, of which one was Catechetical; and to avoid prophanation of the Sabbath, it was not lawful to celebrate any Marriage-feast, or such like upon the Sunday, till six a clock in the Evening. Many other things of this nature were related, of which a great deal I could not understand. When all had spoken, the *Præses* told them that this proposal was not made because in the *Belgick* Churches there had not been order taken for Catechizing; and Sermons, but because the Laws formerly made in this behalf were neglected: and that now means was thought of to bring them in force again. And so they brake up.

I received your Honours Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup> of this present, in which your Honour requires to be informed of such Proposals as *Episcopius* lately made in behalf of the *Arminian* Party. The thing is this. Shortly after that the Letters of Citation were sent to the *Arminians*, *Episcopius*, with other of the Remonstrants came privately to the Deputies of the States, and exhibited a Remonstrance, in

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which they required especially these things. First that all of their Party throughout the Provinces might be allowed to make one Body, and out of it depute such as they thought good, whom they might send to the Synod to plead in their behalf. Secondly that it might be lawful for them instead of some of those who are written unto, to substitute others. Thirdly that *Vienbo-gart* and *Grevinchovius* might have safe Conduct and free access to the Synod. The Delegates immediately sent for the *Præses*, the two *Affessors* and the two *Scribes*, and required their opinion in this business. For the first point, the Clergy men thought it not to be granted, as being feared would be prejudicial to the *Belgick* Churches. The Deputies for the Seculars answered, that they had given *Episcopius* this answer. For the two latter, the Clergy thought that if it pleased the Seculars it might be done. Reply was made by the Seculars, that they were men infamous, tumultuous, on whom the Church censure, for *Grevinchovius* had extended, and therefore they would permit them no place in the Synod. So was *Episcopius* and his Company dismiss'd. "This was a thing *done only in private*: the Synod had no notice " of it, neither is it recorded in any publick Register. What " more passed between the Seculars and the Remonstrants at this " meeting is not known, and the Clergy know no more than it pleased " the Seculars to impart. Of this I heard nothing, till by reason of your Lordships Letters I enquired into it.

Whilst the Synod was sitting on Tuesday morning, there came in Newes of the death of one of their Company, *Henricus ab Hell*, Senior of the Church of *Zutpham*, who died in the time of the Session. I am desirous to know whether my Letters upon Mondy containing the Saturday Session came to your Lordships hands. I intended them by way of *Roterdam*, but *Daniel* t. I s me he delivered them to a Gentleman that went immediately for the *Hague*, marie what he was he knew not, this hath made me a little jealous. I beseech your Honour, by the next that comes from you hither, by word of mouth to let me know. Mr. *Præses*, *Festus Hommins*, *Polyander*, *Tronchinus* of *Geneva* required me to remember their Love and service to your Honour: and so for this time I humbly take my leave.

From Dort this 1<sup>st</sup> of  
Novemb. 1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty Jo. Hales.  
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Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

U Pon Saturday, the day after my coming to Dort, I went to *Festus Hommius*, & delivered him your Honour's Letters, upon perusal of which, he liberally promised me an *Index* of all whatsoever had past in the Synod until my coming to Town. The time of making his promise good was Sunday morning. When I saw it came not at the time, after dinner I wrote a little note unto him, to put him in mind of his promise, but yet I heard nothing of him. I suppose this falls out by reason of his multiplicity of business, not that he would slight your Lordship; though I remember in a speech that passed between him and me, he told me that there passed among the brethren of the Synod a consent *de non eliminandis*, &c. of not divulging of any passage till all was done, which I interpreted as spoken only upon the by, not with any intent of hindring any intelligence which should be given your Honour. I dealt with Mr. *Præses* and with *Festus* for a Copy of *Martinus Gregorii* his Oration: the answer from them both was the same, that he would not at any hand be intreated to deliver a Copy of it, no not so much as the summe of it: whether it was because of some matter that was in it, as that he spake somewhat roundly in disgrace of the *Spanyard*, or that the Politicks have some end in it, or that he himself is desirous to have it thought that he delivered it only *ex tempore*, or for what other reason I know not. As concerning what hath passed in the Synod, till I hear farther from *Festus*, I will acquaint your Honour with what past there since my coming.

On Saturday the 14. of this present, in the Morning the Deputies met, and debated some things of no great moment, concerning their intended TRANSLATION of the BIBLE. The first thing proposed was, whether the name JEHOVAH should be retained untranslated, or rendred by the Dutch word *Heere*, as the Greeks *Κύριος*, the English *Lord*. The *Præses* thought fit it should be rendred *Heere*, because the Holy Ghost in the New Testament, citing some things out of the Old, renders the Hebrew *Jehovah*, by the Greek *Κύριος*, according as the Septuagint had done. This past for currant, till it came to *Martinus* of *Breme*, who divided the sentence, and thought that it might ordinarily so be rendred, if  
some

some places were excepted. And to this purpose he cited some places of Scripture, where the word *Jehovah* had a peculiar energy and force, which the Belgick *Heere* could not attain unto. To the same effect did others speak : and great disputation would have arisen about this point, as whether the Name *Jehovah* had any points of its own, or borrowed his points from *Elohim* and *Adonai*, and the like, but that the *Præses* still cut them off. It was at length by the greater part concluded, that it should be rendred by the Belgick *Heere*, which was alwayes to be exprest in Capital Characters, & concerning this the Reader should be advertised farther in the Preface. And when there should be in any place some peculiar force in that word which the Belgick word did not exprest, of this the Reader should be admonished by a *marginal gloss*.

The second Proposal was, whether the *Hebrew proper Names* should be retained, or translated likewise into Dutch. It was concluded they should be retained, for avoiding of all unnecessary novelty and alteration. The third proposal was, whether the *antient division of Chapters* should remain, for many Hebrew Copies differed from our Common in this point, and sometime the old division did seem somewhat inconvenient, as that somewhere it brake off in the midst of a matter, somewhere in the midst of a sentence. It was concluded that the old division should remain. For there would arise great confusion in quotations, if the number of Chapters and Verses should alter. As for the variety of other Copies, and inconvenient division, of this the Reader should be advertised *in the margent*. The fourth proposal was whether there might not be added some *Appendices* to the Bible, as *Chorographical* and *Topographical Tables*, *Genealogies*, and the like. It was thought fit they should, provided that in the Tables and Maps there were no pictures and babies, for avoiding superstition. The fifth proposal was concerning the appointing of persons fit for the work of the Translation. The *Præses* willed that every Province should exhibit by Bill the Names of those, who they knew in their Provinces were of sufficiency for the Translation, which forthwith was done, and the Names that were exhibited were all pronounced in the Synod : but out of these who should be chosen for the work was differed, until the next Session appointed upon the Monday

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day following: and so with prayer they brake up the meeting.

As I have done in this Session, so will I doe in all the rest, if I shall get convenient place where I may stand and note. For, for any thing I see, mine own notes must be my chiefest help. The matters are but small, but I suppose they will amend when the Arminian Party shall make their appearance. Here is your Honours old Friend come to Town, and passes under the name of a Doctor of Physick. He is to dine with my Lord Bishop this day, but I have discovered him unto his Lordship what he is. I have presumed to keep *Daniel* with me longer than I determined at my departure; the reason is, because I am unskilful of the streets, and I have not Dutch enough to enquire my way: I will shortly send him home. What shall be done in the following Sessions, I will not fail to inform your Lordship by the next Messenger, in the mean while I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 14. Novemb.  
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

I have sent your Honour a Catalogue of the Synod Printed  
here with us.

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Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

ON Wednesday the 14. of November, those of the Synod met in the morning. This Session was only deliberative, for they concluded nothing. The proposal was, what form of catechizing both for children and youths should be thought fittest to be put in practice in the Belgick Churches, The *Preses* first spake many things learnedly of the necessity of Catechizing, that it was the basis and ground of Religion, and the sole way of transfusing the principles of Christianity into men: that it was very ancient, practised by the *Patriarchs*, by the *Apostles*, by *Origen*, and approved by the consent of the *Fathers*: that from the Neglect of this came the ignorance of the common sort, and that

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multitude of sects amongst them, of *Papists*, *Anabaptists*, *Liber-tines*, &c. whereas if an uniform course of teaching them their first principles had been taken up, there would not have been so many differences: that there was now greater necessity than ever of reviving this custom, because of the *Jesuits* who mightily labour in this kind, as appeared by some of their acts lately in *Frisia*, &c. Next were the Deputies for the strangers called upon to deliver what formes of Catechizing were in their Churches put in use: which they did, and gave them to the *Præses* in writing. After these, the Professors, and the other Deputies spake their mindes, and almost all gave them up in writing, which were immediately pronounced in publick by the Scribe; and such as spake *memoriter*, promised to set down their opinions *in scripto*, and deliver them to the *Præses* after dinner. The principal heads on which they insisted, were these: that there might be three degrees of Catechizing, one *Domestical*, to be practised by Fathers and Masters in their Families: another *Scholastical* to be used by Scholemasters in publick Scholes: and a third *Ecclesiastical* to be practised by the Minister in the Church, that so Fathers might fit their Children for the Scholes, the Scholes for the Church: That therefore Parents and Masters should be admonished to look to this duty in their Families: That Scholemasters should be chosen, such as were skilfull themselves to Catechize, and that they should be careful to bring their Scholars to Catechetical Sermons; that from Sermons they should presently call them to the Schole, and there examine them how they had profited: That the Minister of every Parish together with the Seniors and Deacons should monthly or quarterly visit the Scholes, and know the Scholars proficiency in this behalf: that the Ministers before the times of the Communion should repair unto private Families, and Catechize: that the Magistrates would be pleased to provide stipends for Schole-Masters, so to make them the more chearful: that there should be variety of Catechizing according to the variety of the age, one for Children, which should contain *The Lords Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Commandments*, the Doctrine of the *Sacraments*, &c. that for such as were elder, other things should be added according to their capacity: that to take away confusion, one form of Catechism in each kind should

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should be used; that the *Jesuits Catechisms of Lessius, Canisius, Ledesma*, &c. should be abolished. All this and more by sundry men was exhibited in writing, and read in the audience of the Synod.

That which hitherto hath been done concerns only the manner of Catechizing, as for the matter of the Catechism, that was not now thought fit to be spoken of, but was put off till the end of the Synod. When all had spoken their pleasures the *Præses* signified, that he together with the *Assessors* and *Scribes* would compare all these Writings together, and out of them all gather one form of Catechizing as they thought best, and exhibit it unto the Synod to be approved of, or altered to their liking. And so the Session ended. Amongst the rest, there were some particulars told. One of the Deputies of *Geldria*, to shew the force of Private Catechizing, related that amongst them there was a Minister, who when he first came to his Living, found his Church quite empty, because all his Parishioners were Papists; and therefore if he would preach, he was to preach to the bare Walls: but he takes so much pains as to go to every of his Parish privately unto their Houses, and there by familiar conversing with them, and expounding unto them the grounds of Religion, he so far prevailed with them, that in the compass of a year he gain'd them all to come to Church, and by this means hath scarce a Papist in his Parish. *But doubtless the most effectual way of all the rest to bring young persons to learn their Catechisme, was that which was related by one of the Helvetian Deputies. For he told us that in his Country the manner was, that all young persons that meant to marry were to repair, both he and she, unto their Minister, a little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examined how well they had conned their Catechism: If they had not done it perfectly to his mind, he had power to defer their Marriage till they had better learnt their Lessons.* I was much affected to this course when I heard it; and I thought that doubtless it was a speedy way to make all young persons, excepting my self and two or three more that mean not overhastily to marry, to be skilful in their Catechism. The Synod shall be ill advised if they make no use of it.

Mr. Dean this day is to make a Latin Sermon in the Synod-house, and after that there are certain Supplications exhibi-

ted to the Synod to be considered of. What they are, and what they contain I will inform your Honour by the next convenient Messenger. I have suffered *Daniel* to come home, and supply himself of some necessaries, but to return to me again upon Saturday, except your Honour shall otherwise appoint. His lodging and diet are provided, and he will be serviceable to me this ill weather, to be sent in business, myself not being so well able in dirt and snow to trace the streets. But this I leave to your Lordships consideration, and for this present I humbly take my leave.

From Dordt this 12 of  
Novemb. 1618.

Your Lordships Chaplain,  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

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*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

**U**Pon Thursday, 12 of this present, the Synod being met together, Mr. Dean of *Worcester* made in the Synod-house a polite and pathological Latin Sermon; the portion of Scripture he chose for his Theme was the 17th verse of the 6th of *Ecclesiastes*, *Noli esse justus nimium, neque esto sapiens nimis*. After a witty coming upon his text, how it should come that Righteousness and Wisdom, which are every where commended unto us, should here seem to receive a check, he shewed how men might seem to be too just; First the Seculars, when sitting in place of Justice they stood too strictly in keeping the Letter of the Law, and then by inflicting too heavy punishments, when inequity lighter would serve: next in the second word *sapiens nimis*, he taxt the Divines for presuming too far in prying into the Judgements of God, and so came to reprove the curious Disputes which our age hath made concerning Predestination; that this Dispute for its endlessness was like the Mathematical line, *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*; that it was in Divinity, as the Rule of *Cos* is in Arithmetick. For the ending of these Disputes his advice unto the Synod was, that both parts contending should well consider of *S. Pauls* discourse in the ninth to the *Romans*, and for their final determination both

both should exhibit unto the Synod a plain perspicuous and familiar paraphrase on that Chapter. For if the meaning of that Discourse were once perfectly opened, the question were at an end. From hence he came to exhort them to stand to the former determinations, which had hitherto most generally past in the Reformed Churches, in these points : and told them that it was an especial part of his Majesties Commission to exhort them to keep unalter'd the former Confessions. How fit it was to open so much of their Commission, and thus to express themselves for a party against the Remonstrants your Honour can best judge. After this he brought a very pathetical conclusion, consisting of a vehement exhortation to peace and union, and so he ended. The *Præses* gave him thanks for his good pains, and then told us, whereas it was once purposed to lay open before the Synod certain *Libelli supplices* ( which I mentioned to your Honour in my last Letters ) he might not now do it , for some reasons which he then concealed. And so he dismiss the Synod without doing any thing farther. What these *Libelli supplices* contain, is unknown. Some imagine it to be from the Remonstrant party ; others more probably think, that the subject of them were certain *Gravamina* of the Countrey Ministers.

Mr. Deans Sermon was taken well, for any thing I can yet learn to the contrary ; but your Lordship shall understand, there was a little doubt made concerning these Latin Sermons. Mr. *Præses*, when the Lettes were directed to the *Arminian* party, requested the Forreigners that they would be pleased to bestow in their Courses some Latin Sermons to entertain the Synod till the *Arminians* made their appearance ; “ And first commended this unto the English. My Lord Bishop refused it because of the suddain warning : but Mr. Dean would needs undertake it. But certain of the *Exteri* came to the Bishop, and shewed him how dangerous this might be. For it was as they thought, a very hard matter so to walk, as not to touch upon some points that are in controversy, which could not be without the offence of one party. My Lord Bishop, and the other two, for this reason thought the motion very inconvenient : but Mr. Dean would by no means apprehend of it, but as of a business very fit to be done. It seems this was the general conceit of the Forreigners, which was the cause that there

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was in this kind nothing done till now, notwithstanding that the motion was made a pretty while before my coming to *Dort*. But how well this example is approved, it will appear, if others of the Forreigners do follow it. Here is a rumour of a certain Jesuitical book, lately set forth in disgrace of our Synod. I have not yet seen it, but I understand it is in the hands of the *Præses* unto whom I had repaired to have looked into it, but that I conceive him to be exceeding full of business. As soon as I can learn what it is, I will acquaint your honour with it. We have much speech of a strange Comet of an unusual length seen this morning. I saw it not; and peradventure it is no Newes unto your Lordship, if it have appeared in the Horizon of the *Hague*. My Lord Bishop and his Company remember their Love and Service to your Honour, and thank you for your Letter of English newes, which they here return. I have sent according to your Lordships Will six Catalogues of the Synod, printed with us in Latin. And so for this time I humbly take my leave.

*From Dort this 12<sup>th</sup> of  
Novemb. 1618.*

*Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.*

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*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

**U**Pon Friday the 12<sup>th</sup> of *November*, the Deputies met in the Morning: where first of all, there were recited the Judgements of some concerning the manner of Catechising which was yet depending, who had not delivered their minds in writing the day before. In this was there nothing extraordinary, save only the advice of the Remonstrants of *Utrecht*. For the Deputies of that Province gave their Judgements severally, the *Contra-Remonstrants* by themselves, and the *Remonstrants* by themselves. These first blamed the common Catechism passant amongst them, as being too obscure for the Simple, and too long for the Memory. Secondly, they thought it not necessary that there should be a threefold Catechism, for one well learnt might serve for all the rest. Thirdly, they would have a Catechism



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techism so made, that the Answers might be nothing else but bare Texts of Holy Scriptures. For they thought, that if Scripture alone were taught, and not any mens glosses, it would be a more immediate means to gain the Anabaptists and other Schismaticks to accept of the Catechism. Fourthly, they thought fit that in the Preface to these Catechisms, there should be a note given to this purpose; that these kinds of writing by Catechisms &c. were to be esteemed only as the *Apocryphal Scriptures*. To the third point some little thing was answered to this purpose, that this was a mean utterly to extirpate all other Forms of Catechizings out of the Church, there never yet having been any form of Creed or Catechism so conceived. Yet their might be a time hereafter for the Synod to consider of it, when they pleased. After this followed the Form of Catechizing, which the *Præses* and *Assessors* had agreed upon. My purpose was to have taken an extract of it and sent it to your Honour, and I dealt with *Festus Hommius* about it; but his answer was, that he was to communicate about this with the *Præses*, and that it was in the hand of *Sebast. Dammannus* his fellow Scribe. To *Dammannus* I was not known, neither did I understand of any acquaintance he had with your Honour, and therefore I let it rest. The summe of it was this. That there should be observed a threefold Catechizing. 1. At home by the Parents. 2. In the Schole by the Schole-Master; A third in the Church by Catechetical Sermons: then, that there should be a threefold Catechism, one for *Incipientes*, containing the Lords Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and the Church Discipline. A second for the *Middle sort*, which should be a brief of the *Palatine* Catechism: A third for *Youths*, the *Palatine* Catechism it self. That every one that was admitted Scholemaster should be bound to teach no other Catechism, and that all other Forms should be abolisht: that if either Scholemasters in the Scholes, or Ministers in the Church, should refuse or neglect to Catechize, they should be subject to censure &c. When this Form was read, the Provinces were in order askt what they would have altered or supplied. Those of *Geldria* thought it fit that the Minister before his Catechetical Sermon, should not only take the words of the Catechism (as the custom had in most places been) but likewise some Text of Scripture upon

upon which the Doctrine of the Catechism was grounded. For, as it seems, the custom is in Catechistical Sermons, not to take a Text of Scripture, but a portion of the Catechism for their Text and Theme. It was answered that this custom had been a long time laid down, and could not now conveniently be recalled: the same Deputies proposed, whether it were not fit, that whereas in the Decree there is mention made of a censure to pass on those who neglected it, there should be some particular form of Censure set down by the Synod. The thing being put to voices, it was decreed, that it should be left to the Judgment of the *Classes* how they should be censured. The *South Hollanders* thought it necessary there should be publick catechizing in the Church by way of Question and Answer. It was answered, that this could not be by reason of the frequency of Sermons. Those of *Overysse* proposed somewhat concerning the form of Catechetical Sermons. It was answered that this should hereafter be thought of. “*Which answer is a civil way*” “*which the Præses uses, when he means to put by an impertinent question.*” Last of all, those of the *Walon Churches* required that this Decree should not prejudice them, who had already accepted of *Beza's* Catechism in their Churches. Now whereas there were three Catechisms proposed, of which there was but one in being, namely the *Palatine*, they consulted of deputing some, who should make the other two. The matter being put to Scrutiny there were chosen these six, *Polyander, Gomarus, Tyfius, Lydius, Fauchelius, Vdemannus*. Here the *Præses* proposed to the Synod, that they would think of fit means for the Education and training up of those who should enter the Ministry: but those of *North Holland* proposed a doubt, wherein the Church of *Amsterdam* required the determination of the Synod. The matter is this. The Merchants of *Amsterdam* having Traffick into the *East Indies*, took into their Families many of the Youths and Infants of that Country, but doubted whether they were to be baptized or no. The question was thus proposed, “*Whether the Children of Ethnick parents adopted into the Families of Christians were to be baptized, if so be they who did offer*” “*them to be baptized did undertake that they should be brought up*” “*in the Christian Faith.*” But both these questions were put over to the next Session, and so the Synod brake up. This afternoon

noon the Dutchess of Tremullio came to Town. The English went to entertain her, where my Lord Bishop made a speech unto her in Latin, which by her Chaplain was interpreted unto her, who likewise in her name returned answer. But of the particulars of this entertainment, I suppose my Lord Bishop in his Letters relates more fully to your Honour, than I can; for I was not there.

On Saturday the first of December, *stylo novo*, the Deputies being met in the morning, the question concerning means of education of those who should be fitted for the Ministry was proposed; where, because they found it to be a greater matter than it seemed when at first it was proposed, the Provinces requested further respite, excepting the *Zelanders* and *South-Hollanders*, who there delivered up their Judgements *in scripto*. The substance of what the *Zelanders* delivered was this: that it would please the *States General* to appoint that a certain number of Youths might be bred up for the Ministry at the charge of the publick purse. That the wealthier sort would send such of their Children to the Scholes, as they thought fittest to make Scholars. That out of these should be chosen youths of ingenuous Parentage and Manners, of good wit, of strength and health of body, which should be sent unto the University. That in the University there might be distinct Colledges for every Province, and in these Colledges there might be Regents and Supervisors, which might prescribe unto Youths a Method of study, and not suffer them to wander in variety of Study, and not perfit themselves in some one kind. That there might some time be prefixt for their abroad in the University, as five or six years. And because many upon two years study seek for preferment in the Church, and others on the contrary stay in the University over long; for remedy of both these there might a time be fixt wherein the whole course of study should be absolvd. That these Students every year should give an account of their proficiency to their Parents and Benefactors, and such as bred them up: that after this they should go and visit forreign Churches and Universities to see and observe. That at their coming home they bring with them the Testimonies of the Pastors and Governours of the Churches and Universities wherein they have been, and exhibit them to the *Classes* where  
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they are to live ; and expect their calling to the Ministry. That they should publickly in the Church read the Scriptures before the people, for this would make them known to the Church, embolden them to speak to the multitude, and mend their voices and delivery. That by consent of the *Classes* they be permitted to be with the Pastors, to confer with them in *Cases of Conscience*, to go with them when they visit the sick, that thus they may learn how to deal in these cases, and how to conceive prayers upon occasion. That to fit them for the Church Regiment, which is a thing not learnt in Scholes, some months before their institution, they converse in the greater Cities, to be present in the Presbyteries and the meetings of the Deacons, to understand how Voices may be asked and gathered, how Church Discipline is to be exercised, and what in divers cases is to be done. That they be examined how fit they be to reform mens manners. That it were fit that even in Universities Youths were trained up in *Practick Divinity* and *Cases of Conscience*. The substance of what the *South-Hollanders* delivered was this. First that Youths should stay at least two years in the University, and publickly read the Scriptures in the Church. Secondly, that after this they publickly dispute of some difficult question in Religion. Thirdly, that they be examined of all the Articles in Religion, and if they give satisfaction, then they may be admitted *ad propositiones*, (what these are I know not) and after a years exercise in them, they may be examined by the *Classes*, who if they find them fit may give them leave to exercise themselves in Catechizing and Preaching. That to learn Church Government they be admitted to *Consistories* and *Classes* to see what there is done, so that what there they see they keep in silence. That they leave not the studies of Divinity to meddle with other things. That they may have leave to *Baptize*, if the necessity of Rural Churches require. Yet they must expect a year ere they be admitted, which is not to be done without sufficient Testimony that all hath been done which is required. The rest of the Provinces required respite till Monday : and so they past to the question which was proposed in the name of the Churches of *Amsterdam*, concerning the Baptizing of the Children of Ethnick Parents. The *English* first exhibited their minds in Writing to this effect. That Infants, if they were justly

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justly taken, as, if they were given, or bought, or the like, ( for it might not be lawful fraudulently or violently to take them from their Parents ) ought to be baptized. For so it is recorded of *Abraham*, that he circumcised every one in his house, even those whom he had bought with his Mony : but if they were *Adulti*, they might not be Baptized till they made Profession of the Christian Faith. With these agreed the *Bremenſes* and the *Professors*. On the contrary the *Helvetians* and *South-Hollanders* concluded, that the Infants of Ethnick Parents ought not to be Baptized, till they came to be of years to declare their Faith. Their chief reason was, because Baptism was a Sign of the Covenant : but the Infants of Ethnick Parents are not born within the Covenant, and therefore they cannot be partakers of this Sign. " Here was a little indirect dealing betwixt the *Helvetians* " & the *Bremenſes*. The *Helvetians* Scribe had by some meanes or " other suffered a Copy of the reasons for their opinion to be " brought aforehand to those of *Breme*, who openly in the Synod house, *in scripto* refuted them : which thing is feared will cause some choler. And this is all that this day was done concerning this question, and so both the questions yet depend. The Synod did the sooner end, because they were at eleven a clock to go to the Funeral of *Henricus ab Hell*, who died lately, as I think I told your Honour. The Solemnity was no more but this. Some of the chief of the Town together with the whole Synod went to the House where he died, accompanied him to the Church, laid him in his Grave, and went home again, almost in as little space as I have told it you. The Dutchels of *Tremullio* was at this Session, and as I hear, spake very well of the Synod, commending it both for Piety and good Order.

The Remonstrants are now every day expected. We understand that they are already met together at *Leyden*. " Mr. *Præses* " came this day to my Lord Bishop, and under *Benedicite* " told him, that it was thought the Remonstrants would become " Suiters to the Secular Deputies, for some greater respect " in the Synod, than it is likely otherwise they should have : " and that for this they would use the *English* as mediators. Then, " that they would call in question the right of his presidentship, " as being made only by the Provincials without any respect



“ had unto the Forreigners. To this my Lord Bishop replied,  
 “ that for the first, since they were Members of the Synod, they  
 “ would not do any thing clancularly without the consent and  
 “ Privy of the whole Company. To the second he answered,  
 “ that hitherto they had acknowledged him for their *Præses*, & so  
 “ they would continue to do notwithstanding any objection might  
 “ be fancyed, so that of them he might secure himself. And this is  
 all hath hapned since Friday Morning, at what time I addrest my  
 last Letters unto your Honour: and for this time commending  
 your Lordship to Gods good Protection, I humbly take my  
 leave.

*Dort*, Decemb. 2.  
 1618. *Stylo novo*.

*Your Honours Chaplain, and*  
*Bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.*

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*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

**M**Y Letters containing the acts of our Synod upon Friday and  
 Saturday, I dispatched this morning unto your Honour  
 by a Soldier whom I knew not, & he delivered them to a Skipper  
 whom he knew not, and whether or no they came to your Lord-  
 ships hands I am uncertain. There are come with them Letters from  
 my Lord Bishop to your Honour. Upon Monday the 3d. of *Decem.*  
 the Deputies being met, they prosecuted the two questions before  
 left undecided; First of the Baptizing of children born of Ethnick  
 parents: secondly, of means considerable how to breed up those  
 who are to enter the Ministry. In the first, concerning the *adulti*  
 the Synod agreed, that if they made profession of the Christian  
 Faith they might be baptized, *etiam invitis parentibus*. Their  
 reason was, because that after children came to be of years, in  
 case of Religion they depended not from the power of their pa-  
 rents, but might make their own market. All the difficulty was  
 of infants, and children not yet of discretion to make their  
 choice. The *English*, the *Professors*, those of *Hassia*, those of  
*Bremé*, of *Zeland*, of *Freesland* thought it necessary they should  
 be Baptized if they were rightfully adopted into Christian  
 Families, and that their parents had altogether resigned them in-  
 to the hands of the Christians. They grounded themselves upon  
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the examples of *Abraham* circumcising all that were of his Family; of *Paul* Baptizing whole households; of the primitive Church recorded in *Saint Austin*, who shews that anciently children that were *exposititii* were wont to be taken up by the Christians and baptized. Now such were the children of *Ethnick* parents; for it was never esteemed lawful for Christians to expose their children. All the rest were peremptory that they were not to be baptized, till they came to be of years of Discretion, to make profession of the Faith. The *North-Hollanders* themselves, whose business it was, and who moved the Synod in it, were expressly against it; whether they were bought, given, taken in War, or howsoever. Their reasons were, because they are *immundi*; because they are *extra fœdus*, of which Baptism is a sign; because Adoption could entitle them only to terrene, not to an Heavenly inheritance, &c. So that if plurality of voices carry it, the negative part prevails. The *Præses* required some time to compare the opinions together, & so for that time forbore to pronounce sentence. And because the examples of *Abraham* and *Paul* were much stood upon by those who held the affirmative, he proposed these two things to be considered of. First, whether it were likely that in *Abrahams* Family, when he put circumcision in act, there were any Infants, whose Parents died uncircumcised. Secondly, whether it were likely that in the Families baptized by *Paul*, there were any Infants, whose Parents died unbaptized: and so he past away to the second Question, concerning the manner of training up those who were to enter the Ministry. In my last Letters to your Honour I related at large the advice given in this point by the *Zelanders* and *South-Hollanders*. It was now proposed to the Synod, whether they did approve their Counsel, or except against it. Some thought it was unlawful for men not in Orders to preach publicly, or baptize; (for the *South-Hollanders* in their advice, had determined they should) others thought it unmeet, that they should be present in the Consistories and meetings of Deacons, or that they should read the Scriptures publicly in the Church (which was the joynt advice of the *Zelanders* and *South-Hollanders*.) Lastly, it was doubted whether the Synod could make any Decree in this Question; because of the several customs in several Provinces, which it lay not in the power of the Synod to prejudice.

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prejudice. So that instead of deciding this one doubt the *Præses* proposed five more to be considered of. 1. Whether men not in Orders might make publick Sermons. 2. Whether they might baptize. 3. Whether it were fit they should come into the Consistories. 4. Whether they should read the Scriptures publickly. 5. Whether the Synod could make a Decree in this business, for the reason above mentioned, or only give advice. The Synod had begun to speak to the two first, and it was the general opinion that they might not baptize. In the point of preaching they differed. Some thought absolutely it might be permitted them: others on the contrary thought no: some tooke a middle course thinking they might preach privately before a select Auditory, who were to be their Judges how sufficient they were for that end: some that they may do it openly, so that it were understood they did it not *cum potestate solvendi & ligandi*. But when part of the Synod had spoken their minds, because the time was much passed, they brake up, and put off the determination to the next Session.

Here is a rumor that some of the Remonstrants are come to Town, who they are I cannot yet learn. I shall to morrow make inquiry, and by the next Messenger acquaint your Lordship with it. In the mean time I humbly take my leave.

*Dort this 3. of Decemb.  
1618. Stylo novo.*

*Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.*

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

**U**Pon Tuesday the fourth of *December, Stylo Novo*, the Deputies being met in the morning they proceeded to determine of those doubts, which were moved the Session before. In the matter consulted concerning the training up of those who were to take upon them the Ministry, there were five questions moved. 1. Whether it were fit they should preach publickly. 2. Whether they should baptize. 3. Whether they should come to the Consistories and meetings of the *Classes*. 4. Whether they should read the Scriptures publickly in the Church before the People. Lastly, whether they should make a Decree

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Decree to bind all Provinces necessarily, or only to advise them. To the first two the *Exteri* had given their answer in the former Session. For the question of Baptism, no man stood upon it, but all accounted it unlawful, for men not in Orders to take upon them to baptize: the doubt was concerning Sermons. *Jo. Polyander* thought it very fit that such as intended the Ministry, before they were admitted should practise Preaching. First because it was the practise of some of the Belgick Churches. Secondly, because it took from them that *δυζωνία*, that subruftick shamefastness of many men, by which they feared to speake unto the people. Thirdly, because it was convenient that they should be known for men fit for that duty, before they should enter upon it. Fourthly, that they might approve themselves to their Parents and Benefactors, who had been at the charge of their Education. Provided that it were with these conditions: first, that it were done with consent of the *Classes*: Secondly, that it were practised only when the Church was unsupplied, either by the death, or absence, or sickness of their Pastor, or in case of like necessity. With *Polyander* did *Wallens* of *Middleburgh* agree, and grounded himself upon the practise of the Jews, amongst whom not only the Levites, but others also publickly taught the Law, as it appears by the story in the *Acts*, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* coming into the Synagogue, the Rulers called unto them, *that if they had any word of exhortation, they should speak unto the people*. Contrary unto both these was *D. Gomarus*, who held it utterly unlawful for any to preach before they were admitted to the Ministry. First, because they had no Mission; *and who can preach except he be sent*. Secondly, because they had not the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Thirdly, it was granted that they could not baptize: now Christ hath put Baptism and Preaching together, *Go teach all Nations baptizing them: & quæ Deus conjunxit homo ne separet*. Last of all, though there had been a custom in some places to the contrary, yet fitter it was that custom should conform it self to Truth, than Truth to custom. With *Gomarus* agreed *Thyffius*, and thought his argument drawn from Mission to be unanswerable; and for my own part I thought so too. *D. Gomarus* is a man of great note; but I never heard him speak with any strength of reason in the Synod till now. What *Sibrandus*

*du* his opinion was concerning the point I know not; for he doth so favour his voice, that I can never tell what he saith: and I imagine I have no great loss of it. After the Professors was there little said, which was not said before, only *Lydius* of *South-Holland* thought certainly to confute *Gomarus*, and told us, that such men might preach, and that they had *Vocation* so to do. For first that inward *Vocation* which they had from the Spirit, and then their Examination and Admission by the *Classes* was warrant for them sufficient to preach, though they had no particular charge. For this good News did Mr. Dean of *Worcester* publickly applaud *D. Lydius* in the Synod. I marvel'd much with my self to see Mr. Dean and *Lydius* so wide of the mark. For there was no question of those who were admitted by the *Classes*, but only of such who fitted themselves to be admitted. The Examination and Admission by the *Classes* is the very form of their Ministry, and not their being placed over a particular Church. And thus much at length did the *Præses* tell us. When all had spoken, Mr. *Præses* pronounced that it was concluded by the Synod, that it should not be lawful for them to baptize: but for the matter of Sermons, it was thought good by the Synod, that it should be left to the Judgement and Discretion of the particular *Classes*. In the third question concerning the Admission of the *Proponentes*, (as they call them) to the Consistories, little was said, and so in the fourth, concerning the publick reading of Scripture in the Church; Some thought fit that the ancient custom of *Anagnoskæ* in the Church should be revived: others thought it some disparagement to publick Reading, that it was committed to Tradesmen, and many times to men unskilful, that knew not well to read: In both these the Synod determined nothing, but left them free to the discretion of the *Classes*, and the latter was to be left to the Liberty of the *Proponentes*, whether they would read or no; and that they were not to be enforced to it, if they would not. In the last question whether they should make any necessary Decree binding all, or only by way of Counsel, my Lord Bishop being asked what he thought fit, made answer, that they were to distinguish betwixt things necessary, and not necessary. Things absolutely necessary should be absolutely decreed: other things should be left arbitrary. Which sentence passed by the major part of Voices, and

was



was Synodically concluded. Here the Deputies for the Remonstrants of *Utrecht* exhibited to the Synod in writing a Bill, containing some exceptions against what hitherto had passed in the matter of the Catechism. First they disliked that any such form should be forced upon them. Secondly, that all Schoolmasters should be so strictly bound to that form, as that it should not be lawful to recede from it. For this did prejudice all other forms now current, and might discontent the *Lutherans* and others, who had admitted of another form. Thirdly, they charged the *Præses* with some indirect dealing. For whereas he had, whilst the business was in *feri*, solemnly protested, that there was no intent concerning the matter, but only concerning the form of Catechizing, yet in the issue they had confirmed the *Palatine* Catechism, which contained as well matter as form. Fourthly, they disliked the Decree concerning the not premising of a Text of Scripture before catechetical Sermons. Lastly, they required that this their dissent might be registred. To this the *Præses* replied, that the Synod had only expressed it self what it thought fittest to be done. As for the necessity of Execution, that was not in the power of the Synod, but of the States General, who when all was done, might either pass or recall what they thought good. Secondly to the point concerning himself, he answered, he had done so, and thought it fittest so to do (but the Synod thought otherwise) and since there was a matter of Catechism to be concluded, they thought they might confirm this as well as any other: and this was not so confirm'd, but that it was in the power of the Synod to alter what they please. To the point of premising a Text of Scripture before the Catechetical Sermon, he answered that the determination of the Synod was not to take that custom away there where it was in use, but only to prohibit the urging of it there where it had a long time been disused. To the last, concerning the Registring of this their dissent, he answered, he saw not how this could be granted them; since the States General had concluded, that what passed by a major part of voices, should alone be accounted the Act of the Synod: and by the same proportion every one that passes not his voice with the major part might require his dissent to be registred. After this the *Præses* signified that concerning the question of the

baptizing of Ethnick children put up by the Church of *Amsterdam*, he required yet farther respice, because of the opinion of some of the Synod, which was somewhat ambiguous and obscure. He was therefore to confer with the Authors of it, and therefore desired that the resolution might be put off till the next Session: and withall he commended to the Synod the consideration how the liberty of Printing so promiscuously all kind of scandalous and libellous Pamphlets might be repress'd, and so he dismiss'd the Synod.

The Remonstrants are in Town, but because they keep themselves private, and have not presented themselves unto the States and Deputies, there is no notice taken of it. And so commending your Honour to Gods good Protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 4. of Decemb.  
1618. *Stylo novo.*

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

U Pon Wednesday the 5. of December, *Stylo novo*, the Deputies being met in the morning, the first thing which was done, was the admission of a Senior or Elder for those of *Groninga*, whose number as it seems was not yet full. The thing was transacted in Dutch, and yet the consent of the English was askt: at which I did not a little muse. Next followed the advice of the *Helvetians*, what course was to be taken with those, who are to enter the Ministry; in which there was no great matter from what before was intimated. The *Palatini* promised the like, and therefore the *Præses* required yet farther respice before they did conceive any form of Decree in this behalf. Then followed the Decree of the Synod concerning the question moved by those of *Amsterdam*, about the *Baptism* of children born of Ethnick Parents. The Decision consisted of two parts. The first concerned the *Adulti*, and it was this; That such as were of years and capacity should be diligently taught, and catechized, and then, if they did desire

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“ desire it, they should be baptized. The second concerned Infants, and it was, That till they came to years of Discretion, they should by no means be baptized. A strange decision, and such as, if my memory or reading fails me not, no Church either Ancient or Modern ever gave. When it was objected, what if they were in danger of death? their answer was, that the want of Baptism would not prejudice them with God, except we would determine as the Papists do, that Baptism is necessary to salvation. Which is as much to undervalue the necessity of Baptism as the Church of Rome doth overvalue it. Here followed a recitation of all that had been done since the business of the Catechism had been set on foot: amongst the rest was registred the exceptions of the Remonstrants of Utrecht, and it was added, *atque iis est à Præsides satisfactum*. Those of Utrecht excepted against that word *satisfactum*: they had, said they, an answer given them, but no satisfaction. For they persisted in their former opinion: and forthwith that word was altered. Here was a doubt moved, whether it were not fit that some of the especial Reasons brought by the Synod in the Question of the Baptism of Infants should not be added to the Decree. It was answered, That Reasons were obnoxious to cavil and exceptions, and it was not for the Authority of the Synod to Reason, but to Decree. After this the *Præsides* signified to the Synod that the time prefixt for the appearance of the Remonstrants was now expiring, and yet nothing was signified concerning their appearance neither to the Secular President, nor Ecclesiastical. Wherefore naming them all, he thought good to cite them to appear. It was answer'd by those of Utrecht, that they did provide and would shortly be forth coming. In the mean while to take up the time, Mr. *Præsides* thought good to commend to the Synod the consideration & redress of those abuses which were in Printing. Every man was suffered to print what he listed, whence came abundance of blasphemous, heretical, obscene and scandalous Pamphlets. Many here delivered their opinions, others required farther time to think of it. The English first thought fit that the States General should be requested to take the care of this into their hands. That there should be Censors to approve all such Books as should go to the Press. That no man should print,

but

but such as were known to be of the Reformed Religion. Unto this advice divers things were added by others; as that there should be a set number of Printers: that they should be sworn: that there should be certain Laws prescribed unto them: that they should print no Heretical Books, especially the Books of *David Georgius*, *H. Nicolaus Socinus*: that no Libels, no unlawful Pictures, either obscene, or made to any mans disgrace, should be permitted: that no Book should be Printed without the names of the Author, Printer, Place, except the Synod or the Magistrates did in some cases otherwise think good: that there should be care that the Correctors for the Press were good Scholars: and many other things of the like nature. Then were there read certain Canons made in some Synods before, concerning this business. *Theodatus* of Geneva told us, that in his travails, at *Venice* he had observed that there was a Colledge of sundry persons, secular and spiritual, to whose care was committed all the business of Printing. He thought it fit there should be such Colledges here erected. When all had spoken that would, the *Præses* told them that *Adrian Smoutius* had written a little Book in the *Belgick* Tongue unto the Synod, and sent the Copies of it to him to be distributed. And so requesting them to take in good part the good will of the man, for want of more business the Synod brake up.

At length are we coming to the main battel. The Armies have been in sight one of another, and have had some parly. The manner was this. Upon Thursday the 6. of *Decem. stylo novo*, The Synod being set in the morning, the *Præses* signified, that there had come unto him in the name of the Remonstrants, these four, *H. Leo*, *Niellius*, *Matthijsus*, and *Pinakerus*, to give notice that the Remonstrants were ready according to their *Citation*; but because they had but lately come unto the Town, that yet convenient lodgings were not provided, their papers, books and stuff were confused, therefore they required respite either till Saturday, or at least Friday morning. The President of the *Politicks* replied, that they should come, and personally make appearance before the Synod, and there propose their mind, and if the Synod approved their causes, they might be deferred. Upon this were two of the Deputies

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of *Utrecht* sent forth, to give them warning to provide for their present appearance. In the mean while, till they came, the *Preses* thought fit, that such as in the former Session delivered not themselves concerning the Reformation of abuses in Printing, should now doe it. Here was little delivered, besides what was said the day before, only some few particulars, as that order should be taken to repress this longing humour in many men of coming to the *Preses*: that there should be no impression of the Bible at any time without leave, had: Foreign Books brought out of other Countries should not be distracted here without peculiar leave, after their being perused by the Censurers: to ease the Censurers that they might not be troubled with reading too great a multitude of unprofitable Books, it was thought fit that the Books should first be brought to the *Classes*, and what they approved should be brought to the Censurers, &c. In the men while the Remonstrants came, all that were cited by Letters, and were admitted into the Synod. "There is in the midst of the Synod-House a long Table, set, as it seems, for them; for it hath hitherto been void, no man sitting at it; here Chairs and Forms being set, they were willed to sit down. The *Preses* told them, that he had commended to the Synod their suit of being a little respited: but it was the will of the Deputies for the States, that they should come before the Synod, and propose their cause themselves. *Episcopus* standing up, spake to this effect. "First he prayed God to give a blessing to this meeting and to pour into their minds such conceits, as best-fitted men come together for such ends: then he signified, that according to their Citation they were now come *ad collationem instituendam*, concerning that cause, which hitherto with a good Conscience they had maintain'd. As for the point of delay, true it is they spake to the *Preses* concerning a respite until Saturday or Friday, by reason of that great distraction of their Books and Papers, and want of convenient lodging, but not as a petition to be moved in that behalf unto the Synod; but only as a thing which out of common equity they might have presumed on without acquainting the Synod with it. For they were ready, even at that present to begin the business they came for, without any farther delay. But this they left to  
"the



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"the Deputies Secular and Ecclesiastical to determine of. Then were they requested to withdraw a little into a chamber near the Synod House; and immediatly was it proposed unto the Synod, what time was to be set for to begin. The time prefixt was the morrow after. Jo. Polyander took hold of those words, *ad Collationem*, and told the Synod, that it was fit the Remonstrants were told the end of their coming, and the manner of proceeding which should be taken with them, that they might know what they were to look for, and so provide. They were to be informed, that they came not to conference, neither did the Synod profess themselves an adverse party against them. Conferences had been heretofore held to no purpose. They ought to have heeded the words of the Letters by which they were *cited*. They were called, not to conference, but to propose their Opinions with their Reasons, and leave it to the Synod to judge of them. The Synod would be a judge and not a party. Then were they call'd in again, and all this was told them. *Episcopus* answered, that for the word *Collatio* he stood not on it, and how they would carry themselves it should appear the day following. Mean while one thing they would request of the Synod: that is, that *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* should be sent for to the Synod as Patrons of this cause. That they had this last week exhibited a Supplication to the States General to this purpose, and received this answer, that they should put this matter to the Synod, and if the Synod thought it fit to be granted, they would not be against it. Neither did they propose this to seek delays. For they were ready, whilst these men should be sent for to proceed to the action. Only they thought fit, that to maintain their cause they should be sent for, who could best do it. Then were they again dismiss'd: and one was sent to them, to call for their Supplication to the Lords, and the Lords Answer. To this they returned, that the Lords gave this answer, not in writing, but by word of mouth: and for the copy of their Supplication, they called not for it any more. Then was the thing proposed unto the Synod, and the Secular Deputies replied, that they would return their answer on the morrow: & the same was the answer of the Synod. Mr *Præses* thought that *Grevinchovius* might be admitted, *salvis censuris Ecclesiasticis*: yet notwithstanding

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withstanding he thought good to acquaint the Synod with the quality of this man, & thereupon he produced the Act of the Provincial Synod, of *South-Holland*, wherein it was witnessed, that the Synod, because he did refuse to appear when they cited him, and because of many Blasphemies in his Book, and of many reproachful speeches against the Magistrates and against the Ministers, had suspended him *ab omni munere Ecclesiastico*. From this *Grevinchovius* had not appealed to the National Synod to do what they thought fit. Then were the Remonstrants again called in, and it was signified unto them, that on the morrow they should understand the will of the Synod concerning their motion made, and so were they again dismissed; and the Session ended, the *Præses* having first premised, that all other things yet depending, as the Decree concerning the *Proponentes*, together with the Remedies concerning the abuses in Printing, and what else soever, must be deferred, and the business in hand alone attended.

My Lord Bishop was desirous that Mr. *Carleton* should stay this day, to see the coming of the Remonstrants. I would have had him stay to morrow likewise, that he might have seen the manner of proceeding with them; but he would not. Here is speech that *Scultetus* is to make the next Latin Sermon; but when we know not. There is a rumour that *Vorstius* is gone from *Tergone*, but of this I suppose your Honour may have better information than I can give; therefore ceasing to trouble your Honour any longer I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 6. of Novemb.  
1618. *Stylo novo*.

Your Lordships Chaplain,  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

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Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

IN my last Letters to your Honour, I related a doubt concerning the Deputies for the Remonstrants of *Utrecht*; whether they were to be a part of the Synod, or in the number of the Remonstrants, who were cited to appear before the Synod.

The

The reasons of that doubt, which then I understood not, were these. First, because in their Credential Letters they were charged to defend the cause of the Remonstrants. Now it could not be that they should be both Defendants and Judges in the same cause. Secondly, it was objected that their case was the same *per omnia* with *Episcopius*, who was to have been of the Synod, if he would have brought his Credential Letters, as the rest of the professors were. But he refused it, because in the Remonstrants cause he was to be a party, except he would have laid by the defence of that cause. Thirdly, when the question was of citing the Remonstrants out of each Province, it was then concluded in the Synod, that out of the Province of *Utrecht* none should be cited to appear, because of that Province there were some already, and therefore it was superfluous to cite any more. In the judgement of the Synod therefore they were *in numero citatorum*, as far as concerned that cause, and not in the number of the Members of the Synod. Unto these Reasons were they charged to give their answer upon Saturday, and then to resolve whether they would forsake the words of their Credential Letters, and so remain Judges, or else stand unto them, and become in the number of the *citati*. Wherefore upon Saturday, the 8. of December, *stylo novo*, The Synod being met in the morning, the Deputies for Remonstrants gave up their Answer *in scripto* to these Reasons. And to the first concerning the Clause in their Credential Letters, they answered, that they were not so limited, but that in their private instructions they had leave to do otherwise, if they thought good. To the second, concerning the Parity of their case with *Episcopius* they answered, that their case was quite another; for they were sent from their Provinces as Members of the Synod, which plea *Episcopius* could not make. To the third, concerning the intent of the Synod at the Citation they answer'd, that they never so understood the words of the Synod, neither did they know but that they might shew themselves for the cause of the Remonstrants, and yet sit as Judges, since they were there to defend their opinion no otherwise than the Contra-Remonstrants were to defend theirs: and therefore they were purposed to take the oath, and to keep their places. The *Preses* then required them to shew that clause in their private

vate instructions, wherein that reservation was which they pretended. They stuck a little at first to bring forth their instructions, but at length seeing there was no other remedy they consented to do it, provided that no more should be read than what they would suffer: which was granted them. In the mean time whilst they were providing to produce their instructions, there were read in the Synod the letters of the provincial Synod of *South Holland*, directed to the National, to this purpose: that whereas *Theophilus Ryckwaerdins*, one of those who was cited among the Remonstrants, had lately been by them convented for certain misdemeanours, the Synod would be pleased to give him leave to return and make his answer to such objections as they had to charge him with. The thing was put to the determination of the Synod. The Deputies of the States thought fit it should be left to his own discretion to doe as he thought good. Others thought it not fit he should be sent from the greater Synod to a lesser. Others thought it was necessary he should immediately be sent away to make his answer, since it was question of behaviour and manners only, and not of doctrine. In the end it was concluded it should be left to his own discretion, to do as he thought good. By this time were the Remonstrants of *Utrecht* ready to shew their instructions, which they there openly produced, but to no purpose at all. For all they could shew was this, that they had commission to defend their cause, or to labour at least for an accommodation or toleration of it: but that they had power to pronounce decisively *de veritate aut falsitate sententiae*, that did not as yet appear. The thing was acted with much altercation on both sides. At length it was agreed, with some reluctancy on the Remonstrants party, that it should be put to the determination of the Synod, whether they were to be accounted as Judges, or only as *citati*. Some favourably thought that their private instructions were not too narrowly to be sifted, but if they would *suo periculo* take the oath, it should be sufficient. Others thought that an Oath was a greater matter than should so easily be permitted, although men did offer to take it, there being so good cause of doubt, as now there was. Others examining there Credential letters, and the words of their private Commission, and finding no authority given them to define *de falsitate sententiae* if it should appear to

be false; and that the lowest point they could descend unto, was a *Toleration*, concluded they could be no other than *citati*. As for their plea, that they came to defend their opinion no otherwise than the Contra-Remonstrants did for theirs, it was replied, first that they did the Synod wrong to make this distinction of Contra-Remonstrants and Remonstrants: for in the Synod there was no Contra-Remonstrant, and no man was called thither under that name, whereas they in their letters came under the name of Remonstrants. Again, No man came with charge to defend any opinion, but were free to pronounce according to truth wheresoever it should be, which was not their case. In the end the judgement of the Synod was given up, that they could not be of the members of the Synod in this cause (for in any other they might) but only as *citati*. Yet notwithstanding that they might see the equity of the Synod toward them, it was permitted them to keep their places upon these conditions: first if they would quit their defence of the cause; Secondly if they would give no advice or counsel directly or indirectly to the *citati*, and by no means meddle with them in their cause: Thirdly, that they did not divulge any of the *Acts* and *Secrets* of the Synod, (which Clause was a meer Formality. For who can expect that that should not be divulged, which is done in the sight of so many Spectators?) Fourthly, that they should not be troublesome to the Synod, by any intempestive interpellations. This if they would promise, they should take the Oath, and sit as Judges; otherwise, not. Unto this were they charged immediately to give their answer. They again required respite. It was answered, that this request was needless, the case being so plain, and injurious to the Synod in detaining them from their business by frivolous delays. They persisting still in their Suit, the thing again was devolved unto the Synod, whether they should give their Answer presently, or have farther respite. It was concluded that they should repair to Mr. *Præses* the same day at five a clock in the Evening, there without farther delay, roundly to deliver their resolution. Which thing yet they did not. They came indeed at the time appointed, but gave no Resolution, neither yet have done, for any thing I can hear. And this was all was done that Session. I marvel much that the Province of *Utrecht*, being the strength of the Remonstrants, could find no wiser



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wiser men to handle their Cause. For as they did very foolishly in bewraying their private instructions, so in this whole altercation did they not speak one wise word. This Session the Remonstrants that were cited appeared not all.

*Episcopus* is reported to have put a trick upon the Seculars. For whereas in his speech he had said some things concerning them, in that Copy which was exhibited, sign'd with all their hands, there is no such thing appears. He had committed it only to his Memory, as foreseeing the Copy might be called for.

Mr. *Præses* remembers his love and service to your Lordship, and hath sent you a Copy of the Book which *Adrian Smoutius* dedicated to the Synod. The greatest Newes, for ought I perceive, is, that it is dedicated to the Synod; for else there is little that concerns them. I have troubled your Lordship with very long repetition of a petit matter: but it was all the Argument of the Session. I trow, to morrow we shall have other manner of stuff. And so ceasing to trouble your Lordship, I humbly take my leave.

*Dort this 9. of Decemb.  
1618. stylo novo.*

*Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.*

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*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

ON Munday the 10. of *December, stylo novo*, the Deputies met in the morning, where the first thing determined, was the question as yet depending concerning the Remonstrants of *Utrecht*. They had according to their appointment come to the *Præses* and *Affessors* to give their Answer, which was meerly dilatory, containing their answers to such reasons as the Synod on the Saturday Session had brought to prove them in the number of the *Citati*. But having better bethought themselves, upon the Munday a little before the Morning Session, they delivered their Resolution to the *Præses*, to this effect, That since nothing else would content the Synod, they had resolv'd to leave their place of Judges, and to adjoyn themselves to the other Remon-

strants which were cited : and so they did. After this fell in some speech concerning a supplication lately exhibited by the Remonstrants unto the *Exteri* : and because it seemed to contain some aspersions against the Synod, there was question made whether or no it should be publickly read, and stand : but this motion died, and there was nothing done in it. A Copy of this Supplication, I think, my Lord Bissiop lately sent your Honour. Then Mr. *Præses* signified unto the Synod, that without farther delay he thought it fit, The Remonstrants should put in mind of the end of their coming, and that they should put up their minds in writing, concerning the five points in question, and that forthwith. For he doubted it not, but they came very well provided to do it : and more, that some years past, they had provided certain considerations to be at hand, whensoever they should be called for, with which the World was not yet acquainted. This thing he remembred *Monsieur Barneveldt* sometime told him in private conference, and the Remonstrants themselves have told the world as much in their *pressior declaratio*, which they joyned to their addition of the conference at the *Hague*. Then were the Remonstrants call'd in, and told, First of their indirect dealing, in pretending themselves to have but one Copy of their Oration, whereas it was known they had another, and in delivering up a broken Copy : then of the end of their being convened by the Synod. But by the way one thing was urged somewhat unnecessarily. The Remonstrants had given up, (as I told your Honour) their speech signed with all their hands. When those of *Utrecht* had joyn'd themselves unto them, they were urged to put to their hands also : to which they replied, they had not as yet read it. Here *Episcopus*, took occasion to clear himself of that imputation lately fastned upon him, that he had abused the Delegates, in giving them a counterfeit Copy of his speech : protesting he was not so ill qualittied, as that in so great a matter, and that before God and so grave a Congregation he would deal doubly, and dishonestly : that he never affirmed that he had one only Copy, but that he had none fairly written ; for he confest he had another, and that the reason why he requested either the same Copy again, or at least a Transcript of it, was, because there was some difference betwixt the two Copies, and they had not yet perfectly compared them together. The

*Præses*

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*Præses* answer'd, that what was laid to their Charge, was nothing else but that which the Synod verily understood to have been done, and he thinks, that if the Memories of those in the Synod were consulted with, they would all confirm it. About this was there likely to have been some altercation farther, but the Secular *Præses* willed them to leave that and pass to their business. Here *Episcopus* besought the Synod that he might have leave to speak some things by way of Proeme ere they came to the Action. It was at first denied him, but he did so earnestly intreat, that at length he had leave to speak his mind: and so forthwith there was recited *Scripto* a long and tedious speech of two hours, at the least: consisting of two general heads; First of Exceptions they had against the Synod *Tanquam in judicem incompetentem*: Secondly of a conceit of their own, what manner of Synod they thought fit it should be, which was to compose these controversies in hand. Their reasons of Exceptions were many, and manifoldly amplified and confirmed: but amongst them all there were two especially insisted upon. First, it was against all equity and nature that the adverse party should be judge: the Synod was here the adverse party, and therefore they could not be Judges. Secondly, those who had made an open Schism and Faction in the Church, & had separated themselves from their brethren, could not be their Judges: but of this Synod a great part were Authors of Schism, and the rest Favourers and Abettors of it: they could not therefore be their judges. In the Prosecution of which Reason they did not spare very liberally to bestow on the Synod the name of *Schismatici & Novatores*, and *schismatum Fautores*, and other goodly titles of the same nature. The second part of their Oration was a meer *Chimæra saltans in vacuo*; a strang phancy of such a Synod as never was, nor can be. I had thought to have taken an abstract of it, but the tediousness of it deterred me. I will give your Honour a taste or two of it. There were but two wayes of instituting a Synod for the ending of these quarrells. The first was, by seeking out every where certain select men, who all this time of contention had taken part with neither side; but kept themselves impartial. Secondly, if a Synod of such could not be found (as I think it could scarcely be found in the *Netherlands*, though the Sun it self should seek it) then such a Synod should be framed, as in which should be an equal.

qual number of both parties, each with their several *Præses* and *Assessors*; and they should debate the matter betwixt themselves: and if they could not agree, (as it is likely they would not) what then, thought I? shall they part as they came? No forsooth. The Civil Magistrate, *tantum Deus à machina*, he must come in, and prescribe the *Moderamen* from which neither party must appeal. Provided alwayes, that he laboured only for Accommodation, and not to determine decisively for one part, καὶ τὸ ἐξουσιάζω. *And so I awake.* Of the same thread was the whole piece of their speech. When they had well and thoroughly wearied their Auditory, they did that which we much desired; they made an end. The *Præses* made a brief Answer to this effect. For the point of Schism saith he, it is not yet fit time to discuss. But when it should in the Synod be made plain what had been the received Doctrine of the Church, then it would appear who they were that had made secession from it, and so were guilty of Schism. If you refuse us because we are your adversaries, whom would you have deputed as Judges? your selves, or the Papists, or the Anabaptists, or the Libertines, or some other faction in these Countries? Let us be Scismaticks, let us be Scribes and Pharisees, and worse; yet you may not deny this Synod to be a lawful Synod. For first it was done by the Civil Magistrate, who had Authority to doe it. Secondly, such as were there were deputed by the consent of the Provinces. Thirdly, they had all taken their Oaths to judge uprightly. This is enough to make us your Judges, and common Charity should make you to hope we would judge upright: at least it should make you resolve thus far, if we should decide truly, you would subscribe unto it, if otherwise you would patiently bear it. If you were in our places, so Deputed, so sworn, and we were to be judged by you, we were to doe the like. Here followed some wrangling to no great purpose, and so the Session ended.

The same day after dinner the Deputies met again; where first the *Præses* commended to the Synod the consideration of that reproachful Name of *Schism*, which the Remonstrants did so openly & so often brand them with. For it was *Episcopi* his *palmarium argumentum*, the Synod was all either Schismaticks or favourers of them, and therefore could not be their Judges. It was much that they should grow to that boldness, as that openly they should call

call the Synod, the Seculars, the chief Magistrates, yea the Prince of *Orange* himself, Schismatics. For what had formerly been done in the matter of Secession and division of Churches was done by their consent and approbation. He requir'd therefore the Synod to deliver themselves what was to be done. Divers spake diversly. *Lydius* of *South Holland* relating the story of what had been done in the time of separation, cleared them of Schism; and shewed first, that the name of Schism was used craftily by them; as for a reproach, so likewise for a farther end they had for themselves. For a Schism is only a breach of Charity and peace of the Church, the Doctrine remaining intire. If there were a separation by reason of Doctrine Heretical (as here he thought there was) it was not to be called a Schism. Now the Remonstrants did therefore use the name of Schism, that they might perswade the world, that the difference was only in certain points indifferent, in which it mattered not which end went forward; by this means to make their way open to a toleration. Again, the separation which was made, was made upon good reason. For they were forced unto it by the Remonstrants violence, as in particular he did shew. At length he and the rest of the Synod concluded, that they should roundly be put in mind of their duty, and to speak more respectfully to the Synod. Upon this the Remonstrants being called in, the *Præses* signified what the Synod disliked in them, and what behaviour it expected at their hands: and withall willed them to attend the Decree of the States. *Episcopius* would have answered, but he was prohibited. Then immediately followed a decree of the States to this purpose; that whereas the Remonstrants had hitherto made many dilatory answers, to the injury both of the Ecclesiasticks and Seculars, it was decreed by them, that they should lay by all frivolous Exceptions, and dilatory answers, and forthwith proceed to set down their mind concerning the *Five Articles*, for which end they were come together. Then began *Episcopius* to purge himself, and declare, that in the imputation of Schism they included not the Seculars, they only charged the Ecclesiasticks: and if the Seculars had a hand in it, they meddled not with that. The *Præses* urged them to give their answer, whether or no they would set down their minds concerning the points in controversy: they still excepted, that the



the Synod were not their competent Judges. The *Præses* asked by whom they would be judged? they replied, they would not answer this, it was sufficient that the Synod could not be their Judges. They were will'd to remember they were *Citati*: they replied, *Citatorum est excipere de competentia judicis*. The *Præses* of the Seculars willed them to remember that they were Subjects; they replied, the Magistrate could not command their Consciences: being again willed to give their answer, whether or no they would exhibit their minds concerning the five Articles, they required first to have their exceptions answered; when no other answer would be given, they dismiss them, and appointed that of the Synod two should be chosen Delegates, who should immediatly go to them, and in the name of the Synod warn them to lay by all other answers, and at the next Session Categorically answer, whether they would exhibit their minds concerning the points in Controversy, or no: that so the Synod might know what they had to do: and so they brake up: this morning therefore we look what will be done. And so for this time I humbly take my leave, commending your Honour to Gods good Protection.

Dort, 11. Decemb.  
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain,  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

Of the Remonstrants of *Utrecht*, two only have joyn'd themselves to the *Citati*: the third which is an Elder, professes to submit himself to the judgement of the Synod, if they shall decide according to his Conscience; and that if it please the Synod to give him his Oath, he is ready to judge neither as Remonstrant nor Contra-Remonstrant, but accordingly as it shall please God to open him the truth in the Synod.

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Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

ON Thursday the 11. of Decemb. the Synod being sate, and repetition made, according to the custom, of what had past in the former Session, the Remonstrants being called in were askt, whether

whether or no they had set down in writing their opinion concerning the first Article. Forthwith they exhibited to the Synod their opinion subscribed with all their hands. The Copy of this your Lordship shall receive here with these letters. The paper being read, the *Præses* askt them all one by one whether this were their opinion, to which each man answered affirmatively. The Remonstrants being dismissd the *Præses* proposd to the Synod, whether it were not fit that they should be sent for one by one and examin'd singly as concerning their tenent. His reason was, because he understood that they made themselves an Antisyndod, and had among themselves ordained a *Præses*, two Asseslours, and two Scribes according to the form of the Synod, and so they did all things *communi consensu* like a little Synod: to this some answered that they thought it fit: some that those only should be singled out who were carried away with respect to their company, and if they were alone would think and do otherwise: others thought it utterly unfit because it might seem *olere artificium aliquod*, to favour of a trick, whereas it best became the Synod to doe all things *candide & sincere*: others would have no man examin'd alone but when all the rest were by: others left it to the judgment of the *Præses* to doe as he thought good when occasion served: which last sentence as it seem'd stood good. After this was there a general exception against the manner in which they had proposd their sentence: that they had done it *confuse, distracte, & obscure*: that they had intermingled things impertinent and belonging to other questions: that the most of their proposals were negatives, what they did not hold, & not affirmatives what they did; whereas their appearance there was to shew what they did hold, not what they did not hold. And it was discovered that this their proceeding by negatives was, that they might take occasions to refute other opinions, and not to confirm their own; whereas by the decree of the States they were called thither *ut sententium SUAM dilucidè, perspicuè &c. exponerent & defenderent*, not that they should oppugne others. That it had been their custom very liberally to examine other mens opinions and to be sparing in confirming their own. That if they did refuse to deal more plainly in expounding their mind, the Synod should take order that the state of the question should be taken out of their Books, especially out of the

*Hague* conference, and so they should be questioned whether they would stand to it or no: that they did maintain amongst them an implicate faith, and it was usual with some of them, when they were prest with any reason they could not put by, to answer that though themselves could say little to it, yet such and such could say much, which was enough for them. When all had spoken their pleasure, the conclusion of the Synod was, that they must reform the manner of propounding their mind: that they must give up their answer in affirmatives, as much as was possible: that this form of answer was not according to the Decree of the States: and this was the effect of that Session.

On Friday, the 3<sup>d</sup> of *Decemb.* there was a short Session in the morning. The matter propounded was, whether it were not fit that the Remonstrants should be required to give up their minds concerning all the five points, before the Synod proceeded to examine or determine any thing. The reason was, the connexion of the points mutually one with another, for which cause it was hard to determine of one, except their mind in the rest were known. The Secular Lords and the Synod liked well of the proposal. Those of *Geneva* thought it best to take their opinions out of their books: to which the *Præses* answer'd, that it could not be, because they were called thither by their citatory Letters to propose & defend their own opinions. That they could not complain of the Synod for calling on them thus at once to deliver themselves. For the Synod doubts not that they were provided, since themselves had long since given it out in their books and private speeches that they were provided. The Remonstrants then being called in, were told that it was the determination of the Synod, that they should deliver their opinions at once concerning the five points; and for this they had given them time till Munday. For this would prove better for the Synod and for themselves. Then that they should deliver themselves in affirmatives as much as possibly might be. For by their negatives they delivered not their own opinions, but diverted upon others. The Confessions and Creeds had alwayes been framed by affirmatives; thus or thus we do believe; not by negatives. To this they replyed, *Attendemus ad ea quæ à Domino Præsidente dicta sunt & considerabimus.* Then did the *Præses* signifie that  
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on the morrow there should be a Latin Sermon in the Synod house. *Sculdetus* is the man that makes it. And this is the effect of what was done at that time, and so ceasing to trouble your Lordship any farther at this time, I humbly take my leave, resting

Dort this 15. of Decemb.  
1618. *stylo novo*.

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

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Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

THE seventh of Decem. *stylo novo*, being Friday, in the morning the Synod met; the first thing that was done, was the pronouncing the Decree of the States concerning *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* to this effect, That whereas the Remonstrants had petitioned to the States, that *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* might be admitted into the Synod, there to defend the Remonstrants Cause, the Lords for good causes thought they neither ought, nor could grant it; yet thus much did they graciously permit, that they might freely come in private, and do them what help they could; and if they thought, that in any thing they saw further into the Cause than their brethren, they might have leave to exhibit their mind in writing to the Synod. Provided, First, that they had leave of the Synod so to do. Secondly, that they did not seek any frivolous delayes: Thirdly, that they promised to submit themselves to the Decree of the Synod: and last of all, that the Church Censures respectively pass'd on *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* be not prejudiced; but stand still in their full force and vertue. This Decree was consented unto by the whole Synod. Here the *Præses* admonish't those of *Utrecht* to provide themselves, and resolve what they would do; whether they would profess themselves parties for the Remonstrants, or keep their places, and sit as Judges; if they would express as parties, then must they cease to be accounted part of the Synod, and be accounted as *Episcopi* and the rest that were *cited*. They required that time might be given them to deliberate. The *Præses* eagerly urged them to give

their resolute answer. They replied it was a greater matter than might so soon be dispatch'd. So far they went, that at length they fell on some warm words. For when two of the Remonstrants Deputies by chance spake both at once, the *Præses* admonisht them to speak *modestius & ornatiùs*. For men here speak one by one, and not by pairs. But here the Secular Deputies strook in, and thought fit they should have time of respite till the morrow: yet so that in the mean time the Synod should proceed: Then were the Remonstrants call'd in, and the Decree of the States concerning *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* read unto them: *Episcopius* standing up required that a little time might be granted to them to speak, and forthwith uttered an Oration, *acrem sanè & animosam*, and about which, by reason of some particulars in it, there will grow some stir. The effect of the Oration was this.

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**T**HAT Religion was the chiefest note of a man; and we were more distinguished by it from other Creatures, than by our Reason. That their appearance before the Synod was, ut illam etiam Spartam ornarent, that they might endeavour something for the preservation of the Purity of Religion: That Religion was nothing else but a right Conceit and Worship of God: That the Conceits concerning God are of two sorts; some absolutely necessary, which were the grounds of all true Worship; in these to erre might finally endanger a man; Some not absolutely necessary; and in these sometimes without great danger men might mistake; That they descryed many conceits passing in our Churches which could not stand with the Goodness and Justice of God, with the use of the Sacraments, with the Duties of Christian men; These had given occasion to the Adversaries abroad to accuse our Churches, and lay upon them many Strange imputations,  
That



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That therefore their endeavour had been none other but to remove these imputations, and to provide as much as in them lay, that the Conceits of some few might not pass for the general Doctrine of our Churches; But this their endeavour had hitherto had but ill success: And as in a diseased body many times when Physick is administred, the humours which before were quiet are now stirred; and hence the body proves more distempered: so their endeavours to cure the Church had caused greater disorder, yet in this had they not offended. For they laboured to none other end, but that the Church might not be traduced by reason of the private conceits of some of her Ministers. That in this behalf the world had been exceedingly incensed against them: but this Envy they esteemed their Gloriam & Palmarium; That for this they did not mean to forsake their Cause, and were it so that they should lose the day, yet would they joy in it, and think it glory enough magnis ausis excidisse. That this their stirring was not de lana caprina, of small, frivolous, and worthless matters, of mere quirks of Wit, as many of the common sort were perswaded; that out of this conceit it was that they had been so exceedingly roughly dealt withall, yea they might say sævitum fuisse against them, as against unnecessary Innovators in the Church: First matters were handled against them clancularly, and by stealth, after this they brake out into open but false accusations, and after this into wrath, into scoffing and bitterness, till at length effractus moderationis repagulis, every one came with open mouth against them, tanquam in publici odii victimas [ Here followed a grave & serious invocation of Christ as a witness to the truth of what they said ]. True indeed.

indeed it was, that in their Books many things were to be found amiss. For a very hard matter they thought it for minds exasperated *semper rectum clavem tenere*. That for the settling of these things, there could but three courses be thought of; either a National Synod, or a mutual Toleration of each others Opinions, or the Cession and Resignation of their Calling and place in the Church. To quit them of their calling and to fly, this were a note of the Hireling: as for a Synod, which they much desired, *remorabantur qui minime debebant*, and it was pretended that the condition of the Times would not suffer it. There remains only a mutual Toleration, of the possibility of which alone they had hope. And for this end they did exceedingly approve of the Decree of the States of Holland, and West-fryzeland, which they thought confirmed by the examples of Beza's dealing with some, of their own dealing with the Lutherans, of the Advice of the King of Great Brittain: But all this was labour lost; for there was a buzze and jealousy spread in the heads of men, that under this larve, this whistling Suit of Toleration there lay personated more dangerous designs: that behind this, *tanquam post siparium*, there lay intents of opening a way to the Profession of all the antient Heresies: and that the Remonstrants could *pro tempore, Conscientiæ suæ imperare quod volunt*, upon this began mens minds to be alienated from them: which thing at length brake forth into Schism and open separation. Now began their Books to be more narrowly inquired into, every line, every phrase, every word and tittle to be stretcht to the uttermost, to prove them Hereticks. Witness that late work, intituled *Specimen Controversiarum Belgicarum*,

rum, whose Authors credit and good dealing had already in part appeared, and hereafter farther would appear. That all Fundamental points of Divinity they had preserved untouched. For they knew that there were many things of which it is not lawful to dispute, and they abhor'd from that conceit of many men, who would believe nothing but what they were able to give a Reason of. That what they questioned was only such a matter, which for a long time had been, without danger, both pro and contra disputed of. They thought it sufficient if the chief points of Religion remains unshaken. That there had been alwayes sundry Opinions even amongst the Fathers themselves, which yet had not broken out into separation of minds, and breach of Charity. That it was impossible for all wits to jump in one point. It was the Judgment of Paræus a great Divine, that the greatest cause of Contentions in the Church was this, that the Scholemens Conclusions, and Cathedral Decisions had been received as Oracles, and Articles of Faith. That they were therefore unjustly charged with the bringing in of a Sceptick Theologie: They sought for nothing else but for that liberty which is the mean betwixt servitude and License. That now they appeared before they Synod, whether as cited, or otherwise, they were not careful. They had been present howsoever had it been lawful. They required the Forreigners not to judge of them as they had heard abroad, but as they now should find them. That they profess they oppose themselves, first against those Conclusions concerning Predestination, which the Authors themselves have call'd Horrida Decreta. Secondly, against those who for the Five Articles so called have made a Separation, newer expecting any  
Synodical

Synodical Sentence : Thirdly, against those who cast from them all those who in some things dissent from them. And yet to raise the controversy greater, is the question of the right of Magistrates added above all the rest, which they maintain'd against those, who taught the Magistrate should with a hoodwinkt obedience accept of what the Divines taught, without farther inquiry. These are the points, for which we have contended. Give unto us that respect which your selves would look for at our hands, if you were in our case; we have not ambitiously sued to any : the Favour of God alone it is which we have sought; Look not upon this small number which you see, *Unus Patronus bonæ causæ satis est.* 'Tis not the smaller number that makes the Schism. If a major part carry the right, what think you then of the Province of Utrecht, where the greater parts are Remonstrants? From you doth the Schism proceed, First here in this Synod, by making so an unequal a choice of Deputies with so small a number of Remonstrants. Secondly by proceeding against us abroad, not expecting a Synodal Decree, by cashiering and subjecting unto Censures the chief Patrons of our Cause, *eos apud quos sunt aquilæ nostræ* : and peradventure, even at this very hour you proceed against some of ours by suspending, discommuning, by expelling them from their Churches, &c. But yet we cast not away our Swords; The Scriptures and solid Reason shall be to us instead of multitudes. The Conscience rests not it self upon the number of Suffrages, but upon the strength of Reason. *Tam parati sumus vinci, quàm vincere.* He gets a great Victory, that being conquer'd gains the Truth. *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, amica Synodus, sed magis amica Veritas.*

These

These are the Fragments of *Episcopus* his speech, as far as my Memory and broken notes could supply me; I suppose what Errors I have committed by leaving out, misplacing, misrelating, Mr. *Ames*, when he comes to your Honour will rectify: this and much more for an *hour's space*, he delivered with great grace of speech and Oratorial gesture: The *Præses* signified unto him, that because there were in his speech many things considerable, he was therefore to deliver the Copy of it: *Episcopus* replied, that he had none handsomely written; if the Synod would have patience, he would cause a fair Transcript to be drawn for them; But this excuse would not serve. Fair or foul deliver it up he must, and so he did: The Deputies for the Politicks signified, that since there were many things in it, which did as well concern the Seculars, as Ecclesiasticks, they were to give it up subscribed with all their hands: which forthwith was done. Then did the *Præses* tell them how much they were beholding to the Synod, that had so patiently heard them, notwithstanding that they had no leave granted them to speak, and that they ought to have expected the Mandate of the Synod. To this *Episcopus* replies, that he had required leave before he began to speak; True, said the *Præses*, but you staid not till leave was granted you; besides, saith he, you are to know that no man may, no not of those that are the members of the Synod, offer to declaim without leave first had, and without manifesting the Argument and drift of his speech. After this followed a *Form of Oath* prescribed by the States, which all the Members of the Synod were to take, the Articles of it were these two, "That only the Word of God should be taken for their rule to end their questions, and that they had no other purpose but the peace of the Church. First the *Præses* took his Oath in this order, standing up in his place, he said, *Ego promitto coram Deo*, (thus, and thus) *ita propitius mihi sit Servator Christus*. Then the Provincials took every one in his order, standing in his place, and pronouncing these words, *Idem promitto coram Deo & sancto Servatore*, only the Remonstrants Deputies of *Utrecht* took not the Oath, because as yet they had not determined, whether they would make themselves parties or Judges; After the Provincials did the Forreigners in order do the like, and so the Session ended.



And with it I think it is time for me to end, and commend your Lordship to Gods good Protection.

*Dort this 7. of Decemb.  
1618. stylo novo.*

*Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.*

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

**U**Pon Saturday 4. of this present, the Synod being sate in the Morning, *Sculctetus* made unto them a pious, and patheticall Sermon. In the beginning he signified, first how it joyed him to speak unto them *Post eruditissimum virum Josephum Hallum, Decanum Wigorniae meritissimum.* Secondly that he saw that day, that which his Majesty of Great Brittain, and the Prince Elector his Master had so long desired to see, namely a Synod gathered for the settling of the Churches peace in these Countries. He took for his Theme the 122. Psalm, *I rejoyced when they said unto me, Let us go up unto the house of the Lord,* and so forth unto the end of the Psalm. Where first having shewed the occasion of this Psalm, that it was the Removal and bringing of the Ark unto Jerusalem, he considered in the whole Psalm three things. First, that it was *Summum hominis gaudium*, to see the Peace and flourishing of the Church; which he shewed by many Reasons, and confirmed by the examples of the Duke of Wittenberg, who at the Council held at Worms a hundred and twenty years since, when others discoursed of many Priviledges and conveniences of their Lordships and Territories, openly protested it to be his greatest felicity, that he could *in aperto campo, & in sinu subditorum suorum dormire*: and of Theodosius the Emperour, who at his death did more comfort himself that he had been a Son of the Church, than the Emperour of the World. Secondly, that it was *Summum hominis Votum* to pray for the peace and flourishing of the Church: which he confirmed by the examples of the Apostles and of Christ himself. Thirdly, that it was *Summum hominis studium* to procure the peace of the Church. Where speaking of the present occasion, I am no Prophet

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phet (saith he) yet I think I foresee, that the peace of the *Belgick Churches* would be a means to settle the peace of other Churches. He therefore wisht that the States, the Prince, the Delegates, would all propose unto themselves as their end, the peace and flourishing of the Churches amongst them, as he doubted not they did in calling this Synod. There was not in this Sermon any Doctrinal point discusst, nor any particular toucht, which might minister Newes. It was only a Pathetical exhortation to all sorts, as much as in them lay to procure the Churches peace. When he had done, the *Præses* publickly in the name of the Synod gave him thanks, and protested himself to have been very much moved with his speeches. Besides this there was nothing done that Session.

Upon Munday, 7 of this present, the Synod coming together in the Forenoon, there were two out of *Wetteraw* from the Counties of *Nassau*, *Bisterfeldius* a Preacher, and *Jo. Henricus Alstedius*, Professor of Divinity in *Herborne* came as Deputies from the Churches in those parts, to be admitted as parts of the Synod. The Letters from the States General, and then their Credential Letters from their Churches first being read, the Oath was read unto them, and they took it. Then did the *Præses* in the Name of the Synod welcome them, and told them the end of their coming, and what these Churches expected at their hands. Then were the Remonstrants call'd in, and wisht to declare their opinion concerning the rest of the Articles: which they did at large, and added some Apologies for their proceeding by Negatives (which I told your Lordship formerly had been the Exception of the Synod against the manner held by them in the first Article.) I will not give a brief of what they then delivered, because I resolve to send your Lordship the perfect Copy of it, as soon as I can come to copie it out. When they had done the *Præses* asked them, whether they were provided to deliver up their considerations concerning the Confession and Catechism, for the Synod expected it. They answered that they expected not the Synod should call for them. The *Præses* replied, this could not excuse them, for they had often told the World in their Books, that they had *paratam sylvam considerationum* in that kind: and that the Synod should better judge of each part, when it had learned their opinion of the whole. They

required leave to withdraw a little, and think of an answer. In the mean time the *Præses* proposed to the Synod, to consider how well the Remonstrants had stood to the Decree of the Synod, concerning the proposal of the Tenents in affirmatives, he thought that they had offended more against it, and that purposely in bringing their Apologie for so doing: in censuring the opinions of other Churches for blasphemous, &c. Howsoever it was their judgement that they should propose their sentence in Negatives, yet they ought not to have proposed, but to have submitted their judgement to the judgement of the Synod. The Remonstrants returning, gave answer to this effect: that though they might require time to give up their Considerations, yet they thought they were not bound to give them up, till the five Articles were discusst; since their Citatory Letters so ran, that first the Articles, then their Considerations should come in place: that they thought it some wrong done them to have this order now perverted. The *Præses* answered, that no wrong was done them; for their Considerations should not yet be sifted, till the five Articles were concluded. And so the order in their Citatory Letters should be kept. That long since in a Synod at *Delft* they had promised to deliver them up in a Provincial Synod there, and therefore now after so many years they could not be unprovided. Here the *Præses Politicus* charged them to obey their Decree, and to do as the *Præses* and the Synod requir'd. The *Præses Ecclesiasticus* then admonisht them, that they were not to accompt of themselves as a Colledge, and so still to give answers *in commune*, but they must answer particularly every one for himself: and thereupon he asked every of them in order, whether they had any such Consideration or no: some answered they had, some that they had some few of no great moment, some that their Considerations were not written down, some that they had none at all. When the *Præses* had said, *jactatum fuisse* by them long since, that they had sundry Considerations ready; *Corvinus* excepted against the word *jactatum*; the *Præses* replied, He used not the word to disgrace them, but only as a Frequentative, to signifie that they had often boasted of it. When some Litigation was here fallen, *Martinus Gregorii* (one that sits close upon the Remonstrants skirts) cut it off, and commanded them to be quiet. The Remonstrants here signified, that such

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Considerations as they had were only in the *Dutch* tongue. The *Præses* replied, they should have leasure to translate them. Then did the Seculars pronounce a Decree charging them to provide themselves singly, one by one, he that had many to give up many, he that had few to give up few, he that had none to give up none, and that whether it were in *Dutch* or *Latin*. The Remonstrants required some time; for, saith *Episcopus*, we came *imparatissimi ad hanc rem*. First there were given them to two dayes, then three, then four: within which space every man alone by himself, was to give up his Considerations: and this was the effect of the Session.

The answer of the *English* Divines to the Remonstrants exception against the Synod, I will send your Lordship in my next Letters, together with the Remonstrants answer upon the later Articles. Harman the Post came to *Dort* on Sunday about three of the clock, and went for *England* on Munday about ten of the clock, in the morning. Mr. Dean of *Worcester* is very crazy and sickly of late, and keeps his Chamber, neither hath he been in the Synod some of these last Sessions. I hear he purpotes to come to the *Hague*, to see if he shall have his health better there. Here is a Rumour that the Remonstrants are a little divided amongst themselves; and that *Corvinus* complains that what he hath done, was because he suffered himself to be drawn on by others, how true this is I know not; I heard *Scultetus* tell my Lord Bishop so much, and that *Meierus* of *Basil*, should say that *Corvinus* had signified so much to him. My Lord Bishop is a little displeased with Mr. *Amyes* for putting into his hand *Grevinchovius* his Book, in the Preface of which there are cited out of a Writing of Mr. *Amyes* certain words very reproachful unto Bishops. Other Newes here is none, and therefore for this time ceasing any further to trouble your Honour; I humbly take my leave, resting

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

Right

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

ON Thursday; of this present, in the morning the Synod being met, the first thing done was the Admission of the *Scottish* Deputy in this manner. He was brought to the Synod House by the two Scribes, and met at the door by two of the Deputies for the States, and by them conducted to his Seat, which is a little seat made under the *English* Seats, where he sits alone; when he was sate, the *Praeses* welcom'd him in the Name of the Synod. Then were the Letters from the States read, which were to stand instead of Synodical Letters; for otherwise the custom is here, that he that comes to be a Member of the Synod brings Letters of Credence from the Church that deposes him. After this he delivered himself in a short speech to this effect. "That the reason of his coming he had delivered unto the States at the *Hague*, namely the Kings pleasure: that he therefore once minded to have said nothing, but he could not obtain so much of himself, especially when he heard what gentle Welcome the *Praeses* gave him, and he was desirous to shew himself thankful for such great Courtesie; That the *Scotch* Nation had ever more so linkt it self to this people, that it hath alwayes laboured to endeavour the peace of this State, and now it was ready to do as much for the peace of the Churches amongst them. That they had very straightly bound unto them the *Scottish* Church (*demeruitis Ecclesiam Scoticanam*) by this so kindly welcoming him. That his years were not many, but he hoped ere he departed to make amends for that; That the King at his coming away did charge him, *verbis sublimibus*, above all sphere of Conceit and apprehension to exhort them unto peace, and with a short passage to that purpose he ended. The *Praeses* thanking him for his good Counsel gave him his Oath. And so they past away to other business.

To morrow I trow we shall have more matter, for then the Remonstrants are to give in their Exceptions, against the Catechism and Confession, and so at length we shall come to the Question. For this time therefore I humbly take my leave of your Honour, resting

Your Honours Chaplain, and bounden  
in all Duty and Service, Jo. hales.  
Right



Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

U Pon Thursday the 17 of this present, the Deputies being met in the morning, the Remonstrants were called in, and willed to give up their Considerations upon the Catechism, according to the injunction laid on them on Fryday last. *Episcopus, Corvinus, Duinghonijs, Poppius, Pinakerus* and *Sapma* gave up all together in common, and excused themselves, for not giving up one by one, as was enjoyned them, because their Considerations being altogether the same, they thought they might exhibit them all together; *Niellius, Goswinus, Matthijsus*, and *Isaacus Frederici*, gave up singly, every one by himself, the rest gave up none at all. What these Considerations were I know not; for they were not publisht. Then did the *Præses* require them *coram Deo* to answer directly and truly, First whether or no these were the Observations which they gave up to the States of *Holland*; to which was answered, that as far as they could remember they were, and some others besides. Secondly, whether they had any more Considerations besides these; to which they all answered, No. Here *Sculstetus* stood up, and in the name of the *Palatine Churches*, required a Copy of these considerations upon the Catechism. We have, saith he, a command from our Prince to see that nothing be done in prejudice of our Churches. The Catechism is ours known by the name of the *Palatine Catechism*, and from us you receiv'd it. The Observations therefore upon it concern us, we require therefore a draught of them, with purpose to answer them, and submit our answer to the judgement of the Synod. This request of the *Palatines* was thought very reasonable. These Considerations (I speak of those on the Confession; for those others I saw not) are nothing else but *Queries* upon some passages of the Confession, of little or no moment: so that it seems a wonder unto many, how these men, which for so many years past, in so many of their Books, have threatned the Churches with such wonderful discoveries of falshood and error in their Confession and Catechism, should at last produce such poor impertinent stuff. There is not, I perswade my self, any writing in the world, against which wits disposed to wrangle cannot take abundance of such exceptions. After this did the

*Præses*

*Præses* put the Remonstrants in mind of the judgement of the Synod past upon the manner of propounding their *Theses* on the Articles. Two things there were misliked. First their propounding so many Negatives. Secondly, their urging so much to handle the point of Reprobation, and that in the first place; whereas the Synod required they should deliver themselves, as much as was possible in Affirmatives, and begin first from Election, and from thence come to the point of Reprobation in its due place. He required them therefore to signify whether they would follow the Judgement of the Synod, or their own. They answered, that they had given up their reasons to justify their Proceeding, and otherwise to proceed their *Consciences* would not permit them. For, saith *Episcopus*, the point of Reprobation is that *quod maxime nos agere habet*: that he could not endure that Doctrine concerning the absolute Decree of God; that God should peremptorily decree to cast the greatest part of mankind away, only because he would. *Corvinus* answered that he could not *salvâ Conscientiâ versari in Ministerio*, till that point were cleared. *Isaacus Frederici*, that *præcipuum momentum* was in that question: others, that in the question of Election they had no scruple; all their doubt was in the point of Reprobation: and therefore their Conscience would not suffer them to proceed farther in disputation, till that matter were discussd. To this answer was made, that the Synod did not refuse to handle the matter of Reprobation, but thought it not fit to have it done in the first place. But when this would not content them, the *Præses* proposed unto them, whether they were resolved so to proceed, or else to relinquish all farther disputation. They replied, they resolved to break off all farther Treaty if that matter might not be handled. It was told them that it should be treated of in its due place, but the question was only *de modo procedendi*, whether they should handle that first or no. *Episcopus* and some others of them gave answer, that for the order they did not precisely stand upon, *modo de tota re agatur*: but this answer they stood not unto. For when the *Præses* told them again, that it was the pleasure of the Synod, first to handle of Election, and then of Reprobation as much as should seem necessary, and for the Churches good, and withal charged them to answer roundly and Categorically whether they would proceed according to this order: they answered, No.

Then

Then did the *Præses* require them to withdraw, and give the Synod leave to advise of this: The sum of that which past in the mean time was this: That their pretence of Conscience was vain, since it was not of any thing which concern'd Faith and good manners, but only of order and method in disputing, which could not at all concern the Conscience; that the Disputation must begin from Election. First because the order of Nature so requir'd, to deal of the Affirmative before the Negative; and again, because that all Divines, who ever handled this Question did hold the same order; & the Holy Ghost in Scripture had taken the same course. That they should be assured in the name of the Synod, that they should have liberty to discuss the question of Predestination throughout. That whatsoever they pretended, yet the true end of their so hotly urging the question of Reprobation, was only to exagitate the Contra-Remonstrants Doctrine, and to make way for their own Doctrine in point of Election: *Lydius* observed, that it had been the custom of all those who favoured *Pelagianism*, to trouble the Church with the question of Reprobation. "*D. Gomarus* that saw that his Iron was in the fire, (for I perswade my self that the Remonstrants spleen is chiefly against him) began to tell us, that *Episcopius* had falsified the Tenent of Reprobation: that no man taught that God absolutely decreed to cast man away without sin: but as he did decree the end, so he did decree the means: that is, as he predestinated man to death, so he predestinated him to sin; the only way to death: and so he mended the question, as *Tinkers mend Kettles*, and made it worse than it was before. In summe, the Synod caused a Decree to be penn'd to this purpose. *That it should be lawful for the Remonstrants to propose their Doubts, both in the Question of Election, and Reprobation: but for the order in disputation, which of the two should come first, they should leave that to the Synod, who thought it fitter to give, than to receive Laws; and that whereas they pretended Conscience, it was but vain, since there was nothing in Scripture against this Command of the Synod; nay that it was more agreeable with Conscience to obey than to withstand.* Then were the Remonstrants called in, and after a short admonition better to advise themselves, the Decree of the Synod was read unto them. And when they began to urge their Conscience, the

*Præses Politicus* spake to this purpose: that there had heretofore been many Decrees made by the Delegates, but they had been all neglected, he therefore strictly warn'd them, that no man should dare to withstand any Decrees either of the Magistrate, or of the Synod, either by open opposing against it, or by fullen silence, under pain of penalty according to the will of the Lords. When *Episcopius* had said *agerrimè ferimus*, and would have said somewhat more, he was enjoin'd silence, and so the Session ended, Mr. *Præses* telling us, that the next Session we should come to the question, *si per Remonstrantes liceret*.

Now concerning *Monsieur Moulin's* Proposals, of which your Lordship required to know what I thought, I will deliver my self in my next Letter to your Honour. In the mean time commending your Honour to Gods good protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this 17. of Decemb.  
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain,  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

UPON Friday 11. of December, in the morning it was long ere the Synod met. At length being come together, there were read the two Decrees; one of the States, another of the Synod, made the former Session: the reason of the repeating was the absence of some the day before. Then did the *Præses* signify, that that very morning, immediately before the time of the Synod, he had received from the Remonstrants Letters *satis prolixas*, which concern'd himself and the whole Synod; the perusal of which Letters was the cause of his long stay. The Letters were sent to the Delegates to know whether or no they would have them read. Whilst the Seculars were advising of this point, there were brought in a great heap of the Remonstrants Books, and laid upon the Table before the *Præses*: for what end it will appear by and by. The Secular Delegates signifie, that they think not fit that the Letters should be publicly read, and that the Remonstrants should immediately be call'd in. They being entered, the *Præses* askt them whether they were ready to obey the Orders

set

set down by the States & the Synod : They require to have their Letters read : but the Seculars willed them, instead of reading their Letters, to hearken to a Decree of the States, and forthwith was read a Decree sounding to this purpose : that the States strictly commanded, that nothing should be read or spoken in the Synod in prejudice of the Decree made yesterday ; but that they should without any further delay come to the business in hand. The Remonstrants reply, that except they may most freely propose their minds in both the parts of Predestination, both Election and Reprobation, they refused to go further in Conference, for that their *Conscience* would not permit them. The *Præses* replied, that for liberty of proposal of their opinions they could not complain ; for the Synod had given them *Libertatem Christianam, æquam, justam* : but such an absolute Liberty as they seemed to require, of going as far as they list, of opposing before the Synod what opinions they pleased of learned men, this they thought unfit. And as for Conscience, they knew that the Word of God was the rule of it. Now what part of Scripture had they that favoured them in this behalf, or that did take any order and prescribe a Method in Disputation. By thus stiffly urging their Conscience they did exceedingly wrong the Decree of the States and Synod, as if by them something against the word of God, some impiety were commanded. When the *Præses* had thus said, he began to propose unto them certain Interrogatories concerning the Five Articles. Your honour may be pleased to call to mind, that in one of my former Letters I shewed, that because the Remonstrants had given up their opinions very perplexedly and imperfectly, the Synod had thought good that the *Præses* should propose them certain questions out of their own Writings, so the better to wrest their meaning from them. This was the *Præses* now beginning to do ; and this was the cause of the bringing in of the Books. The Interrogatory proposed was this, Whether or no they did acknowledge that the Articles exhibited in the *Hague Conference* did contain their opinions? *Episcopus* stepped up, and required that it might be lawful for them to set down their own Tenents, and not be forced to answer thus to other mens Writings. H. Leo in choler told the *Præses*, that he did evidently see, that it was the drift of the Synod, to discredit them with the Magistrate,



and that for his own part he would rather leave his Ministry, than make any answer to these Interrogatories. The *Præses* here advised him to bethink himself seriously, whether his Conscience could assure him that this was a good cause of leaving his Ministry; because he might not proceed in Disputation according as he thought fit. *Wezekius* answered, that he would not submit to this *examen*, and *nisi posset liberrimè agi*, he would not answer at all. The same was the sense of *Hollingerus* his answer. *Episcopus* plainly told them *nisi in omnibus liberum esset* to do as they thought good, they would go no farther. For we are resolved, saith he, *agere pro judicio nostro, non pro judicio Synodi*: then one of the Seculars stepped up, and willed those words should be noted. The *Præses* then told them, that the true cause of all this their indisposition was, that they forgot themselves to be *Citati*, and that they were not acquainted with being commanded. They were to remember, that they stood before God, before their Magistrate, and that their cause was the cause of the Church, whose peace would not be procured by this behaviour. They might remember what they told the Forreign Divines in their Letters to them, that there was of late a great *Metamorphosis* in the State. *Non estis nunc iudices & Domini rerum, sed Citati*: but at it seemed, they were resolved to suffer, *omnino nullum judicium de iis fieri*. *Episcopus* here urged his Conscience. *Adde Verbum Dei* then saith the *Præses*, shew us upon what Text of Scripture you ground your Conscience, otherwise you wrong both the Magistrate and the Synod. *Corvinus* answered, that that scantling of Liberty, which the Synod gave them, did not suffice their Consciences. *Poppius* likewise required larger Liberty, and that he might not be dealt withall by Authority, but by Reason. The *Præses* answered, that in Conscience he could not give them greater Liberty, than they had already given them, and therefore askt him if he would answer to the Interrogatories. He stoutly replied, *Malo quidvis pati. Sapma* replied to the same purpose, and over and above added, *Ut nostrum judicium, non satisfacit Synodo, ita nec Synodi Judicium nostro*. *Rickwardius* told the Synod, that they dealt not charitably with them, and openly protested, as *Episcopus* had before done, *non agemus pro judicio Synodi, sed pro judicio nostro*. The *Præses* replied, *vocem hanc esse intolerandam*. *Niellius* excepted against

gainst this proceeding with them *capitatum*, and requir'd that they might consult in common what answer to give. For my self saith he, I am a man of no ready speech, and unfit for suddain disputation. Too great advantage is taken against men, by this kind of proceeding. Many members of the Synod, were they thus singled out to give a suddain answer, might easily peradventure be put to some distress. *Nullam esse causam tam justam, de qua non facile possit triumphari, si de ea agatur tantum pro arbitrio adversarii.* The *Præses* told them, that here was nothing required, but that they would give a reason of their Faith, which they had for this many years taught in their Pulpits, and in their Writings, and therefore they could not be unprovided to give an answer; and for that they mentioned the Synod as an Adversary, they had been already taught sufficiently by the Forreign Divines, that the Synod could not be counted *pars adversari*: they answered, that they required a Copy of the reasons given by the Forreign Divines, that they might consider of them; but they were denyed it. Here was by one of them, I know not whom, a reply made, that the Remonstrants in refusing to proceed except they might freely handle the point of Reprobation, did no other than the Contra-Remonstrants had formerly done in the *Hague Conference*, who there openly refused to proceed, if they were urged to have the same point handled; notwithstanding the command of the Magistrate. *Festus Hommius* replied, that the narration was falsified; for the Contra-Remonstrants did not simply refuse to deal in the point of Reprobation; neither did the Magistrate command them to do it, as now he had commanded them. And thus much did some of the Secular Deputies stand up and give witness unto. *Episcopus* here urged some words out of the Conference, to prove what was said; but what these words were I could not take. The *Præses* went forward to propose the Interrogatories: *Goswinus* and *Neranus* answer'd as their fellows had formerly done. *Isaacus Frederici* urged for himself, that when he was removed from being a Member of the Synod, he was commanded *conjungere se Citatis*: this he could not do, if thus he was commanded to answer for himself alone. The *Præses* answered, that by the Decree of the States they were accounted no Colledge; but only as they were cited, so were they to answer *Capitatum* and by Poll. And

And as for *Isaacs* since he knew that the Synod accounted of him as of one of the *Citati*, he could not be ignorant that his quality was the same with theirs. *Isaacs* answered that he had evermore been averse from sudden disputations, and therefore he meant not to answer. Here it was denied by some of the Remonstrants, that the States had made any Decree that they should thus give answer *capitativ*. The Delegates for the Seculars stood up, and signified *viva voce*, that they had decreed it. *Episcopius* answered, that the Scribe (*Heinsius*) used some such words, but he took it to have been only some phrase of *Heinsius*, not any Decree of the Lords. *Heinsius* replied that he did nothing but what he was commanded. *Episcopius* protested, that till that hour he never heard that by any Decree of the States they were enjoined to answer thus singly, and by Poll. *Poppius* signified that he thought it a thing very unfitting both his age and his Ministry, to submit himself to such a *Pedagogica collatio*, as sometimes by *Martinus Gregorii* it had been styled. The *Præses* then askt them all in general, whether they did persist in this their answer. They all replied, *Tea*. The Remonstrants therefore being dismiss, the *Præses* required the Synod to think what course they would take to proceed, protesting that he thought that all Liberty befitting was granted unto them: and calling in the Remonstrants again, and advising them to consider what they did: they all replied, that they were resolved, *non capitativ, sed conjunctim respondere*. The President of the Politicks commanded them, that without peculiar leave granted, none of them should go out of the Town. The *Præses Ecclesiasticus* advising the Synod to think of some course of gathering the Remonstrants opinions out of their Books, since they could not get them from themselves, dismiss the Company.

The same day after dinner was there a Session, but very private, neither was any stranger permitted to be there. Wherefore a Relation of that Session I must give only upon hearsay. Which I would now have done, but that I hasten to the Session this morning. And I understand that the Synod will dispatch some of their Company to the States General, to signify how matters stand, and to know their further pleasure. I will here therefore shut up my Letters, reserving the rest of the News till the

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the next occasion, and commending your Honour to Gods good  
Protection I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 17. of Decemb. Your Honours Chaplain, and  
1618. bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

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*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

**T**He State of our Synod now suffers a great crisis, and one way or other there must be an alteration. For either the Remonstrant must yield, and submit himself to the Synod, of which I see no great probability: or else, the Synod must vail to them, which to do, farther than it hath already done, I see not how it can stand with their Honour. How the case stood at the last Friday Session, your Honour may perceive by my Letters written upon Saturday. Three things there were mainly urged by the Synod; and as mainly withstood by the Remonstrants. The first was the point of order to be held in discussing the Articles: whether the question of Reprobation were to be handled after the five Articles, as the Synod would have had it, because it is none of the five points, and by order from the States nothing ought to be determined of till the five be discuss: or whether it should be handled in the first place, as the Remonstrants would have it, because, as they pretended, their doubts lay especially there, and that being cleared, they thought they should shew good conformity in the rest. The second thing, was the putting of Interrogatories, which thing they much disdained as Pedagogical. The Third was the liberty of Disputation which was to be given the Remonstrants, whether it were to be limited and circumscribed by the discretion of the Synod, or large and unlimited, accordingly as it pleased the Remonstrants. So strongly in these points did the Remonstrants withstand the Synod, that on Friday last it was verily thought they would have gone their way, and left the Commissioners to determine without them. But the Synod bearing an inclination to peace, and wisely considering the nature of their people, resolved yet farther, though they had yielded sufficiently unto them already,

already, yet to try a little more, the rather to stay the clamour of the Country, and cut off all suspicion of Partial dealing. And for this purpose called a private Session on Friday in the Evening, to mollify some things in their Decrees and Proceedings. From that Session all strangers were excluded, and what I write I do only upon Relation. The sum of it was this. The *Præses* much complain'd him of the perplexity he was in, by reason of the pertinacy of the Remonstrants. For, saith he, if we labour to keep them here, they will be but a hindrance to us, as hitherto they have been, if we dismiss them, we shall hazard our credit among the people, as if we purpos'd only to do what we please. Whatsoever it is that here we do, is by some that come hither and write all they hear, presently eliminated, and carried to them, which hath caused many hard reports to pass of us, both with them and elsewhere. He therefore commended to the Synod to consider whether there might not be found some means of accommodation, which might somewhat mollify the Remonstrant, and yet stand well with the Honour of the Synod. And first, to make way, they read the Letters which in the morning by publick Decree of the States were forbidden to be read (*a pretty matter in so grave a place, to break those edicts in the Evening, which but in the Morning had been so solemnly proclaimed*) and to speak truth, their Decrees have hitherto been mere matter of formality to affright them a little, for none of them have been kept; (as being found to be Powder without Shot, and give a clap, but do no harm.) The Letters being read they began to deliver their minds. Some thought the Synod had been too favourable to the Remonstrants already, and that it were best now not to hold them if they would be going, since hitherto they had been, and for any thing appeared to the contrary, meant hereafter to be a hindrance to all Peaceable and orderly proceedings. Others on the contrary thought fit that all should be granted them which they required, to surcease the Interrogatories, to let them speak of Reprobation in what place, in what manner, and how much they pleased, since this took from them all pretence of exception, and prejudiced not the Synods power of determining what they pleased. A third sort thought it better to hold a middle course and under colour of Explanation, to mollifie some of their Decrees. This  
 sort



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fort prevailed; and accordingly it was concluded that the Decree of the Synod ( of this decree I gave your Honour the sum in my Saturday Letters ) made in the morning, should be more largely and Significantly drawn, and withall in it should be expressed how far it pleased the Synod to be indulgent unto the Remonstrants in the points in Question. The Forraign Divines were requested, that they would conceive some Reasons by way of Answer to these late exceptions of the Remonstrants, and give them up in writing the next Session, to try whether by these means they might make them a little to relent. This is all was done that Session, which though it seem but litle, yet being handled with much and long Speaking among so many, took up a long time.

On Munday the 11 of December, in the Morning the Synod being set, *Johannes Polyander* made a Latin Sermon. His Theme was the seventh verse of the two and fiftieth of *Isaiah*. *O quam speciosi in montibus*, &c. he spake much of the greatness of Ecclesiastical Function; First in regard of their dignity in the word *speciosi*; Secondly of their industry, in the word *Montibus*, which argues them either to be *Pastores* or *Speculatores*; Thirdly of the suavity of their Doctrine in the word *Peace* and *Good things*; After this he fell Pathetically to bewail the torn State of the *Belgick* Churches: and to commend the diligence of the Synod in endeavouring to establish their Churches Peace. This was the sum of his Sermon, it being only a passionate strain, and containing nothing much Remarkable either for Doctrine or News. The *Præses* in the Name of the Synod gave him great thanks: and signified that he had many causes *Sperare optima queque de Synodo*: but that Gods good Spirit was indeed amongst them, he gathered especially by this Argument, that so many Learned and Pious Sermons had in this place been lately made: and so he dismissed the Company.

Concerning *Monsieur Moulins* proposition, of which your Honour required my opinion, thus I think. His project consists of two heads, of a General Confession, and of a peaceable treaty for Union with the *Lutheran* Churches. I imagine that the Generality of the Confessions must not include the *Lutheran*. For if it doth, then are both parts of his proposition the same: it being the same thing to procure one general Confession of Faith

and a Union. Supposing then that this Confession stretches not to them, I will do as *Jupiter* doth in *Homer*, τῷ δ' ἑταρον ἔδανε πᾶτις, ἑταρον δ' ἀνένευγεν. I will grant him one part, and deny him the other. For a general Confession of Faith, at least so far as those Churches stretch who have Delegates here in the Synod, I think his project very possible, there being no point of Faith in which they differ. If therefore the Churches shall give power to their Delegates, to propose it to the Synod, I see no reason but it should pass. But I did not like the intimation concerning Church-Government. It had I think been better not mentioned: not that I think it possible that all Churches can be Govern'd alike ( for the *French Church* being *sub cruce* cannot well set up Episcopal jurisdiction ) but because it may seem to his Majesty of Great Britain, that his excepting the point of Government might not proceed so much from the consideration of the Impossibility of the thing, as from want of love and liking of it in the Person. Now for that part of the proposition which concerns the *Lutheran*, either it aims at a Union in Opinion or a mutual toleration. The first is without all question impossible. For in the point of the Sacrament and the dependences from it, as the ubiquity of *Christs* manhood, the Person of *Christ*, the *Communicatio idiomatum*, &c. Either they must yield to us, or we to them, neither of which probable. Their opinions have now obtain'd for a Hundred years, ever since the beginning of the Reformation, and are derived from the chief Author of the Reformation. It is not likely therefore that they will easily fall, that have such Authority and so many years to uphold them. But I suppose, *Monsieur Moulines* intended only a mutual toleration; and be it no more, yet if we consider the indisposition of the persons with whom we are to deal, I take this likewise to be impossible. The *Lutherans* are divided into two sorts, either they are *Molliores*, as they call them, or *Rigidi*. What hope there may be of moderation in the first I know not, but in the second we may well despair of. For they so bear themselves, as that it is evident they would rather agree with the Church of *Rome*, than with the *Calvinist*. He that is conversant in the writings of *Hunnins* and *Grawerus*, will quickly think as I do. The first of which hath so bitterly written against *Calvin*, that *Parsons* the Jesuit furnisht himself by compiling *Hunnins* his Books. If the whole lump

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lump be Leaven'd, as those two pieces, which I but now named, they are certainly too sowre for Moderate men to deal with. The French wits are naturally active and projecting: and withall carry evermore a favourable conceit to the Possibility of their projects. Out of this French conceit I suppose proceeded this of *M. Monlins*.

Mr. Dean went away to the *Hague*, giving notice to no man. I understood not till dinner that day, of any intent he had to go. I wisht him an ill journey for this discourtesy; but I hope he had a good one. I fear I well wearied your Honour with these my long Letters, I will therefore take my leave, commending your Lordship to Gods good protection.

*Dort, 1. of January,  
Stylo novo. 1619.*

*Your Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty, Jo. Hales.*

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*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

**W**Hat hath lately been done at the *Hague* in the business concerning our Synod, and what Decree the States have made to restrain the exorbitancy of the Remonstrants, I suppose is sufficiently known unto your Lordship, as a thing done in your presence. So much therefore of it as shall serve the present purpose I will take, and leave the rest to your Honours better knowledge. Upon Thursday the third of *January stylo novo*, the Commissioners being met, and the Delegates ready to declare the pleasure of the States, the Remonstrants being call'd in, two of them were found wanting, *Isaacus Friderici*, and *Henricus Leo*: for *Isaacus* it was answered, that he had leave on Friday last, of the *Prætor* of the Town to go abroad: for *Leo* it was answered, that they knew not where he was. Having sent for *Leo*, and a while in vain expected him, the Delegates proceeded to declare the will of the Lords, and signified that the States allowed the Proceedings of the Synod, and commanded the Remonstrants to obey for the present, and whatsoever Decrees hereafter the Delegates and Synod should enact; and if they refused to obey, they should expect, both Civil and Ecclesiastical censure. If this served not yet the Synod should go forward, and

gather their opinions out of their Books and writings; That the Remonstrants should be commanded to remain in the Town, and be ready to appear whensoever the Synod should summon them, and answer plainly and directly to such Interrogatories as it should please the Synod to propose them. This first was read in Dutch, and afterwards for the information of the Forreigners it was put into Latin. The *Præses* then put to them that Question, which in one of the former Sessions he had proposed *viz.* Whether or no they did acknowledge the Articles set down in the Hague Conference to contain their opinions, and amongst the rest, that first concerning Election; which by the Scribe was read unto them out of the Book. *Episcopus* beginning to make answer, *Martinus Gregorii* commanded that their answers should be taken and set down in their own words. *Episcopus* his answer was this. *Omnibus in timore Domini expensis, & adjunctis etiam ad Deum precibus, non possum impetrare ab anima mea, ut aliam agendi rationem sequar, quam eam quæ ultimo responso meo exhibitæ est.* This their answer, of which he speaks, was given on Saturday last, as I have informed your Honour, and it was this, That except the Synod *in antecessum*, as they spake, would beforehand promise them that they should have free Liberty to propose their own opinion of Reprobation, and refute the Contra-Remonstrants Doctrine in that point, together with the Doctrine of all those whom the Contra-Remonstrants held for Orthodox, and that as far as they pleased without receiving any check from the Synod, they were resolved to go no further. The same was the answer of the rest, with some alteration of Words; for they were questioned one by one, every one by himself. *Hollingerius* answered, that he could not *eam recipere legem, eamque ingredi viam*, which tended openly to the ruin and oppression of the better cause. For by so doing he should grievously wound his Conscience before God, and cast *irreparabile scandalum* before the true worshippers of God. *Imitabor itaque exemplum Christi: Silebo, & omnem eventum commendabo illi qui venturus est ad iudicandum vivos & mortuos.* *Neranus* spake after the same manner, and added, that the Reasons why they thus thought themselves bound to answer, they had exhibited this Morning to the Secular Delegates. *Poppius* gave answer thus, *Respondeo, cum debita erga summas Potestates reverentia, me invocato sanctissimo Dei nomi-*

nomine, & re tota etiam atque etiam expensa apud animum meum, non posse desistere ab ultimo meo responso. Exhibuimus rationes Dominis Delegatis in quibus etiamnam acquiesco, certo persuasus id quod facio Deo Optimo maximo & Christo Jesu probatum iri. Martinus Gregorii advised him here to bethink himself a little whether or no he spake not these words in Passion (for he seemed to be somewhat Cholerick.) He replyed, that he spake them with his best advice. The Præses perceiving that they were resolved not to Answer, concluding the questions which he had proposed, thought that the Synod might without scruple accept of the first Article in their Remonstrance at the Hague, for their proper tenent. He proceeded therefore to propose unto them another Interrogatory: Whether or no that Decree which they spake of in that first Article, did contain the whole Decree of Election, and so were the main ground of Christianity; or whether there were not some Decree besides this. The behaviour and answers of the Remonstrants carried the same Copy of Countenance with the former, and Poppius plainly answered, *Quia conscientia mea à Synodo non habetur ratio, non expecto ab ea instructionem in veritate: ideoque consultum non est respondere.* The Præses then citing some Texts out of Johannes Arnoldi, and Arminius, and the Hague Conference, concluded that it was their opinion, that besides that Decree mentioned in the Conference, they acknowledged no farther Decree of Election. In the third place this question was put to the Remonstrants: whether when they taught, that God chose Man *propter fidem prævisam*, this were not rather to be called an Election of (Faith) than of the person; since the person was chosen for the qualities sake. But they were still the same. Neramus was the man that gave it, but it was the common answer of the n all: *Si liceat nobis de Reprobatione, & Contra-Remonstrantium sententia super ea agere quantum nobis conscientia nostra & Ecclesiarum nostrarum edificatio persuadebit sufficere, & hoc nobis in antecessum promittatur, libenter ad quesita respondebimus: si minus, silere malumus.* Now because they had often appealed to their Reasons exhibited in *Scripto* to the Secular Delegates that Morning, the Delegates thought good to read the writing in the Audience of the Synod. It contained almost no new thing, but was a repetition of their old exceptions, that their Liberty was prejudiced, that the Synod was *pars adversa* ( and for farther  
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illustration of this, they reckoned up all the sharp speeches that either *Scultetus* or the Divines of *Geneva*, or any other had used against them) that their Consciences would not allow of this manner of proceeding, &c.

This last Night was there a private meeting, not by way of Session, but only it was a Conference to which some of the Graver and Discreeter of the Synod were called. The end was only to advise what course is best to be holden in the following disputations. It was thought fit that the Remonstrants should alwayes be present at their meetings; and questions should be proposed them: but the Synod should proceed whether they answered or no: and so they concluded of a course to gather their opinions out of their Books. Mr. *Amyes* will inform your Lordship more largely peradventure in some farther circumstances. His sudden and unexpected departure hath made me scribe up this, more rudely and concisely than I had intended, because I was loth to miss of so good a Messenger. Wherefore I cease any further to trouble your Honour, and remit you to Mr. *Amyes* larger Relation.

Dort this Fourth of  
January, *stylo novo*. 1619.

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
Bounden in all Duty and Service,  
Jo. Hales.

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

U Pon Wednesday the ninth of *January, stylo novo*, the Synod met not at all. Time was given the Deputies to advise of the *Theses* which were to be handled: only at Night the English went in private to the *Præses* to consult what manner of proceeding were fittest to be used. What counsel they gave him I know not: but this I see, that the course he taketh is not altogether so well approved by them. Upon Thursday the tenth of *January* the Commissioners met in the morning in private, where Mr. *Præses* proposed unto them four things to be considered of. First whether or no the *Theses* proposed by him formerly did not perfectly contain the opinion of the Remonstrants. Secondly,

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*An electio sit una an Multiplex*, that so he might exclude the Remonstrants Division of Election in *Revocabilem & irrevocabilem*; *completam & incompletam*, &c. Thirdly, *An electio sit ex fide & obedientia, an potius ad fidem & obedientiam*. For this is one main point of difference: the Remonstrant teaches that God foresaw only who would believe, and so ordained and Elec<sup>t</sup>ed only to Glory: The Contra-Remonstrant teacheth, that God ordained who should believe, and so Predestinated and Elec<sup>t</sup>ed both to Grace and Glory. The fourth thing proposed was concerning the means how true believers become sure of their Salvation. After this the Synod was requested to deliver themselves concerning a Method of proposing and examining the *Theses* proposed. The greatest part of them liked well of that form which the *Præses* proposed. The *English*, the *South-Hollanders* and *Festus Hommius* conceived severally a form of *Theses*, every man according to his discretion, and exhibited them to the judgement of the Synod, and had them publickly read: this was the summe of that meeting. A Copy of the *Theses* drawn by our *Englishmen* I will send your Honour, as soon as I can procure the sight of them.

The same day at Evening the Deputies met in private as before. They continued yet their consultation upon the point of manner of proceeding. The *Præses* invented certain new Interrogatories and propounded them to the Synod, to know their minds whether it were not fit to propose them to the Remonstrants. There was great doubt whether this were a thing fit to be done, since it is not likely that the Remonstrants behaviour in this behalf will be any other than hitherto it had been. This question, as it seems, was the greatest part of their consultation. It was at length Concluded that the Remonstrants should be called in, and the Interrogatories put to them, the next Session. This Morning therefore we look for an open Session, where we shall understand the last nights Interrogatories, and the whole business of that Session. For I must confess I do not well conceive what was then done, or to what purpose. I perceive there is some variance about their form of proceeding: Mr. *Præses* is desirous that the course he hath thought of may take place; the *English* and others, that some more ready and compendious way may be taken. What will be the

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the Issue of it, I cannot yet conjecture; as soon as I can understand any thing, I will acquaint your Honour, till when I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 11<sup>th</sup> of January:  
1619.

Tour Honours Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty, and service,  
Jo. Hales.

I suppose Mr. Amyes can better inform your Honour of this last nights business. He hath been much with the *Præses*, and I imagine understands most of his intent.

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

Y Our Lordship by your kind Letters doth ingage me so far, as I should think it not the least part of my happiness, if I could but hit on any way whereby I might express, in any proportion, my thankfulness for the same; but since that cannot be, acknowledgement of *non solvendo* must pass for satisfaction. In that Letter which I wrote to my Lord of Buckingham, (wherein I mentioned your Lordships wonderful kindness to me) I entreated his Lordship to move his Majesty, that either by my Lord of Canterbury his Letters, or Mr. Secretaries, I being joyned with the *English*, we might make up one *Collegium Theologorum Magnæ Britannia*: Now this last week my Lord sent me word, that he gave my Letter to the King, who did read it over, and liked the motion well, and so accordingly gave order for it: he sent me word likewise that the King had the *Episcopii Theses* which I sent, and that he was mightily incensed at them. So my very good Lord, I am well satisfied in that point; for we have now divided the business among us. D. Ward his part assigned to him is, *Impugnatio Decreti de salvandis fidelibus, & unico Decreto prædestinationis*: My Lord of Landaff his part is, *Responsio ad Argumenta Remonstrantium, quibus prius illud decretum conantur stabilire*: D. Goad his part, *Impugnatio Electionis peremptoriæ ex fide prævisa*: and *demonstratio hujus Propositionis, quod fides sit fructus Electionis*, which doth coincide with the other. D. Davenant his part is, *Orthodoxæ sententiæ assertio, & vindicatio*

*dicatio rationum Contra Remonstrantium ab objectionibus Remonstrantium in utroque membro.* My part is, *Solutio omnium argumentorum quæ afferunt Remonstrantes contra Orthodoxam sententiam.* The confusion here in handling of business is very great; they do not know how to put any thing to Committees to agree of business, and then afterward to propound it to the Synod to be approved or disproved; which hath been the custom observed in all Councils and Synods: but nothing is known till it be propounded in the Synod, and then there are almost as many several voices as heads; if your Lordship would give your advice to some of the Estates in this kind, it may be they would apprehend it, and we should bring business to some issue. The *Palatine Divines* and we have met now three times, and we have agreed on the same Propositions, and have resolved to call one of every Colledge of the *Forreign Divines*, and communicate the same with them; that so, if it be possible, all we strangers may set up, and throw down the same Conclusions. For the *Provincials*, for any thing I can see, they are so far set against the Remonstrants, I wish not their persons as well as their opinions, that I am afraid they will not like well of our Moderation. For the *Dismission* of the Remonstrants, since your Lordship is pleased to take notice of it, I hope I may without offence say that it was such, as certainly did the Synod much wrong. On Friday when they seemed to yield, then the *Exteri Theologi* could not be heard for the continuing of them in the Synod. Nay the trick which was put upon them was a little too palpable; For the *Delegates* had their Decree of *Dismission* written before they came into the Synod, yet our voices were asked, hoping it should have been answerable to their Decree: but finding it was otherwise, without so much as laying their heads together for consultation, they published a Decree which they brought written with them into the Synod. On Munday the late Acts of the Remonstrants incredible obstinacy being read; the *Theologi exteri* gave suffrages for their dismissal; onely one to wit *Steinius* gave a bitter sentence; their voices being asked only, who are not above a third part of the Synod, they were called in and dismissed with such powdering speech as I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard with grief enough, I protest I am much afflicted when I think of it. For if the Remonstrants should write, that the President pronounced

nounced a sentence, which was not the sentence of the Synod, they should not lie. The Civil Lawyers and Cannon of *France*, who write much about the formalities omitted in the Council of *Trent*, urge Exceptions of less moment than these; so neither was there above a *Third part of the voices asked, ex. quibus sententia ferri nequit*: neither was the sentence conceived in writt; and approved by the Synod, and the bitter words in the Sentence were not the words of any of the suffrages, unless that some of them were spoken by one man only. Your Lordships Censure of that Sentence is just and honourable. Mr. Dean of *Worcester* at his going from hence, with the Remembrance of his service to your Lordship, desired me to signifie to your Lordship, that he could not possibly meet with *Deodatus*. The Remonstrants, (as *Heinsius* but now told me) have sent a very virulent and bitter writing to Mr. *Bogarmanne*, it may be now we shall hear of it at the Synod, whither we are going: so with the remembrance of my humblest Duty and service to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, I must conclude a Petitioner, that your Lordship would ever be pleased to reckon among your true observers.

*Dort, this 13 of Febr.*  
1618.

*Your very dutiful, and  
faithful Servant,  
W. Belcanqual.*

*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

I Thath pleased the Synod at length finally to discharge themselves of the Remonstrants, and to proceed according as they had projected by gathering their opinions out of their Books. The manner of their dismissal was this. Upon Munday the 14 of *January* the Commissioners being set, the *Præses Politicus* made a short speech to this purpose. That they had hitherto laboured as much as in them lay to have the Decree of the Estates to be kept, and to bring the Remonstrants to some reasonable resolution. And for this purpose had upon Saturday last in the afternoon, covented them and advised them to give up their opinions, quietly, orderly, freely, and to refute the contrary



trary as much as they thought fit, reserving alwayes to the Synod Authority to judge of what was convenient, what was sufficient, without which it could be no Synod. That they had undertaken in their behalf, that the Synod should so mannage the business, that they should have no just cause to complain. But all this labour was lost, neither would they be brought to relinquish their former plea; for in a writing exhibited unto them they signified so much in effect, in which writing they referred themselves to such conditions as had been by them partly *scripto*, partly *viva voce* formerly required. Wherefore they thought fit that it should be proposed to the Synod to judge whether or no there had not been sufficient order taken to give contentment to the Remonstrants, if at least any thing could content them. Yet they thought it convenient once more to call the Remonstrants before them, to see whether they would leave their holdfast and submit to the Synod. If no, then they should without any farther delay proceed to judge of their opinions by collecting them out of their Writings. This was the sum of that speech. The writing mentioned by the *Præses Politicus* in his speech was then read first in *Dutch*, then in *Latin*, in which the Remonstrants, declared that they would submit themselves to the Synod upon such conditions as had been formerly required, otherwise no. After this was the Synod requested to deliver their opinions, whether order sufficient to content the Remonstrants had not been taken. It was judged generally that more could not be granted them than had already been, which was they thought abundantly sufficient. *Sculdetus* did in brief give as it were a History or rather an Inventory of the Remonstrants behaviour since their first appearance before the Synod, and shewed how contumeliously they had handled it, how they had contemned the Decrees of the Seculars and of the Synod, that they had abused them with lyes, deceitful speeches, &c. And concluded that it was unfit the Synod should farther condescend unto them. When the Forreigners had spoken, it was thought sufficient, neither did the *Præses* proceed to ask the judgement of the Provincials, knowing belike before what it was. The Remonstrants then being called in, the *Præses* signified to them that upon Friday Morning they had given good hope of peaceable dealing, and at least in shew seemed to forgoe such conditions as they

had formerly claimed, he was now in the name of the Synod to require them to answer Categorically, yea or no, *an volunt simpliciter & sine conditione parere Decreto Ordinum & Synodi & ita simpliciter venire in rem presentem.* The Remonstrants for answer require that they may be permitted to read a short writing which they had conceived, it was answered that it needed not, there was no more required, but their yea or no, but they persisted in their proposal, the Writing was taken and delivered to the Seculars to be perused, and they commanded to withdraw. Their writing was read, wherein having signified, how welcome the moderation held by the Forreigners lately was unto them; whereas they were enjoined to obey the Synodical Decree, or look for punishment, their answer was that it could not stand with their Conscience to promise Obedience to all Synodical Decrees, since many of them stood not with common Equity, and as for Mult and punishment, they left it to the Discretion of those to whose Government they were subject; they would provide their patience. That they intend not to contest with the Synod concerning order: that they promised to submit: but with such conditions as they had heretofore mentioned. Thus as the *Præses* said, what they gave with the one hand, with the other they took away again. The Remonstrants being again called in, they were asked every man whether they acknowledged this answer, they all replied they did, and so were commanded to subscribe their Names to it, which forthwith was done. The *Præses* then bespake them on this manner. "The moderation of the Forreigners which you so much extolled, proceeded out of their Errour which to day having understood, they have pronounced concerning you another sentence.

"Upon Friday last when you seemed to disclaim all illimited Liberty, and gave hope of some Conformity, they dealt with the Synod in favour of you: but to day understanding you to abuse the Synod, and fly back again to your former claim, they all with one consent think you *indignos esse quibuscum diutius res agatur.* One amongst them there is who hath taken the paines to Mappe out your behaviour since your first footing in the Synod. Pretend you what you will, the true cause of this your indisposition is this, that you take the Synod for the Adverse part, and account your selves in Equal place with them, this conceit hath manifested it self in all your actions. These upon the questi-

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“on in controversy you gave up, but so confused, so nothing to the  
“purpose that no use can be made of them. The Decrees of the  
“Synod you have openly contemned. The Interrogatories put  
“you, you have refused to answer. Your Citatory Letters notwithstanding the sense of them was expounded by those who  
“gave them, and therefore best knew it, you have interpreted as  
“you list, and profest that you will proceed according to your  
“own judgement, and not according to the judgment of the Synod. At length on Friday last you seemed to lay by your claim  
“of illimited Liberty and give some hope of some conformity;  
“but all this in your writing now exhibited you have retracted.  
“The Synod hath dealt mildly, gently and favourably with you,  
“but *sinceritatem, lenitatem, mansuetudinem Synodi, fraudes, artes & mendacia opposuistis*. I will dismiss you with no other Elogie than  
“one of the Forreigners gave you, *quo capistis pede eodem cedite*,  
“with a lye you made your entrance into the Synod, with a lye  
“you take your leave of it, in denying lately that ever you protested your selves provided to give answer on the Articles, or to  
“have had any such writing ready, which all the Synod knows  
“to be false. Your actions all have been full of fraud, equivocations and deceit. That therefore the Synod may at length piously  
“and peaceably proceed to the perfecting of that business for  
“which it is come together, you are dismissed. But assure you the  
“Synod shall make known your pertinacy, to all the Christian  
“World, and know that the *Belgick Churches* want not *arma spiritualia*, with which in time convenient they will proceed against  
“you. *Quamobrem vos Delegatorum & Synodi nomine dimitto, Exite*. So with much muttering the Remonstrants went out; and  
“*Episcopus* going away said, *Dominus Deus judicabit de fraudibus & mendaciis*: *Sapama, Exeo ex ecclesia malignantium*: and so the  
“Synod brake up.

The same day at night there was a private Session; what was done in it I understand not yet. I conjecture it was concerning the order of proceeding. As soon as I shall understand what was done I will acquaint Your Lordship with it, and till then I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 4. of January.  
1618.

Your Honours Chaplain  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.  
Right:

*Right Honourable, my very good Lord.*

SINCE the Dismission of the Remonstrants there hath not been any publick Session, and as I conjecture for a while will not be. They are altogether in Consultation concerning their order of proceeding, and in gathering materials out of the Remonstrants Books, whence they may Frame their *Theses* and propositions which must be the subject of their disputation. This they purpose, as I conceive, to do throughout all the five Articles, before they come to the open discussing of any one, for they are past from the first, and gone on to the second. So that till this Consultation be ended there will not be any great occasion of news.

Against Mr. *Praeses* sorough handling the Remonstrants at their Dismission, there are some exceptions taken by the Deputies themselves. The Forreigners think themselves a little indirectly dealt withal, in that it being proposed to the whole Synod to pass their judgement concerning the behaviour of the Remonstrants, the *Provincials* were not at all required to speak, and by these means the envy of the whole business was derived upon the Forreigners. Whereas on the contrary when the like question was proposed formerly, and the Forreigners had spoken very favourably in the Remonstrants behalf, the *Provincials* struck in, and establishd a rigid sentence against the Forreigners liking. So that there is little regard given to the judgement of the Forreigners, except they speak as the *Provincials* would have them. Again, upon the Tuesday Session in the morning, there being a repetition made, according to the custom of the late Synodical acts, when they came to the act of the Remonstrants Dismission, *Lud. Crocius* of *Breme* signified that he perceived that Mr. *Praeses* in that business had been paulo commotior, and had let slip, *verba quaedam acerba*, which might well have been spared; that in so great an act, as that was, a little more advice and consideration might have been used. The Synod ought to have been consulted with, and a form of Dismission conceived and approved of by all, which should in the name of the Synod have been pronounced, and registred; whereas now the Synod stands indicted of all that unnecessary roughness which then was practised. It had stood better with the Honor of the Synod

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Synod to have held a more peaceable and passionless order. The *Præses* replied, That for Dismissing the Remonstrants without a Synodical form, it was from the Secular Lords, who willed him immediately to proceed. What his apologie was for his passionate speeches I know not. The Session was in private, and I have nothing but by relation. I hear nothing yet from Mr. *Præses* concerning the *French* project: as soon as I shall hear ought, I will not fail to acquaint your Honor, till when I humbly take my leave.

Dort, 17. January,  
1618.

Your Honors Chaplain, and  
Bounden in all Duty  
Jo. Hales.

The bringer of this Letter is Sir *John Berks* Son.

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Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Y Our Honour shall here receive the Decree of the Synod mentioned in my last Letters, containing the form of proceeding which they will hold in discussing the Articles. The morning they mean the Deputies shall spend in private, after dinner in open Synod the chief places of Scripture upon which the Remonstrant grounds himself shall be opened, and answers fram'd to the Arguments drawn from thence. According to which resolution they began to proceed upon *Thursday* the 7. of *Janu.* in the Evening. The question proposed then was, *An præter Decretum de salvandis fidelibus, nullum sit aliud Decretum Electionis.* The Remonstrant affirms there is none, and for this produces certain places of Scripture. The Contra-Remonstrant grants that there is such a Decree, but withal contends that this is but a Secondary Decree. For God (saith he) first resolved upon the Salvation of some certain singular persons, and in the second place decreed to give them Faith as a means to bring the former Decree to pass. But before this question came on the stage, other things were done at that time. The Synod therefore being met, at the time mentioned, First the Letters from the States concerning *D. Goads* Admission were read, and after that, some were sent to his Lodging to conduct him.



him to the Synod. In the mean time were there Letters from Mr. Dean to the Synod produced and read, together with a form of Valediction and farewell, by him conceived. I suppose Mr. Dean acquainted your Honor with the thing whilst he was with you, which is the cause I have not sent a transcript of it: as soon as I understand your Lordship hath not seen it, I will cause a Copy of it to be taken. It was then concluded by the Synod that the *Præses*, and Assessor, together with the Seculars Scribe, should, after the Synod was ended, repair to Mr. Dean, and take their leave of him in the name of all the rest, and by him commend their love and service unto his Majesty, and render him humble thanks for his princely care. All which the same night was done. Now was Dr. Goade come to the Synod, and according to the manner, conducted to his seat, where being sate, he made a short speech, which being ended, the Synod proceeded to discuss the question above mention'd. The Decree is, that the Professors shall expound those places of Scripture, on which the Remonstrant builds. Wherefore Jo. Polander, who is the Senior Professor, being absent, Sibrandus Lubbertus, who is the next in order, took the question, and answer'd such Texts as were urged by the Adversary, one out of Joh. 3. 36. *Qui credit in filium habet vitam æternam: qui non credit non videbit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eo*: Another out of Ephes. 1. 4. *Elegit nos in Christo ante jacta mundi fundamenta*: A third out of Heb. 11. *Impossibile est sine fide placere Deo*. The summe of Sibrandus his answer at that time I cannot give. For being misinform'd that it would be but a private Session, I was not at it. Besides Sibrandus no man spake any thing that night. As soon as he had done, it was signified by the *Præses* that the *Campanenses*, who were lately cited, were now ready to make their appearance. It was concluded, that because the business of the Synod should not be interrupted, certain out of the company should be appointed to hear the cause, and make relation of it to the Synod: so the *Præses* concluded the Session with a prayer, in which he prayed for Mr. Dean's Health, and for the good success of his journey. This was the summe of what was then done, and so I end, committing your Honour to Gods good protection.

Dort, this 3<sup>d</sup> of  
January.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden  
in all Duty and Service,  
Jo. Hales.

The

The Synodical Decree of the sixt of January, concerning the manner of handling the five Articles.

**C**ollatis diligenter per D. Præsidentem, Assessores & Scribas ex præscripto illustrium D D. Delegatorum suffragiis omnibus, tum Scripto tum viva voce heri ac nudius tertius in veneranda hac Synodo dictis super modo agendi circa examen & iudicium quinque Articulorum: compertum est plurimis placere, ut singula quamprimum Collegia ad examen illud instituendum iudiciumque formandum serio se accingant. Ac primo quidem loco in manus sumant primum Articulum. In cuius examine, ut & deinceps in cæterorum, ad interrogatoria & Theses à D. Præsidente dictata, ut & postea dictanda, quilibet in primis attendat. Si quis tamen plura, quæ ad sententiam Remonstrantium proponendam & explicandam facere possunt, quæ forte in Thesibus & interrogatoriis istis indicata non sunt, addere velit & possit, id cuique liberum relinquatur: & ut privatim singula collegia ante Meridiem de hoc examine cogitabunt; ita post Meridiem ne Synodus intermissa, ac nulla auditorum Spectatorumque ex omnibus passim oris quotidie accurrentium ratio haberi videatur, publicus, nisi omnino res ipsa aliud postulaverit, conventus celebrabitur: in quo potissima Remonstrantium argumenta maxime ex Scripturis desumpta, ipsorumque adeo ad contrariæ sententiæ argumenta maxime ex Scripturis desumpta responsiones proponentur & excutientur, præeuntibus D D. Doctores ac Professoribus nunc nostratibus, nunc exteris ad Arbitrium D. Præsidentis: relicta interim singulis libertate dictis addendi; & suam etiam de præpositis argumentis sententiam dicendi.

*Quare necesse quoque erit ut quilibet seriò de argumentis istis & responsionibus apud se cogitet ac meditetur. Dabit autem operam D. Præses singulis Sessionibus, ut ea de quibus proxima Sessione erit agendum universæ Synodo significet. Ac si quis fuerit, qui de quoquam, quod forte à D. Præsidente monitum non fuerat, judicium Synodi audire sua vel aliorum causa desideret, ejus, si privatim D. Præsidentem appellaverit, ratio habebitur, prout ipse adhibito consilio Assessorum & Scribarum, ac si opus fuerit plurium, ex usu Synodi, aut rei de qua agitur, esse existimaverit. Judicium formatum de quolibet Articulo, additis rationibus quibus subnixum est, Præsidi privatim exhibebitur asservandum, donec de omnibus judicium Articulis judicium formatum & similiter exhibitum fuerit.*

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*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

**U**Pon Wednesday the 11 of January there was no Session at all in the morning, in the evening there was one, but in private. In this they have concluded the question about their manner of proceeding. There was a form conceived and concluded upon, and transcribed by all the Deputies. They concluded likewise their *Theses* upon the first Article, which they purpose publickly to discuss. It was late in the evening ere this Session was done, so that I could not get the Copies of either of these, but in my morrow Letters I will not fail, by Gods grace, to send your Honour the transcripts of them. Besides, there were some things of smaller weight advised of. First, whether in delivering of their judgements upon the Articles in Controversie, the Forreigners should begin as hitherto they had done. The Provincials at first strain'd courteousie, and thought it no point of good manners, to take Precedency of the Forreigners: but it is concluded, they must, as being better tried in these Controversies than the Forreigners are, and therefore meet it was they should give them  
more

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 more time to advise. The second thing proposed was concerning their Auditory. For they question'd whether they should admit of hearers, or do all in private. Old *Sibrandus* was very hot against the Auditory, and thought it not fit that any care should be had of them, as being only *Mulierculæ, & pauculi juvenes incanti*. There is some reason of this complaint of his, for many youths, yea and Artificers, and I know not what rabble besides thrust in, and trouble the place. As for women whole troops of them have been seen there, and the best places for spectators reserved for them. Which thing must needs expose the Synod to the scorn of those, who lye in wait to take exception against it. But the Synod hath determined in favour of their Auditory, that Sessions consultatory and Provisional shall be private, but Sessions wherein they discuss and conclude shall be publick. Meetings hereafter will not be so frequent, for men will take more time to advise. This is the summ, as far as I can learn, of what was done at that time. To morrow your Lordship shall receive farther information, till which time I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this 17<sup>th</sup> of  
 January.

Your Honours Chaplain,  
 and bounden in all Duty,  
 Jo. Hales.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

U Pon Friday the 11<sup>th</sup> of January in the Evening, the Synod being met, Doctor *Gomarus* answered some parts of Scripture, laid hold of by the Remonstrants, after the same manner as Dr. *Sibrandus* had done the night before, the places by him discuss were for the more part the same which in the former Session had been handled. The order of discussing these arguments is by continued discourse after the manner of Latin Sermons, or rather of Divinity Lectures, such as are read in our Schools. In one thing the Discretion of both these Doctors was much approved. For both of them holding that extreame and rigid tenent, which *Beza* and *Perkins* first of all acquainted the World with, yet notwithstanding they held an impartial and even course and never

struck upon it. When *Gomarus* had spoken towards an hour and half, my Lord Bishop deliver'd himself concerning the meaning of the same places of Scripture, and after him certain other of the forraign Divines. After this same Copy will all the news be yet this ten days or more, and these evening Sessions are only to entertain the Auditory, not to determine any thing at all. Each company must in private conceive and set down in writing their opinion concerning the Articles; and when they have so done the Writings must be exhibited to the Synod, and out of them must be gathered the Conclusion which must stand for good. This is a thing which will require some good time, and in the mean while besides these Theological Lectures, there shall be nothing done publickly in the Synod. The same day at night *Bisterfeldius*, one of the Deputies lately come out of *Nassau* died. When his Funeral will be I know not. Upon *Friday* Morning Mr. Dean took his journey toward *Middleburgh*. Upon *Saturday* their was no Session at all. Mr. *Balcanqual* commends his Service unto your Honour, and required me to signifie to you thus much, that he had lately spoken with *Musus*, but understood nothing by him concerning the matter which your Lordship is privy too. He willed me moreover to inform your Honour, That whereas you lately spake to Mr. Dean to deal with *Deodati*, Mr. Dean by reason of his indisposition of Body, and sudden departure, found no means to talk with him. Thus with humble recommendation of my Service to your Honour, I take my leave.

Dort, this 11<sup>th</sup> of  
January.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden  
in all Duty and Service,  
Jo. Hales.

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*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

“THE Errours of publick actions (if they be not very gross)  
“are with less inconvenience tolerated than amended.  
“For the danger of alteration, of disgracing and disabling Authority, makes that the fortune of such proceedings admits no  
“regress, but being once howsoever well or ill done, they  
“must for ever after be upheld. The most partial spectator of  
our



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“our Synodal acts cannot but confess, that in the late dis-  
“mission of the Remonstrants, with so much choler and heat,  
“there was a great oversight committed, and that whether  
“we respect our common profession of Christianity, *Quæ nil nisi*  
“*justum suadet & lenè*; or the quality of this people apt to  
“mutine by Reason of long Liberty, and not having learnt  
“to be imperiously commanded, in which argument the Cler-  
“gy above all men ought not to have read their first Lesson.  
“The Synod therefore to whom it is not now *in integro* to look  
“back, and rectifie what is amiss without disparagement, must  
“now go forward and leave events to God, and for the Coun-  
“tenance of their action do the best they may. For this purpose  
have they lately by Deputies appointed for that end, made a De-  
claration of all their proceedings unto the States General, from  
whom they have procured a Decree for Confirmation of them,  
which Decree upon *Monday* the 11 of *January* was publicly, first  
in Dutch, then in Latin, read at the Synod in the Evening. The  
particulars of it I shall not need relate, as being sufficiently known  
to your Honour. The Decree being pronounced, *Heinsius* first  
signified that it had been before in private made known to the Re-  
monstrants, and then in the name of the Delegates warn'd the  
Commissioners of the Synod, *Ut quam maturime & celerrime de*  
*istis controversiis statuant, ut possint tandem afflicis ecclesiis Belgicis*  
*subvenire*. I was very glad to hear that admonition, and it gives  
me hope that our Synod shall have end not long after Easter at the  
farthest. After this did *Tysius*, another of the Professors, discuss  
three other of the Remonstrants arguments taken out of the  
*Hague* Conference, according to the same form as *Sibrandus*  
and *Gomarus* had done before. This being done, the *Præses*  
required *Jo. Polyander* and *Wallens* to provide to do the like  
upon *Thursday* next in the Evening (for before that time there  
is to be no publick Session) and requesting the Company  
the next Day to accompany *Bisterfeldius* to his Grave (which  
accordingly was done at the time appointed) he dismiss the meet-  
ing. So that till *Thursday* next we are likely to understand no  
no more news of the Synod.

I spake upon *Tuesday* with Mr. *Præses* concerning *Moulins* project.  
His answer to me was this, That he communicated the thing with  
some of the discreeter of the Synod, and that he had required my  
Lord

Lord Bishop and *Soultetus* to conceive a form of publick Confession. Which as soon as it should be conceived and allowed of by those, who should in that behalf be consulted withall, he would send a Copy of it to your Honour, to be sent to his Majesty, by him to be revised and altered according to his pleasure, and so from him to be commended unto the Synod publickly. Which course he thinks will take good success. As touching the point concerning the *Lutherans*, he thinks it not fit that any word at all be made. I dealt with Mr. *Præses* concerning a Copy of Mr. Deans Valediction to the Synod; he answered me that he had delivered it to *Dammannus* the Scribe to be Copied out, and as soon as it was done, I should have it to transcribe, so soon therefore as I can procure the Copy of it, I will not fail to send it to your Lordship. Mr. Dean at his departure had an *Honorarium* bestowed on him by the States. *Heinsius* the Scribe came to his lodging to him, and making a short speech unto him, presented him in the Name of the States with *munusculum* as he called it. What or how much it was no man knows. Thus commending your Honour to Gods good protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this  $\frac{1}{11}$  of  
January, 1619.

Your Honours Chaplain, and  
Bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

U Pon Tuesday the  $\frac{1}{11}$  of this present in the Evening, for the debating of certain particular points of controversy belonging to the first Article, the Synod came together in private. It hath been lately questioned, how Christ is said to be *Fundamentum Electionis*. The Doctrine generally received by the Contra-Remonstrant in this point is, That God first of all Resolved upon the Salvation of some singular persons, and in the second place upon Christ as a mean to bring this Decree to pass. So that with them God the Father alone is the Author of our Election, and Christ only the Executioner. Others on the contrary

trary teach, that Christ is so to be held *Fundamentum Electionis*, as that he is not only the Executioner of Election, but the Author and the procurer of it : for proof of which they bring the words of the Apostle to the *Ephesians*, the first Chapter, *elegit nos in Christo ante facta mundi fundamenta*. The Exposition of this Text was the especial thing discusst at this meeting: and some taught, that Christ was *Fundamentum Electionis*, because he was *primus Electorum*, or because he is *Fundamentum Electorum*, but not *Electionis*, or because he is *Fundamentum beneficiorum*, which descend upon us; others brookt none of those Restraints. D. *Gomarus* stands for the former sentence, and in defence of it had said many things on Friday. This night *Martinus* of Brema being required to speak his mind, signified to the Synod, that he made some scruple concerning the Doctrine passant about the manner of Christs being *Fundamentum Electionis*, and that he thought Christ not only the Effector of our Election, but also the Author and procurer thereof. *Gomarus* who owes the Synod a shrewd turn, and then I fear me began to come out of debt; presently, as soon as *Martinus* had spoken, starts up, and tells the Synod, *ego hanc rem in me recipio*, and therewithall casts his Glove, and challenges *Martinus* with this Proverb, *Ecce Rhodum, ecce salutum*, and requires the Synod to grant them a Duel, adding that he knew *Martinus* could say nothing in refutation of that Doctrine. *Martinus* who goes in equipace with *Gomarus* in Learning, and a little before him for his Discretion, easily digested this affront, and after some few words of course, by the wisdom of the *Præses* matters seemed to be a little pacified, and so according to the custom, the Synod with Prayer concluded. Zeal and Devotion had not so well allayed *Gomarus* his choler, but immediatly after Prayers he renewed his Challenge and required Combat with *Martinus* again; but they parted for that night without blowes. *Martinus*, as it seemes, is somewhat favourable to some Tenents of the Remonstrants concerning Reprobation, the latitude of Christs merit, the Salvation of Infants, &c. and to bring him to some conformity was there a private meeting of the Forreign Divines upon Wednesday morning in my Lord Bishops Lodging, in which thus much was obtained, that though he would not leave his Conclusions, yet he promised moderation and temper in such manner, that there should.

should be no dissention in the Synod by reason of any opinion of his.

Upon Thursday the 14 of this present, the Synod being met in the Evening, *Jo. Polyander* and *Walæus* undertook the defence of some places of Scripture brought by the Contra-Remonstrants against the exceptions of the Remonstrants: the places of Scripture were, *Luke 10. 20. Gaudete quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in Cælis. Apocal. 21. 27. inscripti in libro vitæ. Rom. 9. 11. Ut propositum Dei secundum Electionem maneret, and 11. 5. Reservatio secundum Electionem: and Rom. 8. 13. Quos prædestinavit ut conformes fiant imagini Filii sui, eos etiam vocavit. Act. 13. 48. Crediderunt quotquot erant ordinati ad vitam æternam.* Upon these places these two spake almost three hours.

It was expected that as the rest of the Professours hitherto have done, so Doctour *Davenant* the next Professour should speak in publick: It is said that he shall do it this day in a private Session (for there is no publick till Munday, and what will then be done I know not.) What the meaning is of this Audience only in private, I know not. But of this I will say more in my next Letters to your Honour, till when I leave your Lordship to Gods good protection.

*Dort this 14 of January,*  
1618.

*Your Honours Chaplain, and*  
*bounden in all Duty,*  
*Jo. Hales.*

Your Honour shall here receive a Copy of Mr. Deans farewell, I fear me it is a little imperfect, for I understand it not in some places. If I can hear of another Copy from Mr. *Præses* who promised me one at the beginning of this week, and find it to be perfecter, I will again transcribe it.

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The Dean of *Worcesters* Valcdiction to the Synod.

**N***on facile mecum in gratiam redierit cadaverosa  
hæc moles, quam ægre usque circumgesto, quæ mi-  
hi sacri hujus Conventus celebritatem toties inviderit,*  
*jamque*

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jamque me prorsus invitissimum, a vobis importune a vocat & divellit. Neque enim ullus est profecto sub Caelo locus aequè Caeli æmulus, & in quo tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujusque adeo gestiet mihi animus meminisse. Beatos vero vos quibus hoc frui datum! Non dignus eram ego ut fidelissimi Romani Querimoniam imitari liceat, qui pro Christi & Ecclesiæ suæ nomine sanctam hanc provinciam diutius sustinerem. Illud vero <sup>ἐξ ἐν γούρασι</sup> nempe audito quod res erat, non alia me quam adversissima hic usum valetudine, serenissimus Rex meus, misertus miselli famuli sui revocat me domum, quippe quod cineres meos aut sandapilam vobis nihil quicquam prodesse posse norit, succenturiavitque mihi virum è suis selectissimum, quantum Theologum! De me profecto, (mera jam filicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus sum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter prospectum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meæ haud parum gratulamini, quæ hujusmodi instructissimo succedaneo cœtum hunc vestrum beaverit. Neque tamen committant, (si Deus vitam mihi ac vires indulserit) ut et corpore simul et animo abesse videar. Interea sane huic Synodo ubicunque terrarum sim, votis, consiliis, conatibusque meis quibuscunque res vestras me pro virili serio ac sedulo promoturum sanctè voveo. Interim vobis omnibus ac singulis Honoratissimi Domini Delegati, Reverendissime Domine Præses, Gravissimi Assessores, Symmystæ Colendissimi, tibi que Venerandissima Synodus Universa, ægro animo ac corpore æternum valedico: rogoque vos omnes obnixius ut precibus vestris imbecillum reduncem facere, comitari, et prosequi velitis.

M m.

Rigla



*Right Honourable, my very good Lord,*

UPON Tuesday the 12 of *January*, at the Evening Session, the point of Reprobation was Scholastically and learnedly discusst by *Altingius*, one of the *Palatine* Professors. His discourse was the most sufficient of any that yet I heard. He began from the Definition, and proceeded to how far God had a hand in it, and how far man is the Author of his own Destruction, and lastly answered the Remonstrants arguments. He spake about an hour and a half. I would willingly have given your Honour an account of his speech, but it was in the Evening, and the Auditory are allowed no candles, so that I could not use my Tables. And thus have they discusst the first Article; though I could have wished that the question of Reprobation had been yet farther opened and stood upon, it being a point of large extent, and especially insisted on by the Remonstrant. As for Synodical Resolution in this first Article, that we must yet expect, till all the rest be examined as this hath been. There is no open Session till Friday next after dinner; and then is it their purpose to enter upon the Second Article, of *Universal Grace*: at which time Mr. *Balkanqual*, and *Cruciger* of *Hassia* are appointed to speak, according as the rest have done before, to this question, *Whether the death of Christ were intended indifferently for all, or only for the Elect?* Upon Wednesday the 13 of *January*, in the evening was there a private Session, wherein, be-like for the making of better speed, they consulted whether they should go on to examine the rest of the Articles after the same manner they had done the first, or else bethink them of some more speedy order. After a long disceptation, even so long that *Polyander* put the *Præses* in mind of the exceeding sharpness of the Weather, they at length concluded, that they would go on in the same course they had begun. And this as yet is all the Newes that is passant, wherefore ceasing farther to trouble your Honour, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 21<sup>th</sup> of  
January. 1619.

Your Honours Chaplain and  
bennden in all Duty and service,  
Jo. Hales.  
Right

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

U Pon Friday the 11<sup>th</sup> of *January*, there was a meeting of the Synod partly publick, partly private. As the Provincial Professors had done, so was D. *Davenant*, who is the first Professor of the Forraigners, enjoyned by the *Preses* to doe. The intent of his discourse at that time, was to overthrow certain distinctions framed by the Remonstrants for the maintenance of their positions, and evasion from the Contra-Remonstrants Arguments. The Remonstrants usually distinguish upon *Election*, and divide it, into *definitam & indefinitam, revocabilem & irrevocabilem, peremptoriam & non peremptoriam, mutabilem & immutabilem*, and the like. For the refutation of which distinctions he first set down the definition of *election* brought by the Contra-Remonstrant, and at large confirmed it: secondly he brought the definition of *election* agreed on by the Remonstrant, and Argued against it: and thirdly he directly opposed these forecited distinctions; all which he did learnedly and fully. When Dr. *Davenant* had spoken, the Auditory was commanded to depart. For having a purpose that others should speak at the same time, and fearing that some *diversity* of opinion might rise, and occasion some dissention, it was thought fit that things should be transacted as privately as might be. Many more of the Forreigners deliver'd themselves that night, and amongst the rest *Martinus* of *Breme* proposed again his former doubts unto the Synod, concerning the *sence in which Christ is* said to be *fundamentum electionis*, and requested to be resolved. But D. *Gomarus* at this time, was somewhat better advised, and thought it best to hold his peace. This day will there be a private meeting wherein every company will give up their judgments in writing upon the first Article: and to morrow I understand they will go on unto the second, and proceed in it, accordingly as they have in the former. As for any *Decisive Sentence* they will give none, till they have thus gone through all the five. In this I suppose they doe very discreetly. For since the Articles are mutually linked together, it is most convenient they should first go through them all, since a predetermination in the former might bind them to some inconvenience.

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in the latter, there being no place left to look back, but stand they must to what they have once concluded. For avoiding of this it is thought best to determine of all at once. And this is all the news that here is currant: wherefore commending Your Honour to Gods good protection, I humbly take my leave.

Dort, this 1<sup>st</sup> of January.  
1619.

Your Honours Chaplain and  
Bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.

*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

U Pon Munday the 1<sup>st</sup> of January in the Evening, the Synod being met, *Sculietus* spake at large *de Certitudine gratiæ & salutis*, that it was necessary for every man to be assured of his Salvation. The manner of his discourse was oratorical, the same that he uses in his Sermons, not scholastical and according to the fashion of disputation and Schools. For this cause the question was neither deeply searcht into, nor strongly proved. And this is all was done that night.

I spake with Dr. Goad concerning Mr. Brent, who answered me that he heard nothing at all of him, and that he will shortly write unto my Lord Archbishops Secretary to be informed farther concerning him. My Lord Bishop of late hath taken some pains with *Martinus* of Breme, to bring him from his opinion of *Universal Grace*. By chance I came to see his Letter written to *Martinus* in which he expounded that place in the third of *John*, *So God loved the World, that he gave his only begotten son, &c.* which is the strongest ground upon which *Martinus* rests himself. Beyond this here is no news worth the relating, and therefore till farther occasion offer it self, I humbly take my leave.

Dort this 1<sup>st</sup> of January.  
1618.

Yours Honours Chaplain  
and bounden in all Duty,  
Jo. Hales.  
*Right*

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

U Pon *Thursday* the 11<sup>th</sup> of *January* in the Evening the Synod met privately, and as they had done in the first, so did they in the second Article. For the speedier Direction to find the places in the Remonstrants Books, where the particulars concerning Universal Grace are discust, there was a kind of *Index* or Concor- dance drawn of the several passages in their writings touching that subject. The next Day following, that is the first of *February* *Stylo novo*, Mr. *Balcanqual*, and *Cruciger* of *Hassia* made entrance upon the second Article. Mr. *Balcanqual* spake above an hour, and did very well acquit himself. When they had done the *Præses* enjoyn'd *Steinius* of *Hassia* upon *Tuesday* next in the Evening (at what time will be the next open Session) to speak of the fourth Article (for of the third there is no question) and to sound whether the Grace of God converting us be resistible, as the Remonstrants would have it. This hast that is made in this suddain passing from one Article to another is much marvail'd at by our English Divines: for the Colledges yet have not all given up their opinion upon the first, and besides that the Remonstrants upon *Wednesday* last were willed to give in their Arguments upon the first Article. For notwithstanding they be excluded from personal appearance in the Synod, yet are they commanded to exhibit to the Synod whatsoever they shall please to command. Now some time will be required for the examining of those reasons, if they be of late invention, and such as yet have had nothing said to them. But what the reason of this haste is, will appear hereafter.

I lately writ unto Mr. *Collwall* to know what Order was to be taken for the discharge of my Lodging, whether your Honour were to answer it, or the publick purse. I would willingly be resolv'd of it, because I have a desire to return to the *Hague*; first, because the Synod proceeding as it doth, I do not see that it is *operæ pretium* for me here to abide: and then because I have sundry private occasions that call upon me to return. For notwithstanding this haste, of which I but now spake, it will be long ere the Synod will come to determine any thing, and about that time, if your Honour shall be so pleas'd,

I shall be ready to come back to *Dort*. And so remembering my service unto your Honour, I humbly take my leave.

*Dort, this first of Febr.  
1619. Stylo novo.*

*Your Honors Chaplain, and  
bounden in all Duty and Service,  
Jo. Hales.*

*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

OUR Synod goes on like a watch, the main Wheels upon which the whole business turns are least in sight. For all things of moment are acted in private Sessions, what is done in publick is only for shew and entertainment. Upon *Munday* last the fourth of *February, stylo novo*, the Deputies met privately in the Evening, where the first thing that came upon the Stage was that old impertinent business concerning the *Campenses*, at what time *Scotlerus* a Remonstrant Minister, who had been formerly cited to appear before the Synod, having not appeared at time appointed, pretended sickness, and for that cause he required the Synods patient forbearance. After this they entred into consultation concerning certain Books and Writings to be conceiv'd partly for declaration of the Synods meaning in the Doctrine of the five Articles, partly in Apology for it. And first it was proposed that there should be *scriptum didacticum* a plain and familiar writing drawn, wherein the Doctrine of the five Articles according to the intent and meaning of the Synod should be perspicuously exprest for the Capacity of the common sort, and that in Dutch and Latin. The Apological Writings were of two sorts, first *Scriptum Elenchicum*, wherein there were to be refuted such Errours as had been lately broached in prejudice of the received Doctrine: secondly *Scriptum Historicum*, which was to consist of two parts, first, a narration of the Synods proceedings with the Remonstrant, from the day of his first appearance till the time of his Ejection: for the refutation of many bitter invectives which lately had been written against the Synod in that behalf. Secondly, a Relation *de causis turbarum*, who were the Authors of the late Stirs in time of the separation; for answer of *Episcopius* his Orations, and other Writings of the Remonstrants,

in



in which the whole misorder is turn'd upon the Contra-Remonstrant. For the *Scriptum didacticum* the English were altogether against it: and so was *Vosbergius*. Their Reason was, because it seem'd incongruous that any writing concerning the Doctrine of the Articles should be set forth before the Synod had given Sentence. And indeed I must confess I see no great congruity in the proposál, whilst matters are in controversie: Judges walk suspensly, and are indifferent for either party, and whatsoever their intent be, yet they make no overture of it till time of sentence come. All this business of *citing, inquiring, examining* must needs seem only as acted on a stage, if the Synod intemptively before hand bewray a resolution. But notwithstanding any reason alleadgable against it, the thing is concluded, and *Wallens, Udemannus, and Triglandius* are deputed to write a discourse to that purpose, with the inspection and supervision of my Lord Bishop, *Scultetus, Brittingerus, and Deodatus*. For the *Scriptum Historicum* in the first part concerning the proceeding of the Synod with the Remonstrant, there is required the pains of *Scultetus* and *Triglandius*: in the second part *de causis turbarum*, *Latius* must bestow his labour, with the help of *Festus Hominius*, of the South-Hollanders and North-Hollanders, who best of any know the whole carriage of that matter. To the composing of the *Scriptum Elenchicum* there are deputed four of the Provincials Professors, *Jo. Polyander, Lubbertus, Gomarus* and *Thysius*, to whom are adjoynd as helpers and Supervisors *D. Davenant, Altingius* and *Martinius*. But the business of this writing past not without some opposition, *Deodat.* altogether misliked it, *Polyander* requested that his pains might be spared: *Novi*, saith he, *quam sit mihi curta supplex*. But above all *D. Gomarus* was most offended at the Proposál. *Bella mihi video, bella parantur ait*. And therefore quite refusing to consent to any Polemical writing, he advised that the *Scriptum didacticum* should abstain, à non necessariis & privatis, and contain only necessary points such as pass by common consent. That they should expect till the Remonstrant had set forth some adversary writing, and then would be a fitter time to think of somewhat in this kind. I blame not *D. Gomarus*, if he a little recoil. For being of the *Supralapsarii*, as they term them, of those who bring the Decree of Gods Election from before the fall, and seeing the Synod not willing to move that way, but to subside in

a lower sphere, he is to be pardon'd, if he deny his hand to that writing, which he supposes cannot be so warily indicted, but he must be forced with his own pen to let fall somewhat prejudicial to his own opinion. The *Præses* answered that it was not his drift to force the Synod against their minds to set out such a Book; but only to take hold of the present occasion whilst the Forreign Divines were here, and have such a Book in readines for use hereafter, though it were not now set forth. He farther advised that those who were to undertake this, should have an eye to the inclination of the Synod, and beware as much as might be, that they toucht not there where any man was sore. Whatsoever the pretence is, the mentioning of these Books, before the determination of the Synod be formally set down, must needs be very unseasonable. *It will make the world to think they came resolved what to do, which though perchance they did, yet it is no wisdom to confess it.* After this did they advise concerning the Exceptions against the Confession and Catechism, and of such as should answer them. For the Catechism, the *Palatine* Divines undertook it: for the Confession some of the Provincials were appointed, whose names I have not learnt. The *Præses* then by the advice of the Secular Delegates, advised the Synod to think of gathering a Synopsis and brief of all the Synodical Proceedings, to be sent to the King of *England*, and other Forreign *Princes* and *States*, who had sent Deputies to the Synod, that so they may understand what hath been done. For this were there appointed *Altingius Steinius*, the Assessors and Scribes; and for Supervisors were named *D. Davenant*, *Præses*. This is the summe of that Session.

On *Tuesday* at *Even* they met again in private, where every one spake in order what they had furher to say concerning the second Article. Upon some occasion, I know not what, the *Præses* mentioned *Negotium Vorstianum, Bertianum, & Venatorianum*, which I note because this is the first time that *Vorstius* his cause was named in the Synod. There hath not been any stay made amongst the Forreign Divines but only in this second Article, out of which if they can well and clearly wrest themselves, their passage out of the rest will be more smooth. I lately told your Honour that *Martinus* of *Breme* made some doubts amongst the rest concerning *Universal Grace*. Not *Martinus* only, but  
Dr.

To the R. Honourable Sr. D. Carlton L. Embassador. 97

Dr. Ward in this point. "For the composing the doubts of both  
"these, that they brake not out to any publick inconvenience,  
"there hath been of late many private meetings in my Lord Bishops  
"Lodging; where upon Wednesday Morning were drawn certain  
"Theses in very suspense and wary terms: to what end, whether to  
"give content to all parties, or to exhibite to the Synod, or what else  
"I know not, by chance I had a view of them, but no opportunity to  
"transcribe them.

On Wednesday the sixth of February, there was a publick Session  
in the Evening, at what time *Steinius* of *Hassia* spake to the fourth  
Article concerning the resistibility of Grace, in the same manner as  
others had done before him. He spake about an hour and a  
half, and when he had done, the *Præses* gave warning of a publick  
Session to be upon Monday next in the Evening, and so dismiss the  
Auditory, but not the Synod, who after this fate a good space in  
private consultation.

7 Febr.  
1619.

Your Honours Chaplain and bounden  
in all Duty and Service,

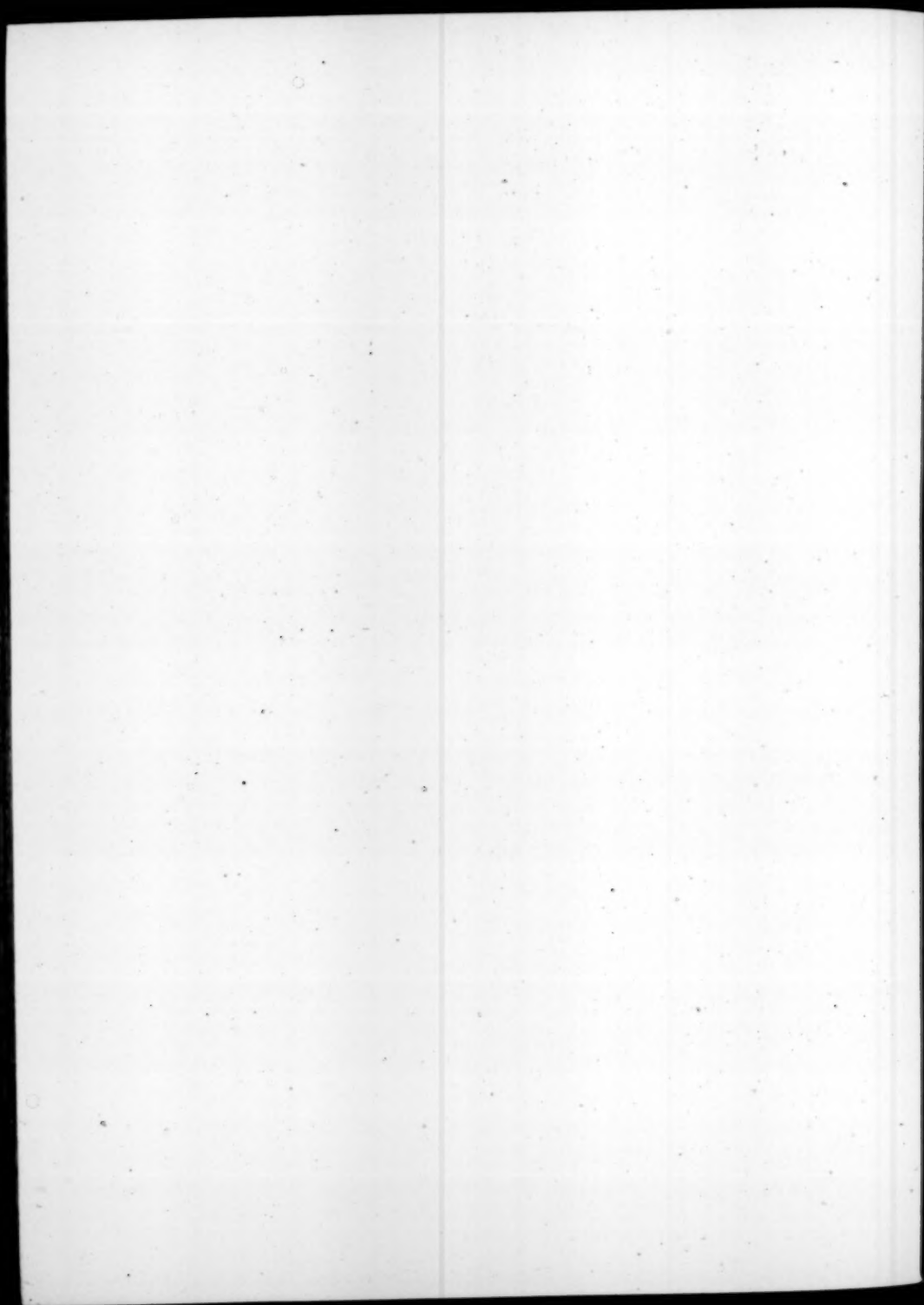
Jo. Hales.

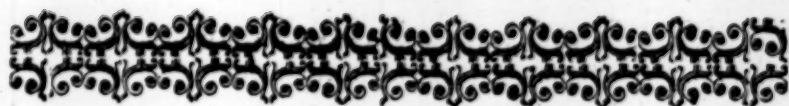
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F I N I S.

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Dr. *BALCANQUALS*  
**LETTERS**

From the *SYNOD* of *DORT*

TO THE

Right Honorable Sr. *DUDLEY CARLTON*,

Lord Embassador, &c.

*My very Good Lord,*



Y busines is now effected by your L<sup>re</sup> care to my contentment ; since the first day of my coming to *Dort*, they have made me an allowance equal with our English Divines, which is twenty Florens a day ; a less allowance might very well have served me, if I had not been joyned with them, but being joyned, it was not fit that for matter of maintenance I should be in their debts : I am exceedingly beholden to Mr. *Musius* his kindness, not only upon this, but upon all occasions : It doth proceed I suppose from your L<sup>re</sup> to whom as I must ever stand bound for the return of perpetual thanks and service, so I would be a suiter to your L<sup>re</sup> that your L<sup>re</sup> would be pleased to give Mr. *Musius* thanks for his kindness. For our Synod busines, as we went too slow before, so now they would have us go too fast, they would have us to dispatch one Article a week ; which is too little time for so

N n 2

weighty



100 Dr. Balcanqualls *Letters from the Synod of DORT*,  
weighty questions. But I hope they shall be done to some purpose. With the remembrance of my faithfullest duty and service to your L. and your worthy Lady, and my best wishes for both your health and happiness, I take my leave, and rest

Dordrecht this 2d. of February, *Stylo novo*.

Your L. in all true respects of service, Walter Balcanqual.

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*My very Good Lord,*

Since Mr. Hales his going, here hath been nothing done in the Synod of any note. On the seventh of February now still was held the 76. Session; in which nothing was done, but that they which before had not spoken in the second Article did speak what they thought fit: there was nothing of note spoken, save that one of the *Transfulani* took it evil that we took the Remonstrants meaning in their opinions, where they speak best and soundest; but he would have their meaning to be gathered out of all places in their Books, where they speak most absurdly, which we thought was very far besides the rule of charity: so in that Session the Synodical disquisition for the second Article was ended. The President told us, moreover, that the Delegates had sent to the Remonstrants, and had demanded of them, if they had any thing in writ, which might serve for the explication of their opinion concerning the five Articles; and that they had given to them their confirmation of their opinion concerning the first Article, as likeways a confutation of that which they held for the Heterodox opinion, and a beginning of their explication of the second Article: now he shewed us the Book, of which in good faith I was ashamed to think that men of judgement could imagine that the Synod could have time to peruse it; for it is a little Book of Martyrs, it doth exceed two hundred *folia in folio*; moreover he told us, that the Delegates had commanded them within eight days to bring in all they would or could say as necessary for the understanding of their minds concerning the whole five Articles. On the 8. of February *Stylo novo*, was held the 77. Session, in which was nothing done but that the President did dictate to us, these drawn out of the Remonstrants

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strants writings concerning the third and fourth Articles, which I hold not expedient to send to your L. but if I shall understand that your L. do desire them, I can easily send them : It was appointed we should this Morning send our Amanuenses to write out so much of the Remonstrants big Book, as did concern the second Article, which we did, and that against *Munday* we should consult what we would have done with the great volumn it self; this day the President sent to our particular Colledge some particular strange points which he had drawn out of their late explication of the second Article, and in very patheticall terms did by his Letter entreat us to have a care of condemning them in our judgement of the same Article. Concerning this second Article I beseech your L. give me leave to express my grief, as there is difference touching it in the Synod, so there is much difference about it in our own Colledge : will your L. be pleased to give me leave to say something of it ; it is fit your L. should take notice of it, but no ways as from me ; the question amongst us is whether the words of the Scripture, which are likewise the words of our confession, (*Christus oblatuſ est aut mortuus pro toto humano genere, seu pro peccatis totius mundi*) be to be understood of all particular men, or only of the elect who consist of all sorts of men ; Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward are of Martinius of Breme his mind, that it is to be understood of all particular men : the other three take the other exposition, which is of the writers of the reformed Churches, and namely of my late Lord of *Sarisbury*, both sides think they are right, and therefore cannot yield one unto another with a safe conscience: It is, my Lord, a matter of great consequence for us to set down the exposition of one Article of our Church confession : will your L. therefore be pleased to think of this proposition, since our judgement of none of the five Articles is to be known, till we have done with them all ; what if we should desire the President to take no notice, but to let us go on to the rest of the Articles, and in mean time we should send into *England* the true state of our controversie, and have advice there from some of the chief of the Church what exposition they would have to be given of that Article of their confession, which we may safely follow, for it is no matter of salvation in which we differ; before we have done with the rest of the Articles we may easily have one answer from *England* ; if your L. like this motion or any other, your L. should

do well by your Letters to us to desire it ; if not, I beseech your L. pardon my error which proceedeth only from my fear of distraction among our selves, and from my obedience to his Majesties charge, who commanded me in all such cases to have recourse to your L. for counsel : so with my best prayers to God for your L. health and happiness, with the remembrance of my best service to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest

Dordrecht this 9 of February, *Stylo novo.*

Your L. in all true respect and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

*My very good Lord,*

**T**Hough your L. Letters caused some anger here with the former, who was unknown to them, yet believe it, your L. hath done a work worthy of your Honour, and such a one as if it had been left undone, would when it could not have been helped, have made us all heartily wish that it had been done : your L. Letters have taken the true effect with your L. in your advice intended, we all acknowledge your L. counsel to be not only good but necessary, and yet we are displeased your L. should be informed of the variance ; without which we must have been deprived of this your L. wholesome and necessary direction. Since my last Letters to your L. it is true that we agreed upon some propositions, which are without question true, but they were such as did no ways decide the question controverted in the Synod ; we retained the words of Scripture and our own confessions, but all the difference is in the interpretation of these words. When the Canons of the second Article come to be made, it will be determined *whether Christ did really persolvere pretium redemptionis pro omnibus ac singulis hominibus, an pro solis electis*, in the Synod then should we have differed in voices : because I know your L. will write to my L. Grace, I beseech your L. require a speedy answer : in our Letters to my L. Grace, we have but a little noted the difference which is like to be. I have here in \*\* this paper sent to your L. the true state of the difference, which will be concerning this pro-

proposition. *Christus obtulit se pro peccatis totius mundi*, I dare engage my credit with your L. that it is truly set down, and more fully than in our Letters to my L. Grace; your L. may take so much of it as you shall think fit, and make his Grace acquainted with it; and write that this is like to be the difference not in (as y<sup>our</sup> L. is informed) our Colledge, but in the Synod about the second Article, and therefore desire his Grace to send us some good counsel for our carriage in it; for certainly most voices in the Synod will follow the received exposition of the reformed Doctors, confirmed much by my late L. of Sarisbury his G. brother, who was thought to understand the meaning of our confession as well as any man. I doubt not but that your L. will crown your own work with following of it; when your L. shall find the fruit of peace in the Synod among us proceed by your L. your L. will find great matter of joy, arising from the conscience of this Christian counsel. Our controversie among our selves, I must needs say, was with much love and amity, no man desiring any thing to be put in our Articles, but that we should all approve of; but so the question had never been decided: I beseech your L. pardon this my liberty to your L. it is the love of peace, and my respect to your L. Honour doth procure it.

Since my last to your L. there hath been three Sessions: first the 78. Session held on the 2. February, *Novo Stylo*, in which Dr. Beckins one of the Helvetian Divines at the President his intreaty did publicly discuss the seven Arguments of the Remonstrants in *Collat. Hag.* whereby they prove *Gratiam regenerationis esse resistibilem*. That being done, all Auditors were removed, and it was inquired what order the Synod thought fittest to be taken with the Remonstrants huge volume, the transcription whereof was impossible: the President told us he had cast a general glance over it all, and did find that a few of the first leaves did contain a confirmation of their opinion of the first Article, but all the rest did contain nothing but a confutation of the *contra R.* opinion, and an exagitation of their persons: we desired some part of it to be read; I must needs say the Remonstrants had no favour, for I will assure your L. that the President picked out the worst part of it; there were some five leaves read, which contained nothing but a bitter Satyr against Calvin, Beza, Pareus, Piscator, Whittaker, Perkins, Bogorman, Festus, and twenty more, but in  
truth

truth *though unhappily, yet finely penned*, me thought it was *Episcopus* his tongue; about the taking notice of this book the suffrages of the Synod did vary much; yet most voices were, that it should be committed to some deputed by the Synod, who should diligently peruse it, and relate unto the Synod if they found any new thing in it, which was not contained in their former writings, but yet so that any member of the Synod that would, might be present with the perusers. The Delegates gave this mediatory sentence, because they had observed that both the parts of it were desired by many: they desired there might be a forenoon Session or two kept for the nonce, in which that small part of the book which contained the confirmation of their opinion might be read; and every man take with his pen, what he should think fit, the rest to be put over to perusers, who should make relation to the Synod of any thing they found new or fit: and therefore the Assessors, and D. *Dammannus* the Scribe were entreated to run over the book, and make choice of what things they thought fit to be read in the Synod, which when they have done we shall hear more of it.

The President telleth us that the *Campenses* Remonstrants, who had been lately peremptorily cited to compeer before the Synod were not come, but that they had sent three others in their place to plead their cause: and that he had likewise received a supplication to the Synod from the *Campenses contra-Remon.* The Synod referred the hearing of the whole cause to deputies, one out of every Colledge.

*Sessio 79. 12. Feb.*] The Synodical disquisition concerning the third and fourth article began, many Divines spake divers things, the disquisition came down to D. *Grocins* of *Breme*, and so the Synod was dismissed.

*Sessio 82. 12. Feb.*] We went on in the Synodical disquisition of the third and fourth article, where many men spake their opinions freely, when it came to *Sibrandus* he spake at least an hour, in his speech he took exceptions at some things that D. *Martinus* of *Breme* had spoken the day before, especially that he had said *God was causa physica conversionis*; he delivered some reasons against it, and desired *Martinus* to give satisfaction to them, and to instruct him in that which he



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he knew not before *Martinus* answered for himself, but between them both there were more words than sence, for they made it a meer philosophical speculation, like to keeping a philosophie act, much against the gravity of questions to be discussed in a Synod: *Martinus* for the truth of his assertion appealed to *Goclenius* there present, as being princeps philosophorum, who were not wont to be appealed to in Synodical questions, and *Goclenius* took the moderator his place bravely upon him; told us that *Themistius*, *Averroes*, *Alexander Aphrodisæus*, and many more were of *Martinus* his opinion; and his opinion true in Philosophy, but yet he would not have it to prescribe in Divinity; *Sibrandus* fell upon *Goclenius* too, so after many words lost on all sides, the President cut them off, and so that act ended, and so the disquisition ended. Yesterday we had no Session, this day we have one, of which your Lordship by God's graceshall be advertised in my next. So with the remembrance of my best service to your Lordship, and your vertuous Lady I rest

Dordrecht this 15. of  
February.

Tour L. in all faith-  
ful service,

Walter Balcanqual.

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**O**blatio Christi facta in cruce perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi tam originalibus quam actualibus. Contrahitur an per totum mundum intelligatur mundus electorum, an mundus omnium particularium hominum: ubi de his tribus ambigitur.

Primo. An retinenda sit illa distinctio quæ receptissima est apud Reformatos Doctores, quemque Episcopus Sarisburiensis astruit pag. 35. et sequentibus, mortuus est pro omnibus secundum sufficientiam seu magnitudinem pretii, non secundum proprietatem redemptionis, quidam putant non retinendum esse quia putant sic sufficienter dici posse mortuum pro Diabolis.

Secundo. Contrahitur de hac propositione. Christus obtulit se pro omnibus, seu persolvit pretium redemptionis pro omnibus: quidam putant sensum esse, persolvit pretium quod sufficit pro omnibus, non autem actu solvit pretium illud nisi pro redimendis electis: alii putant

putant hanc expositionem incommodam, quia putant commentarium hunc verba ipsa destruerē. Ea etenim putant sequi Christum quidem habuisse pretium in numerato, quod persolutum suffecisset omnibus redimendis; verum Christum non persoluisse actu pretium illud, aut factum esse propitiationem pro peccatis totius mundi.

Tertio. Contravertitur de sensu horum verborum, totius mundi: quidam putant intelligi de singulis hominibus: alii de solis electis, (hic est sanguis novi testamenti qui funditur pro multis in remissionem peccatorum) exponuntque hæc vocabula (totius mundi) sicut Augustinus exponit, epist. 48. Totus mundus est in maligno positus propter zizania quæ sunt per totum mundum, et Christus propitiator est peccatorum totius mundi propter testicum quod est per totum mundum.

Queritur ergo an per totum mundum debeamus intelligere singulos homines, an solos electos; an vero nulla sit danda explicatio; sed retinenda sint verba confessionis absque ullo commentario.

My very good Lord,

Since my last unto your Lordship there hath been nothing of any moment done in the Synod; but what was done, the sum of it is this.

Session 81. 13. Feb. Stylo novo.] Credential letters were read from the *Frisians*, by which *Dacon ab Aisma*, was deputed in the Colledge of the *Frisians* as a member of the Synod in the place of *Meinhardus a senior Ecclesiæ Leowardensis*, who lately died here; he took the oath of the Synod, and so was admitted. *Alstedius* the only *Nassovical* Divine now left, by appointment of the President publickly, all auditors being admitted, did vindicate the 10. arguments which the *Contra-Remonstrants* used in *Collat. Hag.* for proving of irresistibility of grace, from the objections, exceptions, and instances of the *Remonstrants*: and so the auditory was dismissed. The President giveth us warning, that on Munday at 9. of the clock there should be a Session, in which they would begin to read the great volume of the *Remonstrants*, lately given in; and telleth us moreover, that now they had given in their explication of the third, fourth and fifth articles,

ticles, but no confirmation of them : yet that the Delegates had commanded them within eight days to bring in all they would or could say concerning the five articles. Because the two *Campenses* Remonstrants being peremptorily cited had not compeired, the president desired the Synod to think of some fit punishment for this their contumacy. First we read letters from *Fosculius*, one of these two Remonstrants ; in which he excuseth his absence by these three reasons : first, that the Church could not bear their absence ; because if they should both come, there was none to preach : Secondly , that he himself was making ready for the journey, but that he was stopped, by the tears, howlings, sighs, outcries, lamentations, and prayers of all sexes, & ages, and conditions of people, boyes, girles, masters, servants, mistresses, and maids, young and old, and many more such specifications there were : thirdly , that they had sent two to the Synod to answer for them ; and therefore do humbly intreat, that they by these their procurators may *causam dicere* : After these were read other Latin Letters from the Seniors of that same Church, wonderful long, but so extremely foolish and idle, that one might see they were written by some indiscreet pedant, who had run himself out of breath with trotting through all the topick places of school boyes Rhetorick ; they contained in them the same reasons for their ministers non-comparence , which the former : and moreover did protest that their ministers were ready for their journey, but that the importunity of their roarings, howlings, hindred them : and therefore in a most furious strain did desire the Synod to conceit with themselves, that they did but now with their eyes behold this ruthful spectacle : to wit, The whole City of *Camps* male and female, young and old lying before them, tearing their hair, knocking their breasts, piercing the ayre with their sighs and Heaven with their lamentable howlings, having their eyes sunk in their heads with tears, & their hearts ready to burst out at their sides for anguish ; with such a deal of female foolish Rhetorick, as no masculine pen can relate, they desire the non-comparence of their Pastors, of whose doctrines they might take sufficient notice without their personal presence, since it was the same which the Remonstrants had maintained in *Collat. Hag.* It is to be noted that the Magistrates of *Camps*, who before had written in these *citati* their favour, did not now write.

Thirdly, there was read the *Contra-Remonstrant Campenses*, who were come to accuse the *citati*, their answer to the reasons contained in the *citati* letters: to the first, that the Church could not want their presence; it was answered, that the *Classis Campensis* would look to that, as other *Classes* now did to the charges of all the rest, who were present at the Synod; besides that no mans charge in private can excuse him for non-comparence before a judge, when he is cited. To the second, that they were coming, but were hindred by the people, it was answered that a seditious tumultuary concourse of people, ought not to hinder any man from comparence before a judge, especially since it is known that this seditious conflux was procured by the *citati*, as is evident by the confessions of many, (whose names were there expressed,) who who being called to be present at that tumultuary assembly refused; who did testifie moreover, that the *citati* went about begging hands to subscribe those foolish letters to the Synod. To the third, that they had sent procurators to answer for them; it was answered that it was a thing not heard of, that another man should give account of those things which they themselves had taught. These things being read, the Synod was required to give sentence: the Delegates sentence was this: that notwithstanding all these idle excuses the *citati* were to be condemned of contumacy, to be suspended from their Ministry, but with this provision, that if within fourteen days after the receipt of new Letters from the Synod, they did personally compeire, they should be absolved from this sentence of suspension; if they did not, this sentence should stand firm *pro nunc & tunc & omni tempore*: the rest of the Synod were entreated that against Munday they would deliberate of this business, and so give in their judgements of it.

*Sessio 82. 18. Feb.*] There were read publicly 47. pages of the *Remonstr.* Book; all which did contain only one answer to the first four places produced by the *contra-Remonstrants*, in *collatione Hag.* whereby they prove that (*velle Deum solos fideles salvos facere; & infideles in ira relinquere*) is not *totum & integrum prædestinationis decretum*; the like tedious prolixity, sometimes racking of Scripture, sometimes paring and chipping of it hath not been heard; there was nothing in it which did not rather make men out of love with their cause than affect it.

*Sessio*

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*Sessio 83. eodem die post meridiem.*] The sentence of the Synod was asked concerning the Remonstrant *Campenses*, all agreed with the sentence of the Delegates given at the end of the 81. Session: except only the Divines of *Breme*, who delivered their opinion at large in writing; it was to perswade a milder course, the reasons were many and well penned: when it came to the Colledge of the Professors, notwithstanding that D. *Polyander* had delivered their Collegiat sentence; yet D. *Gomar*, *Martinus* his professed enemy, asketh leave to speak; and so entereth into a confutation of that which they of *Breme* had delivered, so that he and *Martinus* fell foul in the Synod, very much against the dignity of such an assembly. In truth I must needs say, that some of the Provincials do use *Martinus* very uncivilly, and all the Forraign Divines begin to take it evil at their hands; he is a man very learned, and very honest, sound in all the five Articles, as any man in the Synod, except the Second, in which when the Canons come to be made, your Lordship shall hear there will be more of his opinion besides himself: notwithstanding of all this, because he doth mislike many of the *Contra-Remonstrants* broad speeches in many points, which I think every learned and godly man will do; they use him with so much discourtesie, as I will assure your Lordship he hath been very near leaving of the Synod, and his Colleagues were half purposed to go with him: what a blow this would give to the credit of the Synod, any man may easily perceive; the Provincials in this take not the right course. Though one be against the Remonstrants in all the five Articles in substance; yet if he differ from them but in manner of speaking, they hold him as not sound. If by your Lordships means the President were advertised of these things, it might do much good. What farther passeth in the Synod your Lordship by God's grace shall hear, in mean time with the remembrance of my best service to your good Lordship, I take my leave and rest

Dordrecht this 18. of February,  
ry, *Stylo novo.*

Your Lordships in all true  
respects of service,

Walter Balcanqual.

*My*



My very good Lord,

Since my last Letters to your Lordship there hath been no business of any great note in the Synod, but that which I am sure your Lordship will be sorry to hear, contention like to come to some head, if it be not prevented in time: for there hath been such a plot laid *ex composito* for disgracing of the *Bremenſes*; as I think the Synod shall receive small grace by it.

*ſeſſio 84. 19. Feb. ſtylo Novo.*] That part of the Remonſtrants big Book was read, which concerned the third and fourth *Articles*; becauſe theſe two *Articles* were now in deliberation: there were read fifty ſeven pages, which for the moſt part did contain nothing but an exagitation of ſome hard phraſes collected out of Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Piſcator, many *Contra-Remonſtrants*.

*ſeſſio 85. die 19. Feb. eodem die poſt meridiem.*] Acronius and another of the Church of *Camps*, who had compeired in the cauſe againſt the *Remonſtrants* there, were called in, and the decree of the Synod made againſt them whom they accused was read; [the tenour whereof your Lordship may ſee in my laſt Letters.] D. Gomarſus being he at whom the laſt diſquiſition of the third and fourth *Article* ended, was entreated by the Preſident to ſpeak his mind of the ſaid *Articles*, but Sibrandus deſireth the Preſident firſt to give him leave to adde ſome few things to that he had ſpoken the day before: now what he added was nothing but a renewing of that ſtrife, which was between him and *Martinius* in the laſt *ſeſſion*: two things he alledged, firſt that he had been at *Goclenius* his lodging, conferring with him about that propoſition, whether God might be called *cauſa phyſica* of humane actions, and delivered certain affirmations pronounced by *Goclenius* tending to the negative; for the truth of his relation he appealed to *Goclenius* there preſent, who teſtified that it was ſo: next, whereas *Martinius* had alledged a place out of *Pareus* for the affirmative in *opere converſionis*, Sibrandus read a great many places out of *Pareus* tending to the contrary; and (no queſtion it being plotted before) he entreateth that ſome of the *Palatines* (naming them all ſeverally) who were *Pareus* his colleagues, would ſpeak what they did know of *Pareus* his mind concerning  
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the said proposition. *Scultetus* beginneth with a set speech which he had in writ lying before him; but such a speech it was, as I, and I think all the *exteri* were exceedingly grieved it should have come from a man of so good worth. The summe of it was this, that he did know upon his own knowledge, that *Pareus* did hold the contrary of that which had been falsely fathered upon him in the Synod, that he could not endure to hear his dearest colleague so much abused, as he had been by some men in the Synod; moreover that he could not now dissemble the great grief he had conceived, that some in the Synod went about to trouble sound Divinity with bringing in *tricas Scholasticas*, such as was to make God *causam Physicam conversionis*; (that was for *Martinus*;) such *portenta vocabulorum*, as *determinare* and *non determinare voluntatem*; that some men durst say that there were some doubts in the fourth Article, which *Calvin* himself had not thoroughly satisfied, nor other learned reformed Doctors; that it was to be feared that they intended to bring in Jesuites Divinity in the reformed Churches, and to corrupt the youth committed to their charge, with a strange kind of Divinity: this last speech concerned *D. Crocius*. *Scultetus* delivered his mind in exceeding bitter & disgraceful words, and repeated his bitterest sentences twice over: he having ended, *Martinus* with great modesty answered, first that he would read *Pareus* his own words, which he did; next that for *Sibrandus*, he wondred that he would now in publick bring these things up, since out of his love to peace, that very day he had sent his Colleague *Crocus* to *Sibrandus*, with a large explication of that sence in which he had delivered that proposition, with which explication *Sibrandus* himself had sent him word that he was fully satisfied, and so he made account that that business had been peaceably transacted: all this while *Crocus* spoke nothing. *Gomarus* beginneth to go on in the disquisition, but I think he delivered a speech against the *Bremenses*, which none but a mad man would have uttered. First, whereas *Martinus* had said that he did desire the resolution of this doubt, *qui Deus possit ab homine, cujus potentia est finita, fidem, quæ est opus omnipotentiae, exigere*, and that neither *Calvin* nor any of our Divines had yet plainly enough untied that knot, he replied first, that he that had said so was not *dignus qui solveret Calvino corrigiam*; and that for the doubt it self it was such a silly one that *ipsi pueri in trivio* could

could *ipſus ſolutionem decantare*; at which ſpeech every body ſmiled: Moreover, whereas *Martinus* in his answer to *Schultetus* had not ſpoken one word againſt him, but only this, that he was ſorry that one who had now 25. years been a profeſſor of Divinity ſhould be thus uſed for uſing a School term; *Gomarus* very wiſely had a ſling at that too, and telleth the Synod that ſince ſome men thought to carry it away *annorum numero*, he himſelf had been a Profeſſor not only 25. but thirty five years; next he falleth upon *Crocus*, and biddeth the Synod take heed of theſe men that brought in theſe *monſtra, portenta vocabulorum* the barbariſms of the Schools of the Jeſuits, *determinare & non determinare voluntatem*, with many ſuch ſpeeches, delivered with ſuch ſparkling of his eyes, and fierceneſs of pronounciation, as every man wondered the Preſident did not cut him off; at laſt he cut off himſelf I think for want of breath, and the Preſident giveth *Celeberrimo Doctori Gomaro* many thanks for that his learned, grave and accurate ſpeech; the *exteri* wondered at it, at laſt my L. of Landaffe, in good faith in a very grave, ſhort, ſweet ſpeech, (for which as for one of the beſt I am perſwaded he ever delivered, we and all the *Exteri* thought he deſerved infinite commendations: ) he ſpake to the Preſident to this purpoſe, that this Synodical diſquiſition was inſtituted for edification, not for any men to ſhow *ſtudium contentionis*: and therefore did deſire him to look that the knot of unity were not broken: in this his Lordſhips ſpeech he named no man. The laſt word was hardly out of my L. lips, but furious *Gomarus* knowing himſelf guilty, delivereth this wiſe ſpeech: *Reverendiſſime D. Præſul agendum eſt hic in Synodo non autoritate ſed ratione*: that it was free for him to ſpeak in his own place, which no man muſt think to abridge him of by their authority: my Lord replied nothing; but the Preſident told my Lord that *celeberrimus D. Gomarus* had ſaid nothing againſt mens perſons, but their opinions, and therefore that he had ſaid nothing worthy of reprehention: this gave every man juſt occaſion to think the Preſident was on the plot: *Martinus* againſt this ſpeech of *Gomarus* ſaid nothing, but that he was ſorry that he ſhould have this reward for his far journey. The diſquiſition went on to *Thyſius*, who very diſcreetly told the Synod he was ſorry *Martinus* ſhould be ſo exagitated, for a ſpeech which according to *Martinus* his explication was true. Juſt

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as *Thysius* was thus speaking, *Gomarus* and *Sibrandus*, who sat next him, pulleth him by the sleeve, talketh to him with a confused angry noise in the hearing and seeing of all the Synod, chiding him that he would say so; afterward *Thysius* with great modesty desired *Martinus* to give him satisfaction of one or two doubtful sentences he had delivered, which *Martinus* thanking him for his courtesie fully did: the President was certainly on this plot against *Martinus*, for at that same time he did read out of a Paper publickly a note of all the hard speeches *Martinus* had used: all this while Doctor *Crocus* his patience was admired by all men, who being so grossely abused and disgraced could get leave of his affections to hold his peace. What this is like to come to I will tell your Lordship after I have set down the Sessions.

*Sessio* 86. 20. Feb. ] There were read 63. pages of the *Remonstrants* book, which concerned the fifth Article, it was for most part a confutation of the Doctors above named.

*Sessio* 87. eodem die post meridiem. ] Dr. *Mayerus* one of the Helvetians, publickly all auditors being admitted, discussed the fifth Article *de perseverantia Sanctorum*: he did rather like an O-rator than a School-man.

*Sessio* 88. 21. Feb. ] There were read publickly 6c. pages of the *Remonstrants* book, which concerned the first Article: they were of the same stuffe with the former, a confutation of the same men.

*Sessio* 89. 22. Feb. ] There were read 57. pages of the *Remonstrants* book, which concerned their opinion of Reprobation, in which they did lay open the harsh opinions of many of our men, which unless the Synod do condemn, as well as the opinion of the *Remonstrants*, I see not how they can give the world satisfaction touching their indifferencie: among the rest which was read, this was one if your Lordship can endure the smell of it, *instant Contra-Remon. nos sumus patroni reproborum, Resp. justitiæ divinæ patroni sumus non reproborum; sicut dicendum est D. Sibrandum in scripto suo adversus Vorstium non suscepisse defensionem latinarum dum defendit deum esse in fatidissimis latrinis, sed tantum suscepisse defensionem omnipresentiæ divinæ, quemadmodum nos justitiæ*, this is all was worthy the noting in that lecture.

*Sessio 90. eodem die post meridiem.* ] *Deodatus* was appointed to discourse of the first Article, but being sick, the five *Belgick* professors discussed it.

*Sessio 91. 23. Feb.* ] There were read some 35. pages of the *Remonstrants* Book, concerning *Reprobation*, and so the whole book is ended.

Now, my Lord, concerning this matter of the *Bremenses*, it came to this height, that they thought to have gone home, and withal were ready to have printed an Apology for themselves, and a narration of their heard usage in the Synod: but some of the *Exteri Theologi* came to the English Colledge, and desired them to help to quench this fire: All the *Exteri* take to heart these two things, first that strangers should be used so disgracefully, for using two School terms, which are both very common; next that *Gomarus* durst openly in the Synod give such an irreverend answer to my Lord of Landaffe, for which unless all the *exteri* may have satisfaction, ( except the *Palatines* ) I believe there will be a shameful stir in the Synod. They desired the English to labour the *Bremenses* to reconciliation with *Scultetus*, which this night they are doing; what becometh of it your Lordship shall hear; but I have small hope, for the *Bremenses* will take no satisfaction but publick, because it was a publick imputation upon their Professions and School, as if that were a place for corrupting of youth: and I think *Scultetus* will be loth to give publick satisfaction; yet my Lord Bishop of Landaffe, Dr. Goad and my self have dealt with *Scultetus*, and find him tractable. Dr. Davenant, and Dr. Ward have dealt with the *Bremenses*, and find them mightily incensed. *Martinus* hath never come to the Synod since, but with the rest of his Colleagues they have complained to the Delegates, who I think will take order with *Gomarus*. We the English are purposed ( but I know not whether that purpose shall hold ) to desire the Delegates to take notice of the wrong offered by *Gomarus* to my L. of Landaffe. My Lord, all I will say is this, there are two men in the Synod, *Sibrandus*, but especially *Gomarus*, who are able to set it on fire, unless they be lookt too; I think there is no man will say, but that *Gomarus* hath wronged the *Bremenses* infinitely, hath wronged exceedingly my Lord of Landaffe, and in him all the English Colledge: your Lordships counsel to the President may bring much water to this fire.

There



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There is here a little Pamphlet to be sold in the Synod, *Iambi de concordia & pace*, written by *Petrus Bertius* the Author of *Apostasia sanctorum*: they say it hath been out a great while; if any of the States have seen it, I wonder he is not severely punished: it is the most seditious Satyr against this State that ever I read. Here is all, and I am sorry I had so much to write to your Lordship: so with the remembrance of my humblest duty to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest

*Dordrecht this 23. of February, Stylo novo.*

*Your L. faithful and  
respectful servant,*

Walter Balcanqual.

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*My very Good Lord,*

For your L. last letters to my self, and the news in the letters inclosed, as I stand much obliged to your H. so much more I with all others, who love peace, and long for the happy success of this Synod, must ever stand much obliged to your L. for your Letters to the President; so full of sober, good, and necessary counsel, the happy fruit whereof I hope during your being there we shall not cease to find, as we have already begun to taste a little of the sweetness of it; for the very next Session after the President had received your L. letters, at the beginning in very mild and discreet words he entreated all the members of the Synod, that in their disquisition of the fifth Article, they should abstain from all bitterness, and personal opposition, and follow meekness and brotherly kindness, which in that disquisition was observed by the two Belgick professors, very strictly, and their phrase and stile tempered otherwise than heretofore it hath been; so as one might see they had been acquainted with the good counsel of your L. letters, for I will assure you they followed it: your L. joy cannot chuse but be great when you remember the great peace procured by your L. I should hold my self an enemy to the weal-publick, if I should not particularly inform your L. of all the passages

sages here, by whom if any of them go amiss, they may so happily be corrected. The reason why I have been so long a writing is, because I wanted news of which our Synod now is very barren, & will be so till towards the latter end of the next week; at which time all Colledges judgements of the five Articles. will begin to be read. The matters now in hand are matters of knowledge not of action: yet I will be bold for fashions sake to send your L. a note of such Sessions as have been since my last letters to your L.

*Sessio 92. 25. Feb. Stylo Novo.*] We bent on in the Synodical disquisition of the third and fourth Article, which at that Session was made an end of, after that the President did dictate to us, and all we did write large *Theses* collected out of the Remonstrants books upon the five Articles.

*Sessio 93. 26 Feb.*] Since the Remonstrants by commandment from the Delegates, had given up the defence of their opinion touching the second Article, there were read 56. pages of this their other new volume, in which they studied to overthrow that distinction, *sufficientia & efficacia mortis Christi*, and go about to prove that those places of Scripture, which say that Christ dyed *pro peccatis totius mundi*, are to be enlarged to all particular men, not to be restrained *ad mundum electorum*.

*Sessio 94. 27. Feb.*] There were read publickly 53. pages more of this volume of the Remonstr. upon the second Article, in which they did vindicate their own arguments propounded in *Collat. Hag.* from the instances and exceptions of the *Contra-Remonstr.* in the same Conference.

*Sessio 95. eodem die post meridiem.*] *Deodatus* was this Session appointed to discuss the first Article; but because of the continuance of his sickness, his colleague *Tronchinus* did perform that task for him, publickly all Auditors being admitted, who with good commendation did establish *sanctorum perseverantiam*.

*Sessio 96. 28. Feb.*] There was an end made of the reading the Remonstr. volume on the second Article: there were read some 54. pages, which were spent in the vindicating the rest of their own arguments from the exceptions of the *Contra-Remonstr.* in *Collat. Hag.*

*Sessio 97. eodem die post meridiem.*] We begun the Synodical disqui-

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disquisition upon the third Article, where every one of our Colledge spoke at large, but especially my L. of Landaffe, who I will assure your L. hath by his most accurate and excellent speech at that Session gained unto himself wonderful great reputation; I doubt not but he will send a Copy of it to your L. and then it will speak for it self; believe me I never heard him do any thing like it, and so thinketh every one in the Synod; it was learned, devout, and the stile masculous; *quicquid dixero minus erit*: the disquisition came to the Helvetian Divines.

*Sessio 98.1. March.*] We went on in our Synodical disquisition of the fifth Article, where my L. of Landaffe his yesterday speech was cited by two or three several Divines with great Honour and Commendation: the disquisition came to the Colledge of the Geldrians.

This, my Lord, is all we have done; when there is any thing worthy the relating, I shall not fail to advertise your L. hoping your L. in this time of my other business, which must not be neglected, will pardon both the rudeness of the hand and stile; for both which my necessary plea is want of time. The matter between the *Bremenses* and *Scultetus*, with the other two professors is taken up by the *Præses*, and the *Delegates*; the *Bremenses* have shown their inclination to peace, and were contented with private satisfaction, the other three did protest they had no hard opinion of them, but accounted them learned, religious, orthodoxal, were sorry they had done that which was done, and would do so no more: the *Bremenses* desired that one of our Colledge might be present at this satisfaction, but the other three would no way yield to it. *Gomarus* was there admonished to repair to my L. of Landaffe, and to testify unto him his sorrow for the word which unawares had proceeded from him to his L. in the Synod; but yet the old tuffe man is not come to his L. I hope after this we shall live in peace; which I must needs confess for the greatest part of it, we are debtors to your Lordship. Notwithstanding the late Proclamation set out by the States General, for restraining the Printing of all seditious Books during the time of the Synod, yet even now in the *Belgick* tongue, there is come forth a seditious pamphlet with no name of Author or Printer, containing all the Acts which have been made against the Remonstrants in this Synod, especially by the *Delegates*; a book made.

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made only to incite the common people to a dislike of the Synod, they are not to be sold, but they send them abroad among their favorites: I have all this day been using means for compassing one of them to send to your Lordship, but cannot, yet there is one of them promised me, but it may be your Lordship by this time hath seen some of them. By my Letters from *England*, from one who I believe knoweth it, it will light heavy upon the party your Lordship nameth in the end of your Letter; as much I mean as his place in the State is worth; there is scuffling for to be his successor. What is reported of Mr. *Parker* is but guessing, your Lordship is in name for it at Court, but upon what ground I know not, I would it were as sure as my wishes are strong. So with the remembrance of my best service to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest

*Dordrecht this 2. of  
March.*

*Your Lordships in all true  
respect and service,*

Walter Balcanqual.

*My very good Lord,*

**T**Hough our Synod yieldeth no great argument of writing, for now we are taken up in hearing altogether, yet I cannot omit my duty in letting your Lordship know how we spend the time.

*Sessio 99. 4. March Stylo Novo.* ] The President did invite the whole Synod to the Funeral of an *Helvetian* Gentleman, one Mr. *Staffurins* who came hither, as *comes itineris* with the *Helvetian* Divines, the invitation was against the morrow at eleven of the clock. The President moreover with great joy told the Synod that he had received news from the Magistrates of *Camps*; whereby they signify that they rest well satisfied in the last Decree of the Synod concerning the suspension of their cited Ministers, and continuance of the same suspension in case of their not comparence within fourteen dayes after new advertisement, that they would do what in them lyeth to perswade them to comparence, which

which if they refused, that they would not give them any more countenance or protection, as heretofore they had done ; moreover that they did with all due respect expect the resolutions of the Synod, concerning the points of Religion now in question, to which they mean to submit themselves wholly, and by their own example of obedience, encourage and perswade as much as in them lyeth their distracted people to yield the like obedience, and that in the mean time the care of their Ministers Flocks should be no pretence to their cited Ministers for not comparence, because that during their absence, they themselves would undertake to see their cures sufficiently discharged both for reading and preaching of the Word : I must needs say this message was much unlike their former Letters, which they were wont to write in favour of their *Remonstrant* Ministers. Moreover the President told us that Doctor *Altingius* one of the Palatine Divines, had brought him Letters to the Synod from old Dr. *Pareus* of *Heidelberg*, together with his judgement in a written Book of the five *Articles* in controverſie, which he told us should presently after the Synodical disquisition be read. We go on in the Synodical disquisition of the fifth Article, where some of the Provincials observed some things, some nothing, and so at this Session quickly our disquisition upon the first Article was ended ; then *Pareus* Letters to the Synod were read ; the summe whereof was this : I am not so good an English man as to adventure to translate, I will therefore give you the Latin:

*Quantum doloris & lachrymarum sentiebamus hic omnes jam per aliquot annos exstendo illo schismate & dissidio quod Ecclesiam Vestram Florentissimam laceravit, tantum etiam & nunc gaudii & gratulationum experimur ex coactione Celeberrimæ hujus Synodi, cuius ope & saluberrimis consiliis speramus altissimum hoc vulnus sanatum iri. Quantum gloriandi materiam dederit Pontificiis Vestrum schisma palam est omnibus : illis ut Synodus obstruat os, possitque hoc Ecclesia Vestra incendium restinguere, pacemque vestram nimis collapsam restituere, illud est quod sicut expectant à vobis boni omnes, ita & à Deo Opt. Max. omnibus precibus expetunt. O utinam daretur mihi in ultimam senectute venerandam hanc Synodum conspiciari ! Verum cum illud ætas mea mihi deneget, tamen si Doctissimi mei Collegæ meas vices supplebunt, visum tamen fuit mihi meam quo-*

*qua.*



que de famosis illis 5. Articulis ad Reverentias Vestras sententiam præscribere, & una cum Ecclesia Reformata meam quoque quodvis testatam facere; Videbitis me hic conditionatam Electionem rejicere, Reprobationem una cum D. Calvino passim, præsertim Institutionum lib. 3. ad vitiositatem referre, si minus fortassis quàm par est Prædestinationis mysteri a pertractavero, illud putate consulto factum esse, sunt enim illa agoranda magis quam discutienda: solitam & receptam de merito mortis Christi distinctionem, puta Sufficiencie & Efficientie, videbitis me retinere; Distinctionem illam, de Resistibilitate & Irresistibilitate Gratie Divinæ velim ad authores suos, puta Jesuitas relegari; Heterodoxa illa de Apostasia sanctorum sententia, se ipsam jugulat. Det Deus, ut in omnibus orthodoxam doctrinam retineatis, & pacem unice sectemini. The subscription was, Rever. Vest. Observantissimus David Pareus Septuagenarius Scribam mihi propria: This was the sum of this Letter, and of the Session too.

Sessio 100. 5. of March. ] There was read publickly so much of Pareus his sentence as concerned the first and second Article, in which he did accurately dispute against the Remonstrants opinion in both, and spent a great many pages in expounding and confirming the received distinction of the Sufficiency and Efficiency of the merit of Christ's death.

Sessio 101. eodem die post meridiem. ] Dr. Martinus of Breme appointed by the President publickly, all Auditours admitted, did very accurately and soundly discourse of the true Deity of Christ, and especially laboured to prove his Omnipresencia, opposing and answering all those places of Vorstius in which in his disputation de Deo he calleth the Omnipresencia of Christ into question.

Sessio 102. 6. March. ] We went on in the publick reading of Dr. Pareus his judgement upon the third, fourth and fifth Articles; where I must needs say that he did most accurately, and soundly, & methodically, with great subtilty and variety of reasons overthrow the Remonstrants opinions of Resistibility of Grace, & the Apostasy of the saints: one would little think that that wit & judgement could be so young in so great age: the President told us that after the Collegial judgement were read, that the Synod by their publick Letters must needs give him many thanks for these his great and good pains, as he did not doubt but that the

the Estates General would take order for doing of the like. So one of the Scribes by the President his appointment, was beginning to read our College his judgement, but Dr. *Davenant* told the President, that he thought it greatly concerned the dignity of the Synod, that the Collegial suffrages should not be read thus privately, but that they should be read as publickly as might be, all Auditours being admitted; both because it might be that the *Remonstrants* being moved by force of their reasons, might relent something in their opinions; and all other auditours be edified & confirmed in the truth; as likewise, because all auditours should perceive the consent of so many several learned mens judgements, who by the more perverse sort might otherwise be thought to use some plot and conspiracy to make their opinions meet together. This unexpected motion did not a little trouble the President, who was altogether set against any such course; which made all, especially the *exteri* wonder that he should offer to pass over a matter of so great consequence without asking the Synods advice for the manner of reading their own judgements: the reason why this motion was made by our College was this; in forming of our judgements, as we have studied to condemn all in the *Remonstrants*, which can justly be taxed; so we took pains to condemn no more but that which must be condemned, and to condemn too some hard phrases of the *Contra-Remonstrants*, especially in the matter of *Reprobation*; but they are only phrases: now we know that in the making of the *Canons* no words of ours, which sound any thing that way shall be expressed, because the *Provincials* in forming of the *Canons* will carry us down by voices; and therefore we desired that in the reading of our judgements, at least our ingenuity might be taken notice of by all the auditours. Well, to this motion the President made this answer, that within these few dayes he himself was in that same opinion which now was propounded; but having with more mature deliberation thought upon it, and asked the advice of his Assesours, that he had now thought it fit, the judgements should be read, no auditours being admitted, unless it were some few choice Ministers of good worth, who did here attend about the Synod, the reasons moving them thereunto were these: First, because this course seemeth to come nearer the intent of the Commission of the *Estates General* than the other, in which they

were appointed to enquire after Synodical suffrages privately among themselves without other auditours, unless the Synod should think it fit to admitt auditours. Secondly, because it had been a custom hitherto observed in all Synods and councils to take the suffrages, all auditours being excluded. Thirdly because, though the suffrages of all Colleges do agree (as he perceived by reading of them) in the thing it self; yet because there was some disagreement in phrales and forms of speaking, it was to be feared that the *Remonstrants* and other *Jesuits* and *Dominicans* present, would make great matter of these verbal differences, that they would cast abroad among the people strange reports of the dissensions of the Synod; and in another case, that the *Remonstrants* no question (as lately they had done) would put out in print the opinion of the Synod concerning the *Articles* before the *Canons* were formed by the Synod, and in their pamphlet no doubt they would oppose sentence to sentence, wheresoever they might take hold of the least suspicion of difference. Fourthly, and chiefly, because by this course the judgement of the Synod concerning the five *Articles* should go abroad among the people, before either the Synod it self had determined what should be their judgements, or the *Estates General* could be made acquainted with the judgements of the Colleges and Synod, who notwithstanding in all reasons and good manners ought next to the Synod it self, to know what is likely to be the event of all business in it: the President added, that since this was but a matter of order, he hoped the Synod would trust him and the Assessours with the managing of it; but perceiving that a great many were not content with it, he was glad to put the matter to voices; the *Delegates* being asked their voice, they desired the matter might be deferred till the afternoon, and so the Synod was dismissed.

The President in mean time sent *Dammannus* one of the Scribes, to entreat us to give way to the President's motion; and no question, they laboured other Colleges as well as us; but certainly all the President's reasons above mentioned might easily have been answered; for my part I think his course was *tutior*, but ours *honestior*.

*Sessio* 103. *eodem die post meridiem.*] Voices were asked concerning the manner of reading the Collegial judgements. The *Delegates*.

gates suffrage pronounced by *Heinsius* was, that in reading of the judgements, all auditours whatsoever, aswel *Contra-Remonstrants* as *Remonstrants*, should be excluded; and besides they entreat all the members of the Synod, that they would conceal as much as might be the things that were done in the Synod. The whole members of the Synod without exception according to the judgement of the *Delegates*. So ( 2. F. F. of the first Article, *que sit* ) we began to read the *Colleges judgements*, at this Session were read the judgements of our *College*, and the *College* of the *Palatines*, both of a just length, and agreeable in all things; except that the *Palatines* had added to the end of theirs a very good and necessary counsel for the sober and wholesome manner of propounding to the people the Doctrine of & *Election Reprobation*; we purpose after our judgement on the fifth Article, to give in such a counsel for the sober propounding of the whole five Articles to the people.

*Sessio* 104. 7. March. ] There were publickly read the judgements of the *College* of the *Hassians* who were exceeding long; of the *Helvetians* who were but short and grave; of *Alstedius*, he who is only *superstes* of the *Nassovians*, who was but short, there was no difference between their judgements, and the others which were read before them.

*Sessio* 105. *eodem die post meridiem.* ] There were read publickly first, the judgement of the *Genevenses*, who were pretty long; they kept a form by themselves, for where the confirmations of other *Colleges Theses* consisted of reasons, places of Scriptures and Fathers, their confirmations were nothing but places of Scripture, barely propounded in great number, and in a very fine contexture & frame; at the end they used this short peroration, that they had simply out of the Scripture delivered; that concerning the first Article, which they knew to be agreeable with the Church of *Geneva*, nay, and beside of all the Churches of *France* which did stick to the French Confession. Next was read the judgement of the *Bremenses*, which was of a just length very sound and accurate, in all things agreeable to the other judgements read before, except only with this difference; whereas other judgements had said either nothing of the *election and salvation of Infants begotten of faithful parents, & dying in their Infancy*, or they which had touched it, had determined that *faithful parents* had no reason to doubt of it; but might very

well for any thing they did know hope and perswade themselves of it: the *Bremenſes* did absolutely determine that all such *Infants* dying in their infancy if they were baptized were certainly saved, concluding it not only *ex judicio charitatis* as others had done, but *ex judicio certitudinis* too: Next begun to be read the judgement of the Divines of *Embdane*; from whom (as Mr. *Hales* well knoweth) extraordinary prolixity was to be expected; after it had been read half an hour the President told us, that because the hour was past, the rest must be left till the morrow.

*ſeſſio* 106. 8. *Martii*] We went on in reading the judgement of the *Embdanes*, which at this Session continued yet full two hours, in the coldest weather that we have felt. So now the judgements of all the *Exteri Theologi* concerning the first Article were read, among whom there was nothing to be seen but full and orthodoxal consent, for which the President told us God was to be praised, and he prayed God that the like Harmony might be found among the *Provincials*. My Lord, this is worth the observing, that there is no College yet which hath not overthrown *Gomarus* his opinion of the subject of *Predestination*; for though none of them did directly dispute against it, yet all of them expressly took it as granted, that not *homo creabilis*, but *homo lapsus* was *ſubjectum* both of *Election* and *Reprobation*, which I think doth trouble *Gomarus* not a little. Now the *Embdanes* judgement being ended, we begun to read the judgement of the College of the Belgick professors, where at the very first to our grief we observed the Belgick humour of particular opinions; for there are but five of that College as we are of ours, and yet they are divided into three parts, and have given in three distinct and several judgements. Dr. *Polyander*, Dr. *Thysius*, and Doctour *Wallens* have given in and subscribed one judgement, Dr. *Sibrandus* hath given in another judgement by himself; and Dr. *Gomarus* a third judgement by himself; at the latter end of this Session the first three their judgements began to be read, but by that time two pages were read the hour was passed, and so the rest of it was continued till the next occasion: only, my Lord, I must tell you that so much as was read, givethus little hope of agreement among them, for whereas other Colleges had taken it as granted only, that *homo lapsus* was *ſubjectum Prædestinationis*, they in these two pages did only dispute by many arguments against *Gomarus* his opinion, and proved that largely



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largely, which others had only taken as a ground; their arguments *Gomar*us I see him note; what difference shall further happen in their judgements, your L. shall understand by my next.

*Sessio 107. eodem die post meridiem.*] This Session was publick, all auditours being admitted, in which D. *Deodatus* did at great length handle these two questions. 1. *Quantum differat fides personarum seu temporaneorum, à vera et justificante Regenitorum fide.* 2. *Quoniam conceditur Diabolo progredi in oppugnanda justificatorum fide;* he did very sweetly, just as he useth to preach, not as Doctours use to do in Schools.

This is all which is done this week; for this day being Saturday we have no Session. The last Sunday I (in which I returned the Letter your L. was pleased to send me) sent to your Lordship all which had passed the week before, which I hope your Lordship had: your Lordship seeth there are but ordinary passages yet in the Synod, if there were any thing worthy of extraordinary note, I should not fail with all diligence to give your Lordship notice of it: in mean time with many thanks to your Lordship for all your Lordships courtesies, and the remembrance of my humblest service to your L. and your worthy Lady, I take my leave, ever entreating your Lordship that I may be accounted by your Lordship as I am.

I doubt not but your Lordship hath seen this pamphlet, yet if you have not, here it is.

Dordrecht this 9. of  
March, 1619.

Your L. in all true respect and  
service, Walter Balcanqual.

My very good Lord,

Such things as have passed in our Synod, since my last Letters unto your Lordship I here send your Lordship as briefly as I can: I hope now at length towards the latter end of the next week, we shall come to the making of the *Canons*.

*Sessio 108. 11. Martii. Stylo Novo.*] *Georgius Fabricius* a *Nassovian* Divine; substituted in the place of Dr. *Bisterfeld*, who died here, was with the accustomed solemnity admitted into the Synod. We go on in reading the judgement of the three *Belgick* professors.

*sours*, which was very sound and of a just length; it was subscribed by their three names, *Johannes Polyander, Antonius Thysius, Anthonius Wallens*; and a little beneath that it was thus written, *Ego Sibrandus Lubertus hoc collegarum meorum judicium perlegi, & per omnia probo*; *Gomarus* his name was not at it; but he presently rose and testified *viva voce*, that he had read it, and did in all things approve the judgement of his *Colleagues*, excepting only that part of it, which did determine *hominem lapsum* to be the object of *Predestination*, which he said had not as yet been determined in the *Belgick Churches*, in the *French* nor *English Churches*, and many others. Next was read the judgement of Dr. *Sibrandus* upon the same *Article*, which differed nothing from that former of his *Colleagues*, but that it was longer, it was subscribed with his own name, and a little beneath the former three Professors by their subscriptions testified, that they had read it, and did approve it. *Gomarus* stood up, and *viva voce* gave this same testimony to this judgement which he had given to the former making the same exception. Next was *Gomarus* his judgement read upon the same *Article*; he said nothing of that question of the object of *Predestination*, whether it was *homo lapsus* or not, which silence in that point being excepted, his judgement in all points agreed with the former judgements of his *Colleagues*, it was only subscribed with his own name; but D. *Polyander* did *viva voce* testify in the name of himself & his *Colleagues*, that they did approve all things in *Gomarus* his judgement, excepting only that opinion of the *object*, the contrary whereof they professed themselves to hold: the President instructed us concerning some particulars of the business of *Camps*, and desired us against three of the clock in the afternoon to consult about it; the particulars whereof your L. shall see in the next Session.

*sessio 109. eodem die post meridiem.*] The president told us first, that the time of *fourteen days* granted to the two suspended *Ministers* of *Camps* for their comparence was now passed, and so that they contemned this favourable respite granted by the Synod, and persisted in their contumacy. Next that the other two *Ministers* of *Camps*, who were here among the cited *Remonstrants*, had been appointed by the Synod to give in within *fourteen dayes* an answer to the accusations layed against them by the Deputies of the *Reformed Church* of

*Camps*;

*Camps*; the Copy of which accusations at their own earnest request had been delivered to them by one of the servants of the Synod, but that now in place of their answer which was expected, they had sent to him a Letter which was read unto the Synod; it had two great faults, it was exceeding long, & exceeding foolish; to this sence, or rather non-sence, they did shew that they could not at the day appointed give in their answer to the accusations; and why they could no more go on in this Synodical action which was commenced against them, for many causes, such as were, first, because they were wholly taken up in making ready some writings for the Synod concerning the five *Articles*, which were imposed on them by the commandment of the *Delegates*. 2. Because the Copy of the accusations brought unto them by one of the Synod officers, was not subscribed by the President, nor by either of the Scribes of the Synod; and therefore they thought it not an authentick Copy or of any Credit. 3. Because crimes in it were objected to them both promiscuously, and that laid to both their charge, which only one of them had delivered; and therefore their accusation was not exact according to form of law. 4. That there were many things in it objected to them, not warranted by any witness, unless it were by some proofs taken out of their Colleague *Foskulus* late book, which they christened with the name of *stultum* and *tenebrososum scriptum*. 5. Because it was full of false spellings and writing, & therefore they thought it was but negligently slubbered over; for these and many more such causes as idle as these, (with which I hold it not fit to detain your L.) though they might decline the judgement of the Synod, especially since against the practice of the *Belgick Church*, their own *Consistory*, *Classis*, and *Provincial Synod* being skipped over, they were immediately accused before the Synod; yet notwithstanding after they had done with all they had to say upon the five *Articles*, they promise that they will give in their answer to this bill of accusations; but upon this condition, (which I beseech your Lordship to observe,) that first the Synod would declare them to be free from these false and malicious slanders, wherewith they and the rest of their brethren *Remonstrants* cited to the Synod, had been most injuriously and falsely charged in that Session of the Synod, in which they were dismissed by the President, with this *elogium*,

to wit, that they had refused to go on in the Synodical action that they had shown themselves unworthy with whom the Synod should have any further dealing; and that as they had begun this business and continued it with lying and equivocations, so now they had ended it. But yet that notwithstanding of all this they were contented to go on in this action before the College of the *Delegates* of the *Estates General*, but not before the Synod. These long Letters being read, next was read an answer to these Letters penned by the Deputies of the *Reformed Church of Camps*; to whom the President had given these Letters that they might answer them; they did meet particularly with every thing alleged in the other Letters, which was needless and therefore I omit all their answers, save only to that one thing which seemed to require one, that was, that against the custom of their Church they were immediately brought before the Synod; to which it was answered, that both the *Consistory* and *Classis* of *Camps* were altogether *Remonstrantical*, and that therefore they were both of them such as ought rather to be abrogated than appealed unto; but for their *Provincial Synod*, they wondered with what face they durst affirm they had not been cited thither, since the Synod had dealt with them oftner than once, though to no purpose. Next was read a supplication penned and subscribed by *Acronius* in name of the *Reformed Church of Camps*, in which they relate how *Foskculius* one of the two suspended at *Camps*, while he was rehearsing unto his flock the sentence of his own suspension, that he had stirred up the people *ad tumultuariam infamiam*: next they humbly beseech the Synod, that now for the two suspended, their sentence of *suspension* might be ratified by the Synod, and for the other two here present at *Dort*, to wit *Mathisius*, and *Goswinus*, since they had refused to give in their answer at the time appointed, that the Synod would pronounce the like sentence of *suspension* against them: the President propounded this to the Synod, whether they thought it fit that the sentence already given against the former two should be ratified? and that the other two should be cited to give in their answer to the bill of accusations within fourteen dayes, in which if they failed, the like sentence of *suspension* should be given against them, which had been given against their Colleagues? the whole Synod approved it, and so it was decreed.

We beginning to go on in reading the *Collegiat judgements*, my Lord of Landaffe (according as we at home had deliberated among our selves) desired leave to speak, which being granted he spake to this purpose. Dr. *Gomarus* in the forenoon delivered, that this question, whether *homo lapsus* be *subjectum Prædestinationis*, had not been determined, by the confession of the Church of France; and as I and my *Colleagues* conceived he delivered the like for the confession of the Church of England; and therefore I do intreat Dr. *Gomarus* in my own name, and the name of my *Colleagues* to declare before the Synod, whether he did say so or not? Dr. *Gomarus* with good modesty answered that indeed he did say so, but he protested it was not out of any evil meaning, but only to shew that as other Churches, so the Church of England had left that undetermined, since the words of the confession determined no farther of the subject, than (*quosdam ex humano genere*:) my Lord of Landaffe replied, that he himself and the rest of his *Colleagues* could not chuse but think themselves by that speech touched for temerity or ignorance; for since they in their judgement had delivered the contrary for *homo lapsus*, it was as much to say as that they had delivered that in the Synod, which was not according to the judgment of the Church of England, but to let the Synod know that they had said nothing in their judgement, which was not the judgement of their Church, they desired the Synod to hear the words of their confession; so Dr. *Goad* read publickly the seventeenth Article of the confession, where the words are *quosdam ex humano genere, in exitio & maledicto*, which last words *Gomarus* had left out: *Gomarus* answered, that if he had understood the words of the confession amiss, he would submit himself to the judgement of the Synod. The President told *Gomarus* roundly enough, that it was free for every member of the Synod to deliver his own judgement concerning any point or question; but that men ought to be very careful that they do not rashly meddle with the judgements of other Churches. My Lord of Landaffe desired further leave to adde this; Since all the *forraign Divines*, without exception, and likewise all the *Belgick professors*, except *Gomarus*, had already delivered their judgements for *homo lapsus*, and that he doubted not but the *Provincials* would determine the same; it were very fit that the Synod should



likewise determine so of it; neither was it any reason that for the particular opinion of one *professour*, who in this did dissented from the judgement of all the *Reformed Churches*, the Synod should abstain from determination of the question. *Gomarus* answered, that the University of *Leyden* had never yet determined for *homo lapsus*, and that both *Dr. Whitakers*, and *Mr. Perkins* had determined the contrary, whom he took to be such men as would not dissented from the *Confession of the Church of England*: that the matter ought first to be discussed with arguments on both sides, before any thing should be determined on either side; to whom the President returned this answer, that after the judgements of all the *Colleges* were read, the Synod would decree of that question what they shall think best; after the *Canon* is conceived it shall be read, if then you can shew that any thing contained in that *Canon* is against the word of God; The Synod shall with all dutiful patience hear what you can say.

There were read the judgements of the *Geldri*; the *South-Hollandi*, ( who in their judgement wished that the question of *homo lapsus* might be left undetermined ) the *North-Hollandi*, the *Zelandi*, who were all not long; and agreed in all things with the former judgements delivered, and so this long Session ended.

*Sessio* 110. 12. *Martii*. ] There were read the *Collegiat judgements* of the *Ultrajectini*, the *Frisi*, the *Transfulani*, the *Groningani* & *Omlandii*, all which four were of a good length, and in all things consonant to the former judgements.

*Sessio* 111. *codem die post meridiem*. ] There were read the *Collegiat judgements* of the *Drentani* and *Gallo-belgici*, which were brief, and agreeable to the former judgements, and so was ended the Reading of the judgements of all *Colleges*; in which ( God be praised for it ) there was not the least suspicion of dissention of any thing, and it is to be noted that all of them determined *homo lapsus* to be the subject of *Predestination*; except *Gomarus*, whom all men know to be against it; and the *South-Hollandi*, who only said they would determine nothing of it.

There was read the judgement of the *Divines* of great *Brittain* upon the second *Article*; they were briefer than upon the first *Article*, they left the received distinction of *sufficiensia* and *efficacia*.

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*efficacia mortis Christi* untouched; as likewise they did not touch that received restriction of those places which make Christs suffering general to the world, only *ad mundum Electorum*.

There were read the judgements of the *Palatines*, of the *Hassians*, of the *Helvetians*, who all did maintain the received distinction, to wit, that *Christ his death* was only sufficient for all men, not efficient or impetrative, and did restrain all the general propositions which are in Scripture to that purpose only *ad mundum Electorum*, concluding that Christ was no wayes *expiatio pro peccatis singulorum*.

*Sessio 112. 13. Martii.* ] There was read publickly the judgement of the *Nassovici*, after them the judgement of the *Genevenses*, both of which defended the received distinction and restriction; after were read the judgements of the *Bremenses*, who according to the number of their persons had three several judgements. *Martinus* his judgement was first read, who did stand in effect to the tenents of the *Remonstrants* in the second Article, he mainly overthrew the received distinction and restriction, and did determine that *Christ did truly die for all and every man*, that he was made a *Propitiation* both for the godly and the wicked, and that by his death he did *impetrate reconciliation with God for them all*; at the latter end he condemned many things both in the *Remonstrants* and in the *Contra-Remonstrants* opinion, but more in the *Contra-Remonstrants*. Next Dr. *Iffelburgius* the second *Bremensis* his judgement was read, who was directly against *Martinus* defending both the received distinction and restriction. Thirdly, was read the judgment of Dr. *Crocus* the third *Bremensis*, who propounded a *middle way* between his two Colleagues; granting (which *We* also in our College did,) that *Christ did merit by his death some supernatural things for the wicked*; as the word preached, and all such good graces as are common both to the godly and wicked; but nothing belonging to remission of sin or reconciliation with God, and so indeed for any thing I could perceive his judgment was directly against that of *Martinus*, and in effect all one with that of *Iffelburgius*. Next was read the judgement of the *Embdani*, who were exceeding long, and agreed in all things with the *Contra-Remonstrants*, as they do express themselves in the *Collat. Hagienfis*.

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*Sessio 113. eodem die post meridiem.*] Dr. *Iffelburgius* one of the *Bremenſes*, at the President his appointment publicly, all auditours being admitted, did at very great length prove, that *God his vindictive justice is natural and necessary unto him*, and that therefore that *satisfaction* which Christ made for the sins of the world was *simpliciter necessaria*; proving withal by many arguments the *fulneſs* and *ſufficiency of Christ his ſatisfaction*; answering the arguments of *Socinus* and *Vorſtius* againſt both the former conclusions.

*Sessio 114. 14. die Martii.*] There was read the judgement of four of the *Belgiſch Profeſſours* ſubſcribed by *Polyander*, *Gomar*, *Thyſius*, *Wallæus*; and a little beneath was written, *Ego Si* *brandus Lubertus hoc Collegarum meorum judicium per omnia probo*: next was read *Sibrandus* his judgement who differed nothing from his *Colleagues*, ſave that he was ſhorter, it was ſubſcribed firſt by himſelf, and then approved by the ſubſcriptions of the reſt of his *Colleagues*: all five of them did ſtand mainly for the above named diſtinction and reſtriction. Next was read the judgement of the *Geldri*, who were too-too rigid in many things; next them the judgment of the *South-Hollandi*; next them the judgement of the *North-Hollandi*, who had many things which we thought not only to be rigid but falſe; all theſe three *Colleges* at great length diſputed for the received diſtinction and reſtriction.

*Sessio 115. eodem die post meridiem.*] There were read the judgements firſt of the *Zelandi*, next of the *Ultrajeſſini*, next of the *Friſii*, next of the *Transſulani*, next of the *Groninganji* and *Omlandii*: all of them ſtood for the ſame diſtinction and reſtriction.

*Sessio 116. 15. die Martii.*] There were read the judgements firſt of the *Drentani*, who delivered many falſe and abſurd propoſitions; next of the *Gallo-belgici*, who were moderate enough, both of them did maintain the former diſtinction and reſtriction; and ſo was ended the *Reading of all Collegial judgements* upon the ſecond *Article*, in which there was not altogether ſo uniform a conſent both in regard of phraſes and forms of ſpeaking, and in regard of ſome propoſitions, as was in the firſt *Article*: yet certainly there was very great, more than could well have been expected from ſo great a number of learned men in ſo hard and controverted an *Article*.

There

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There was read the judgement of *our College* upon the third and fourth *Article*, which was most just and equal, condemning the rigidity of some of the *Contra-Remonstrants* opinion, though not by that name, as well as the errors of the *Pelagians*, *Semipelagians*, and *Remonstrants*.

There was read the judgement of the *Palatines*, who in all things agreed with the judgement of the *Contra-Remonstrants*, as it is set down in *Collatio Hagienfis*.

*Sessio 117. eodem die post meridiem.*] There were read the judgements of the *Hassiaci*, the *Helvetians*, the *Nassovici*, who agreed in all points with the *Contra-Remonstrants* of the *Genevenses*, who carried a very eaven hand in this *Article*; their *Theses*, as before, were confirmed only by places of Scripture, but finely digested; of the *Bremenses* who handled the head *de gratiâ*, & *libero arbitrio* in general, and in particular overthrew *resistibility of Grace*. Of the *Embdani*, whose judgement after an hours reading was not near half done, and therefore we were glad to make an intercession of their discourse of *Grace* till the morrow.

*Sessio 118. 16. Martii.*] We went on in reading the judgement of the *Embdani*, which yet continued above an hour and an half; they discussed 34. questions, and to speak truth they were long above the strength of patience. There was read the judgement of the four *Belgick Professours* subscribed by themselves, and afterwards approved by the subscription of *Sibrandus*; next was read the judgment of *Sibrandus* subscribed by himself, and approved by the subscriptions of his *Colleagues*; next was read the judgement of the *Geldri*.

So my very good Lord, here is the sum of all hath passed this week; I hope your Lordship hath received the letters I sent these last two weeks; what followeth I shall not fail to advertise your Lordship. So with the remembrance of my most observant duty to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, I take my leave and rest

Dordrecht this 26. of March,  
Stylo Novo, 1619.

Your Lordships in all true  
respect and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

A. B.

*My very good Lord,*

**A**fter I had written these yesternight, I received your Lordships letters, for which I stand much obliged to your Lordship. I had before them received very particularly news from *England*, but especially of the *Star-Chamber sentence*, from a gentleman of good worth, who was present; many memorable sentences his Majesty delivered, such as were these, He said this sin was like the first sin committed in the world, that my Lady *Lake* was the *Serpent*, my Lady *Rosses* Eve, and Sir *Thomas Lake* the man. He desired the Noble-men to take heed of their wives, for he had now known five of his Council who had been overthrown by their wives, and especially bid such look to themselves, who had *Papish wives*; if for no other thing, yet for this, that a *Whore* and a *Papist* were *termini convertibiles*. Moreover speaking publickly of the Navie, he gave in the *Star-Chamber* three reasons why he had made my Lord of *Buckingham* Admiral; one was, because the other was exceeding old; second, because this was young and fit for service; third, because of his love to this and his being near about him. I am sure your Lordship hath the Kings meditation upon the Lords Prayer dedicated to my Lord of *Buckingham*, else I would have sent your Lordship one. Yesternight there landed here one *English* Gentleman of good worth, who assureth us that on Tuesday last the *Queen* died; and it may be true, for I had a letter written the first of *March*, assuring me that my Lord of *Canterbury* was sent for in hast to *Hampton Court*, as was thought, to see her die. I hear likewise but cannot believe it, that Mr. Dean of *Worcester* cometh this journey over with my Lord *Hayes* in his Embassage to the Emperour.

Now for your Lordships directions in our Synod business, our thanks is but a small recompense, your Lordship may justly look for your reward in heaven; I pray God send us out of the second Article well, and I shall be perswaded of Harmony in all the rest: for in good faith some of the Provincials, especially the *Geldri* and the *North-Hollandi*, who are of all in the Synod, greatest in the President his books, have delivered such propositions in that Article, as I dare say, never any Divine in the world dreamed of but them-



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themselves: for my own part, I had rather lose mine hand, than subscribe them. For that your Lordship adviseth from the King about the *Palatines*, it is a thing absolutely necessary, for they are the only *Magistrales Doctores*, next to *Gomarus*, in all the Synod, and think every thing they speak should be taken for *Text*: in good faith, in their judgement upon the second *Article*, they did gird most bitterly at some things which Dr. *Ward* had delivered in the Synod of that same *Article*, with which Dr. *Ward* is very much moved. Our judgement in the second *Article* is already read in the Synod, so we must study to frame our selves to our directions from *England*, in making of the *Canons*: my Lord his *Grace's* Letter is to have us conform our selves to the received distinction and restriction, with which his *Grace* acquainted his Majesty and received approbation from him: but I must needs say, that the directions which your Lordship hath sent from Secretary *Nanton* do seem to will us to be as favourable to the general propositions as may be, giving as little offence to the *Lutherans* as we can; which counsel in my poor judgement we have in our *Theses* already followed.

Frequent admonitions and exhortations rather from your Lordship or by your Lordships means procured to the President, for prudence and wariness, and keeping the bond of peace, may hinder much indiscretion in this Synod, in which as I hope your Lordship will not be wanting; so by God's grace I shall not be wanting to give your L. all convenient information, nor be wanting in my prayers to the God of peace that your Lordship may still go on, in procuring the peace of our assembly. So once again with the remembrance of my most sincere Duty I rest

This Sunday morning  
17. March.

Your Lordships faithful and  
respectful servant,  
Walter Balcanqual.

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My very Good Lord,

Since my last unto your Lordship there have been but three Sessions; no matter of moment hath been done in them, and

and therefore I will defer the relation of them to my next Letters: only I thought good to let your Lordship know that yesterday after the *forenoon Session* the *President* called Me into his lodging, and told me he would show me a *miracle*, which in truth he did; for there he showed me a *Volume* which the *Remonstrants* that morning had given into the *Delegates* upon the third, fourth and fifth *Articles*. I was I confess, astonished when I looked on it; for I could not with mine own hand lift it from the table, it is above twice as much as all they have given in yet: in good faith, my Lord, I think it is fully as big as one of our *Church great Bibles*; which I would have your Lordship think I speak without any figure, trope, or Rhetorical lie, for it is so big, I told the *President*, that it was a thing impossible the Synod could take notice of the Contents of that *Volume* under six moneths, he answered me, that for my comfort he would show me two lines in the *Preface*, which would rid me of that fear, and so he did; for in these lines they do protest that they do not offer this *Volume* to the Synod; for they profess, that they have nothing, nor will have nothing to do with the Synod, since the Synod hath refused to have any *doings* with their *living persons*, but only their *dead books*, and therefore they do only offer this book to the *Delegates*, but will not have it thought by any man that they offer it to the Synod. *Heinsius* dyed with us yesterday, and I asked him when they had given in this Book, he told me that morning; but with such impudence, as is almost incredible; for when one of the *Delegates* told them that he wondered why they would give in so much paper as was impossible it should ever be read in the Synod, *Episcopius* answered, they had nothing to doe with the Synod, they offered it only to them who were the *Delegates*: the former *Delegate* replied, that the *Delegats* were not to judge of their opinions, but the Synod; & that in their *Letters Citatory* they were warned to come and give an account to the Synod of the doctrine which they had delivered in their Scholes and pulpits. *Episcopius* most impudently answered thus briefly: we here delivered to you the *Delegates* this book and to none else, if you be pleased to take it from us, we will leave it with you, if not, we pray you give it us again, and we will keep it; one of the *Delegates* commanded *Heinsius* to write down that their peremptory and saucy answer, *Episcopius*  
very

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very bravely told *Heinsius* that they would save him that labour, for they had set down the same words already in their *Preface*, and pointed out to him the place where he might find them : so that, my Lord, they were never since the beginning of the Synod so lusty as now, so as none can chuse but think that they yet have some secret and sure hopes. I forget to tell your Lordship that the *President* told me he had been glancing at this volume, and he finds it to be in many parts a confutation of the several discourses which have been had publickly in the Synod upon the five *Articles*. There is some talk here about the citation of *Vorstius*; and *Festius Hommius* yesternight told me he had some talk with your Lordship about it. If he be cited your Lordships credit with the Prince of *Orange* and Count *William* must help us for discretion in dealing with him, else he will keep the Synod as long as the *Remonstrants* did; your Lordship I hope will give counsel to them, that if *Vorstius* should desire to have time to give in apologies and explications, for the hard speeches in his book *De Deo*; and should desire to be convinced with Reason, and satisfaction of his arguments; all which would take up a long time, that the Synod would talk of no such matter with him, but in plain terms tell him that all the members of the Synod had read his Book, and found many things in it very near unto open blasphemy, & scandalous without all question to the *Reformed Religion*: that explications of things, which are not once to be called in question, is no satisfaction; and they therefore only desire to know whether he will make a plain recantation & denial of it, & publickly ask God forgiveness for it, & his Church likewise there assembled, whom by that Book he hath scandalized: if he do this we gain him; if not, then without any more ado, let the Synod censure him as they shall think fit; I wish that to the terrour of others he might solemnly be *excommunicated* in the Synod; in this and all other busineses we do and must relie upon your Lordships care, for the handsome carriage of them; which as your Lordship hath hitherto done, so that your Lordship may still continue to the good of God's Church, and your own immortal credit, it is no small part of the prayers of

Dordrecht this 20. of  
March, *Stylo novo*.

Your Lordships humble and faith-  
ful servant, Walter Balcanqual.  
S<sup>c</sup> Aty

*My very good Lord,*

**T**His week hath been a very barren one for news, for we have been taken up wholly with hearing, yet such Sessions as we had your Lordship shall here have a note of them.

*Sessio 119. 18. Martii, Stylo novo.* ] There were read Letters from the Marques of *Brandeburgh* in *Dutch*, containing ( as the President told us ) an excuse why he deputed none to the Synod ; the President told us they should be turned into *Latin*, and after read again unto the whole Synod : there were read the judgements of the *South-Hollandi*, the *North-Hollandi*, the *Zelandi*, the *Ul-trajectini* upon the third and fourth *Articles*.

*Sessio 120. eodem die post meridiem.* ] There were read upon the same *Articles* the judgements of the *Frisii*, the *Transfulani*, the *Groninganii*, and *Omlandii*, the *Gallo-belgici*, the *Drentani* ; And so was ended the reading of all the *Collegial judgements*, upon the third and fourth *Articles* ; in which there was wonderful great consent, both in the things themselves, as likewise in the phrases and forms of speaking.

*Sessio 121. 19. Martii.* ] There were read the judgement of our *College* upon the fifth *Article* ; Which was far longer than any which we gave in before ; At the end of it we annexed an adhortation to the *Delegates*, for the defence, in their *Provinces*, of the *Doctrine* received in the *Reformed Churches* ; Likewise an Exhortation to all the *Members of the Synod* for avoiding *harshness* and *rigidity*, and embracing of all *moderation* in making the *Canons*, especially upon the second *Article* ; as likewise an admonition to the *Provincials*, for great *wariness* and *discretion*, in propounding to the common People the *Doctrine of Predestination*, and especially *Reprobation* : these things we told his Majesty desired us to observe, and so with a Prayer we wish'd both we and all the Synod might be careful in the observing of them. There was read the judgement of the *Palatines*, at the end whereof they annexed an *Epilogue* much to the same purpose with ours ; In all the judgements that were read upon this *Article*, it is to be observed that every *College* concluded with such an *Epilogue* and a Prayer.

*Sessio 122. eodem die post meridiem* ] There were read the judgements

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judgements of the *Hassiaci*, of the *Helvetic*i, of the *Nassovici*, of the *Genevenses*, who used, as in their former judgements, no confirmations, besides plain citations of places of Scripture, of the *Bremenses*.

*Sessio* 123. 20. *Martii*. ] There were read the judgement of the *Embdani* who were exceeding long, of the four *Professores Belgici*, which was subscribed as with their own hands, so a little beneath with the hand of *Sibrandus*; next the judgement of *Sibrandus*, subscribed likewise by the other four Professours; there were read likewise the judgement of the *Geldri*, of the South-Hollandi, all these except the *Embdani* were exceeding short.

*Sessio* 124. *eodem die post meridiem*. ] D. *Crocus* one of the *Bremenses* appointed by the President, publickly, all Auditours being admitted, did discuss at great length these two questions; First, *An fides justificans, per Dei acceptationem, reputetur à Deo pro omni illà legis justitià quam nos præstare tenebamur?* The second, *An ipsa fides, seu credere, id est actus credendi, imputetur homini à Deo ad justitiàm*; he held the Negative of both against *Socinus*, the Remonstrants, but namely *Bertius*.

*Sessio* 125. 21. *Martii*. ] There were read the judgements of the North-Hollandi, the Zelandi, the *Ultrajectini*, the *Friski*.

*Sessio* 126. *eodem die post meridiem*. ] There were read the judgements of the *Transfulani*, the *Groningani* and *Omlandii*, the *Drentani*, the *Gollo-belgici*. And so was happily ended the reading of all the Collegial judgments upon the five Articles, in which, praised be God for it, there was seen an incredible harmony, far greater than almost could be hoped for in so great an Assembly of so many learned men. The President told us that the Estates General between this and Easter did expect that the *Canons* should be made, and therefore did desire that against the morrow at ten of the Clock every College would depute one, who might meet about the conceiving of the *Canons*, that one should relate to the rest of their College, what Articles they agreed upon, and accordingly consult with them to know what they would have added, paired, or changed, so after these deputed and had agreed, the *Canons* should be publickly read and approved.

This is all, but that I think our President hath need of your Lordships good counsel, for carrying himself in making the Ca-



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nons; I find every man murmuring already that he would make  
them, and doth but only dictate them to the rest. With the re-  
membrance of my best service to your Lordship and my Lady, I  
take my leave and am

Dordrecht this 23. of  
March, New style,

Your Lordships in all true re-  
spect and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

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*My very good Lord,*

What stir we have had about the making of our Canons  
your Lordship shall understand by Letters from our *whole*  
*College*: if we had not written a common Letter, and then your  
Lordship should have taken some particular notice of the con-  
tents of mine, the rest of my *Colleagues* must needs have suspect-  
ed that your Lordship had had intelligence from me; And there-  
fore I did presently deal with my Lord and the rest of our So-  
ciety, that they would write a common Letter to your Lordship  
concerning the particular passages of this troublesome business:  
These three things I may say in it; First, that the *President* would  
take upon him more than ever any *President* did, to make *Canons*  
and pass them by *placet* or *non placet*, and then he hath so many  
of the *Provincials* at command to pass what he will; I cannot, I  
confess, yet see, how it can consist with the dignity of any, much  
more of some of the Members of the Synod, that the *President*  
should dictate Canons and the rest especially a *Bishop* write after  
him; so that he maketh the *Canons*, and the whole Synod are  
called *non ad consilium, sed tantum consensum*. Next I think, my  
Lord, that if the Synod had wanted but *two men* which are of it,  
we had wanted a great deal of contention, which I perceive  
will not forsake the Synod, so long as they are in it; I mean *Si-*  
*brandus* & *Gomarus*; they keep their fits of madness by course; the  
last fit before this came to *Gomarus* his turn, and this day *Sibran-*  
*dus* flew out, but with such Raving and fierceness of countenance,  
such unheard bitterness against our *College*, as I desire no other re-  
venge

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venge on him than the very speaking of the words, which while they were in his mouth were checked by both Presidents *Politick* and *Ecclesiastical*; Dr. *Davenant* who is a very moderate man, would have answered him much against my will, & no man could blame him, for *Sibrandus* his words against our College, if they had come from a wise man his lips, had been above the strength of patience; I was glad the President gave not way to Dr. *Davenants* speech, which notwithstanding I am sure would have been full of discretion; and for *Sibrandus* I blame him and *Gomarus* no more for these extasies, than I do a stone for going downward, since it is both their natural constitution. Thirdly, if your Lordships care do not now most of all shew it self for procuring of good counsel to be sent hither for the constitution of the *Canons*, we are like to make the Synod a thing to be laughed at in after ages. The President and his *Provincials* have no care of the credit of strangers, nor of that account which we must yield at our return unto all men that shall be pleased to call for it; their *Canons* they would have them so full charged with *Catechetical speculations*, as they will be ready to burst; and I perceive it plainly that there is never a *Contra Remonstrant* Minister in the Synod, that hath delivered any Doctrine which hath been excepted against by the *Remonstrants*, but they would have it in by head and shoulders in some Canon, that so they might have something to show for that which they have said: God his goodness towards his Church, and your Lordships vigilant constancy in perfecting this good course, which you were so careful to procure, I hope will teach us to overcome all these difficulties.

In my last letter I wrote as I suspect, that the *Palatines* inveighed against some things delivered by Dr. *Ward* in the third and fourth *Articles*; If I had so, I was mistaken, I should have said the second *Article*. We shall have no more Sessions till all be agreed upon in *private Colleges*; and therefore I thought to have come over to have done my duty to your Lordship this *Easter*, but I understand by a Letter from Sir *Thomas Jermyn* that my Lord *Hayes* had warning to make himself ready for his Embassy against the tenth of *March*; I think he will come by the *Hague*; if I understand of his coming I must likewise do my duty to him, and I can hardly make two journies; and so with  
my

142 Dr. Balcanqualls *Letters from the Synod of DORT*,  
my humblest service for your Lordships kind invitation, and for  
all the rest of your Lordships most undeserved favours to a  
stranger, which since my fortune is not likely ever to give me  
leave to requite, I must take leave to acknowledge, and with  
my best prayers for your Lordships and my Ladies happiness, I  
take my leave and am as I ever shall be

Dordrecht this 25. of  
March.

Your Lordships in all true  
respect and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

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*My very good Lord,*

ALL my answer to your Lordships arguments is my acknow-  
ledgement of your Lordships extraordinary courtesie in  
your kind invitations. I could not be so fitted in my mourning  
apparel as I would before Saturday at night : besides we must  
now narrowly look to the *Canons* which are sent to us by the De-  
puties of the Synod ; for we are required upon Tuesday next to  
give in our observations upon them ; my Lord of Landaffe being  
one of the Deputies, hath already delivered his opinion of  
them ; and therefore his Lordship may here be spared till  
Wednesday next, the rest of us have not, and it being the main  
business of our coming hither, we must plie it so as it may be  
done to some good purpose. My Lord of Landaffe his coming to  
your Lordship telleth me that the writing of any occurrences  
here are needless ; so with the continuance of my best wishes for  
your Lordships health and happiness, I take my leave ; and shall  
ever account it a great part of my temporal happiness if your  
Lordship shall be pleased to account me as I am

Dordrecht this 29. of  
March, *Stylo loci.* ]

Your Lordships in all dutiful  
respect and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

*My*

My very good Lord,

THIS Place is yet still barren of News, but I make no question but my next Letters shall send your Lordship some. The Deputies appointed by the Synod have taken pains I must needs confess to give *our College* all satisfaction; besides the *second Article*, some of *our College* have been earnest to have this Proposition out; (*Infideles damnabuntur, non solum ob infidelitatem; sed etiam, ob omnia alia peccata sua: tam originalia, quam actualia:*) Because they say that from thence may be inferred that *original sin* is not remitted to all who are baptized, which opinion hath been by more than one *Council* condemned as heretical: they have therefore at their request put it out; so I know now of no matter of disagreement among us worthy the speaking of. To morrow there is a Synod, one way or other we shall determine what shall become of the *Canons*, what we do your Lordship by God's grace with the first occasion shall understand. I have here sent your Lordship my Speech made in the Synod; I know your Lordships experience will pardon the imperfections of a discourse delivered upon less than two days warning. Now my Lord, to write a History of Dr. Goad his journey and mine own, between *Roterdam* and *Dort* that night, on which we came from your Lordship would move too much pity, especially if you should make relation of the same to my Lady: the compend of it is this; that a little after five a clock in the afternoon we took Ship at *Roterdam*, and about a little after one of the clock in the night we arrived at *Dort*, but could get no entrance; and therefore until half an hour past five in the Morning, we sometimes lay in the Ship, sometime walked on the Bulwark: if we were not sufficiently assaulted with cold and watching we know our selves. Mr. *Downs's* wooing in Greek was never so cold as we were that night. Letters I have received from *England*: the summe of the news are, that the Spanish Navy is dissipated, and that it never exceeded 60. sayls. The King of *Spain* hath written large Letters with his own hand to our King; in which he protesteth, that he never intended any thing against *England*, nor any Christian Kingdom. The talk of the *Spanish match* hath of late been very fresh again in *England*, but this is certain that the other

other day at *Theobalds* the King asking a Gentleman of good note what the people talked of the *Spanish Navy*, received of him this answer: Sir, *the people is nothing so much afraid of the Spaniard's powder as of their match.* My Lord, I can but thank your Lordship for all your courtesies, especially your Lordships great kindness at my last being with you, which since my fortune will not give me leave to requite, I must take leave to acknowledge. With the remembrance of my best duty and service to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, and my faithful wishes for both your happiness, I take my leave, hoping your Lordship will believe that there liveth no man of whom you may more freely dispose, than of

Dort this 4. of  
April.

Your Lordships most faithful and re-  
spectful in all true service,

Walter Balcanqual.

*My very good Lord,*

DOCTOR Davenant his coming to your Lordship saveth me the writing of any News here: for he will perfectly relate them to your Lordship. We are full of trouble about things altogether unnecessary, they are so eager to *kill the Remonstrants*, that they would *make their words have that sence which no Grammar can find in them*: upon Tuesday in the Afternoon we had a Session, in which were read the *Canons* of the *first* and *second Article*, and were approved, except the *last* of the *second Article*, which we never heard of till *that hour*, and the *second heterodox* in that same *Article*; what they were Dr. Davenant will inform your Lordship; *The last was such as I think no man of understanding would ever assent unto.* On Thursday Morning we had another Session, in which was nothing done, but that it was reasoned whether that last heterodox should be retained; *our College* in that whole Session maintained dispute against the whole Synod; they condemned the thing it self as a thing most curious, and yet would have it retained only to make the *Remonstrants* odious, though they find the very contrary of that they would father upon them in their words.



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words. That day in the Afternoon was another Session, in which were read the *Canons of the third, fourth and fifth Articles*, and were approved, the particular passages of these Sessions I will send your Lordship by the next occasion, there were no great matters in them, yet when I send your Lordship the next Sessions, in which it is like that something will be done, I will send a note of them too: yesterday there was no Session, but the Deputies met for taking order about the *Preface and Epilogue of the Canons*, and mending those things in the *Canons* which were thought fit to be amended, and have sent them worse than they were; in case we stand, and what need of counsel we have, this worthy Doctour will sufficiently inform your Lordship. My Lord, I have had a great deal of talk with Mr. *Douglas* about the Controversies in this Church, and find him unquestionably sound in them, also that there is no fear of his Opinions, if otherwise he be found sufficient: I much wonder that we do not hear of my Lord of *Doncaster*. There is here in the Synod a report of our King his mortal disease, it cometh from *Sculetus*, but I hope it is but the Gout. With the remembrance of my best duty and service to your good Lordship and my Lady, I take my leave and rest ever,

Dort this 2. of  
April.

Your Lordships in all true re-  
spect and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

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My very good Lord,

NOW at last we have made an end of our business of the *five Articles*; what trouble we have had in these last Sessions none can conceive but those who were present at them: and what strange carriage hath been in them, especially on the *President his part*, it is too palpable, he hath deceived all mens hope of  
“him very far. This matter of the personal censure which was a  
“thing of great consequence, we were never made acquainted  
“with before the very instant in which it came to be read; and be-  
“cause the *Delegates* must not be stayed from their going to the

T t

“Hague,

“ *Hague*, therefore all the Synod must say *Amen* to it ; between the  
 “ Forenoon and the Afternoon Session, there was strange labour-  
 “ ing with the *Exteri* for getting their consent to it ; yet we med-  
 “ led not with it ; all I can say is, me thinketh it is hard, that  
 “ every man should be deposed from his Ministry, who will not  
 “ hold every particular Canon ; never did any Church of old,  
 “ nor any Reformed Church propose so many Articles to be held  
 “ *sub pœna excommunicationis* ; but had it not been then cruel, if  
 “ all had gone for Canons, which they would have had gone, v.  
 “ g. that of an absolute necessity of similitude of nature for working  
 “ our redemption. None of us have the Canons yet, neither shall  
 “ till the *Estates* have approved them : a note of such Sessions  
 as have passed since my last notes which your Lordship had I do  
 now send your Lordship : our Sessions have been so long and late  
 as I had no time to write them : I was therefore bold to send them  
 to your Lordship, as my Scribe transcribed them out of my Notes  
 which I took in the Synod, hoping your Lordship will have re-  
 gard of our perpetual business here : with the remembrance of my  
 best service to your Lordship and my Lady, I take my leave, re-  
 maining always,

Dort this 25. of April,  
 Stylo loci.

Your Lordships in all true re-  
 spect's and service,

Walter Balcanqual.

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Sessio 127. 26. Martii Stylo novo.] Præses D. Delegatorum, o-  
 ratione brevi monet Synodicos, D. Delegatis omnino videri fu-  
 turum è re & dignitate Synodi, si domino Præsidi, & D. alieffori-  
 bus pauci aliquot à Synodo tum ex exteris tum ex provincialibus  
 adjungantur, in quos auctoritate publicâ, cura concipiendi, & con-  
 cinnandi canones devolvatur ; publicis ita gratiis ab ipso nomine  
 Delegatorum D. Præsidi Ecclesiastico actis ob gratissimum laborem  
 hactenus in canonibus concipiendis susceptum, eorundem nomine ro-  
 gat, ut quam viam ingressus esset in primo, eandem quoque in reliquis  
 articulis viam insisteret : rogat porro ut statim aliquot nominet Syno-  
 dus qui cum D. Præsidi in idem negotium incumbant ; utque velint  
 ætium hoc negotium quam fieri possit citissimè maturare, cum id præ-  
 sertim

sertim ab ipsis D. ordines generales vehementer contendunt: Rogantur de Deputatis hisce Synodicorum sententia, in quibus ferendis fuit magna admodum varietas; multi volebant Præsidem eodem quo cæperat pede pergere in canonibus Dictandis, inter Exteros isthoc consilium vehementius urgebat D. Scultetus; inter Provinciales D. Sibrandus, sed immodestè & imprudenter satis, adversus enim illos qui hoc consilii suggererant fervide admodum declamabat seu potius exclamabat; dicebat enim quosdam esse qui huc illuc cursitaverant, ut alios in suas partes pertraherent; quos putabat omnino censurâ ecclesiasticâ notandos, neque hic debere Exteros nimium laborare, utpote quibus non tam constaret de ratione Ecclesiarum Belgicarum, quam provincialibus: eo demum ferebatur, ut D. Præfides politicus, iidem & D. Præfides Ecclesiasticus, cum graviter monerent, suaderentque ipsi maiorem modestiam; D. Davenantius cum se & collegas suos hic sugillari putaret, petiit à D. Præsidi ut liceret sibi à se & suis calumnias istas depellere; verum rogatu D. Præsidis à responsa abstinuit. Cum vero deposceretur South-Hollandorum suffragium, D. Latius, (is est qui historiam Pelagianorum scripsit) eo quod putaret se & collegas suos nomine cursitantium à Sibrando impetitos fuisse, modestè certe in suffragio suo D. Sibrandum perstringebat; aiebat enim omninò sibi videri è dignitate Synodi, ut Canones auctoritate publicâ non privatâ conciperentur; possèque se facillime illi respondere qui hoc suum & collegarum consilium perstrinxerat, nisi charitati aliquid dandum esset, neque hic sicut dicebatur consilium consilio opponi, inconsultè admodum hoc dictum esse, eumque non minus Ecclesiasticam censuram mereri qui tam inconsultò locutus sit, quam illos qui authores fuerant consilii istius de nominandis deputatis. Tandem post lata omnium suffragia potioribus sententiis nominati sunt inter Exteros, D. Episcopus Landavenfis, D. Scultetus, D. Deodatus; inter provinciales D. Polyander, D. Wallæus, D. Triglandius, qui una cum D. Præsidi & assessoribus canonibus concinnandis incumberent, quos concinnatos ad singula collegia mitti curarent, si quid fortè additum, demptum, mutatum cupiant, deinde à collegiis remissos limarent manu ultima, ut sic tandem toti Synodo propoliti ad eandem approbentur.

Sessio 128. 16. Aprilis stylo novo post meridiem.] D. Præfides narrat jam tandem post aliquot septimanarum laborem assiduum, indulsisse Synodo Deum consensum illum suavissimum quem omnes tanto opere exoptaverant: moram monebat nemini debere esse gravem;

*Sed gratiam potius, quia ut in fundamentalibus optimè inter omnes & singulos (sicut patebat in iudiciis) convenerat: sperari tamen non poterat singulos in ipsis loquendi formulis conspiraturos: monebat porro dictam fuisse hanc sessionem, ut D. Delegati omnium & singulorum consensum observarent: Rogantur singuli Synodici, ut diligenter attendant lectioni articulorum, & moneant si quid fortè mutatum velint, nec agrè ferant si mutetur fortassis verbum ali- quod aliter quàm se habeat in exemplaribus quibus heri singuli subscripserant; cùm in re ipsa nihil plane sit mutatum.*

*Leguntur itaque articuli Synodici, seu canones de 1. articulo contra-verso: singuli Synodici post ipsorum lectionem viritim rogati de consensu, singuli solenniter profitebantur se articulos Orthodoxiam complectentes probare, nupote consentientes cum sacra scriptura & confessionibus Reformatarum Ecclesiarum; articulos vero Heterodoxiam complectentes improbare ut ab iisdem dissentientes; Deo agebant singuli gratias de tam suavi consensu, votoque deum rogabant ut vellet parem semper harmoniam Ecclesiis suis Reformatis largiri: observandum autem est hic singulos significasse, quòd heri illis articulis subscripserant; exceptis solis Theologis Britannis qui subscriptiones suas differebant, donec posset exemplar aliquod nitide describi.*

*Leguntur articuli Synodici seu canones de secundo articulo contra-verso: in iis autem articulis prælectis, fuerant quædam verba mutata & aliter disposita, quàm fuerant in articulis quibus heri Synodici omnes, exceptis Britannis, subscripserant: Britanni eandem sententiam quoad consensum de hisce articulis, quàm de prioribus ferebant; nisi quod secundum Heterodoxam putarent magis clarè & perspicuè proponi posse, & ultimam Heterodoxam, quæ est de potentia dei, an potuerit alium reconciliationis modum, quàm per Christum acceptasse? dicerent jam primum ipsos observasse, & videri sibi esse eam magis scholasticæ speculationis, quàm disquisitionis Synodicæ, itaque petebant deliberandi tempus: petebant porro ut quæ in illis articulis damnarentur, pro Socinianismo, possent ipsis ostendi ex Socino deprompta; rem ipsam damnabant, sed an à Socino profectum esset isthoc dogma nesciebant, cum scriptorum Socinianorum nondum facta esset ipsis copia: Hassiaci eundem testati sunt consensum quem in priori articulo, nisi quod in articulo octavo orthodoxo vox illa (Singulari) non addita esset ad isthæc verba (liberrimo consilio) prout in observationibus suis ad canones de secundo articulo annotaverant; verum cum persuasum sit illis omissionem istius vocabuli fa-*  
cero.

cere ad pacem Ecclesiarum Belgicarum, se acquiescere, & semper exposituros canonem illum secundum suum sensum, id est quem possit habere verbo illo addito: verum ne fratres putarent ipsos in suis observationibus aliquid posuisse quod in rei ipsius substantiâ aut fundamento à canone jam prælecto discreparet, paratos se esse qui cum fratribus, si modo id cupiant, observationes suas communicent: Helvetii testabantur consensum suum cum illis articulis quibus heri subscripserant; verum cum nunc videant aliqua verba immutata esse, rogant ut articulos relegant, ut sic ad conscientie consensum possit quoque oris consensus accedere: Bremenses consensum quoque suum testabantur, sed addita eadem illa ad eundem articulum cautione quam adhibuerant fratres Hassiâci; reliqui omnes Synodici plenum suum consensum sicut in primo articulo testati sunt; Annotârunt solum Goclenius, Sibrandus, Gomarus, & fortassis unus adhuc aut alter, quædam, sed quæ plane Grammatica erant: aberant ex Synodicis pauci aliquot sed quos Præses narrabat singulos articulos suis syngraphis comprobasse: propter publicum quod die crastino celebrandum est jejunium, monet Præses non habendam esse Sessionem ante diem Jovis.

Sessio 129. 18. Aprilis stylo novo.] Quæsitum fuit fusius de ultimo Heterodoxo canone in articulo secundo, qui rejicit eorum opinionem qui statunt ad sufficientiam Pretii Redemptionis nostræ, non fuisse necessariam naturæ nostræ similitudinem in Christo: Querebatur an deberet hic retineri tanquam error Remonstrantium, an vero hic omitti, & numerari postea inter errores Vorstianos: Theologi Britanni pluribus rem disceptabant, contendebant enim si Canon intelligendus esset de absoluta necessitate, id est tali, quæ removeret à Deo omnem potentiam aliter statuendi, ante suppositionem omnis decreti & voluntatis certæ, temere nihil definiendum esse de absoluta Dei potentia, esse hanc speculationem magis Scholasticam, ideoque Canones Synodicos non debere ingredi, præsertim cum quidam Patres, & nonnulli Doctores reformati putent illam naturæ similitudinem hoc sensu, non fuisse simpliciter & absolute necessariam; si vero Canon sit intelligendus, de necessitate hypothetica, id est ex suppositione decreti & voluntatis certo nobis in Scriptura Revelatæ, (quo sensu putant vocabulum necessitatis in hoc negotio in sacra Scriptura accipi) Canonem verum esse putant; sed nullo modo ferre Remonstrantes, qui absolutam tantum necessitatem rejiciunt, ut patet ex ipsorum verbis in nupera declaratione exhibita, ideoque putant consultius hunc Canonem posse amitti; à pluribus multa de hac  
quæstione



questione dicta sunt; quibus omnibus Britanni Responderunt; Potiora tamen suffragia voluerunt Canonem illum retineri, Praeses monuit sic concipiendum esse ut possit omnibus satisfieri.

Sessio 130. eodem die post meridiem ] Leguntur Canones Synodici de 3. & 4. Articulis ubi omnes ac singuli Synodici post ipsorum pralectionem viritum consensum suum solennibus verbis testabantur; Varii Theologi tamen varia annotabant: sed quæta nimis perspicuitatem in verbis spectabant; in re ipsa nihil desiderantes.

Leguntur Canones Synodici de 5. Articulo: post ipsorum Lectio- nem singuli porro ( ut in prioribus ) ipsos solenni consensu comprobabant: D. Goadus recitavit catalogum duriorum phrasum quas Theologi Britanni cupiebant à Synodo rejici, eo quod ex ipsis, tum Remonstrantes tum Pontificii, doctrinam Reformatam calumniandi magnam ansamsumerent; D. Scultetus etiam suadebat ut usus aliquis à Synodo deligeretur qui ultimam manum canonibus imponeret, daretque operam ut stylus canonum ubique par esset & limatus satis & perspicuus: aliqui nec diCTIONem nec stylum mutari voluerunt: quidam quoque putabant non fore è re Synodi ut duriores illæ phrasæ rejicerentur à Synodo, quia sic læderetur fama excellentissimorum virorum quorundam; Praeses movet die crastino mane Deputatos Synodicos conventuros esse, capturosque consilium de mutandis illis aut delendis quæ observata sunt à quibusdam fratribus, atque etiam de rejiciendis phrasibus durioribus, idque ea ratione qua possit magis commodè omnibus satisfieri; porroque de præfatione, & Epilogo canonum prospecturos; Rogatque ut singula collegia unum aliquem ad horam quartam pomeridianam mittant; qui describant ea quæ conceperunt deputari, & ad collegia sua referant, ut sic de omnium consensu constare possit ante proximam Sessionem.

Sessio 131. 20. Aprilis stylo novo ] Legitur Epilogus post Canones conceptus à deputatis, in quo etiam continebatur absteriso calumniarum quarundam, quibus doctrinam Ecclesiarum Belgicarum Remonstrantes gravare conantur; Queritur an omnes Synodici in forma prælecta acquiescant: Britanni voluerunt quædam alia re- jectanea addita qualia erant illa duo præcipue [ Deum movere Ho- minum linguas ad blasphemandum ] & [ Hominem non posse plus boni facere quàm facit. ] Hassiaci legerunt scriptum prolixum & bene

*bene concinnatum, in quo pluribus rationibus ostendebant necessarium esse ut plures duriores locutiones quæ apud privatos scriptores reperiuntur, rejicerentur à Synodo, ut sic Ecclesiæ reformatæ à gravissimis calumniis circa Reprobationis doctrinam liberari possint: Bremenses itidem scripto bene prolixo idem contendebant: Reliqui Theologi Exteri formam jam prælectam probabant: D. Præses movebat non roganda esse Provincialium suffragia ante Sessionem pomeridianam; quia videbat Theologos Exteros hic non idem sentire, & movet professores Belgicos ut in horam quartam pensitent rationes quæ utrinque fuerunt allatæ.*

*Sessio 132. eodem die post meridiem ] D. Præses antequam pergit in rogandis suffragiis de quæsito antemeridiano, rogat Synodum ut velit audire quæ ipse una cum D. assessoribus tempore intermedio de rejectione duriorum locutionum conceperant: & rogat Synodum ut velit hæc duo perpendere, primo neminem ex Theologis Belgis istiusmodi unquam scripsisse aut docuisse; ac proinde non spectare illa ad hanc Synodum quæ tantum Belgica esset: Secundo doctores illos apud quos isthæc duriora dicta comperiuntur, fuisse & esse vel Theologos Anglos, vel Gallos, vel Germanos; qui cum a suis principibus & Ecclesiis ob illas duriores loquendi formas non essent notati, verisimile aiebat esse principes illos & Ecclesias Exteras ægrè laturas si Synodus hæc nationalis Ipsos ob isthæc dicta aliquâ censurâ notaret.*

*Legitur forma Epilogijam de novo concepta, in qua plures aliquot incommodæ locutiones rejiciebantur quàm in priori, sed nullæ ex iis quas Theologi Exteri addi cupiebant: Queritur Synodicorum de hoc Epilogo sententia: Britanni seridè urgent additionem plurium præsertim eorum quæ Sessione antemeridianâ memoraverant: ad duas Rationes à D. Præsidente allatas Respondebant, ad primam Remonstrantes in declarationibus suis ad Synodum exhibitis, multa loca Contra-Remonstrantium, ipsos libros & paginas citare in quibus istiusmodi scripserint; nisi itaque Synodus istiusmodi dicta improbet, non posse Belgas ab istiusmodi calumniis liberari; ad secundam Theologos Exteros non debere quidem in Synodo notari, verùm si quid dixerint aut scripserint quod cedat Reformatæ Ecclesiæ in contumeliam, illud posse Synodum cujuscunque demum sit rejicere, neque hoc debere Synodum morari. Quod fortassis non sint Belgæ, hæc enim ratione Synodo nihil permitti in Socinum, cujus tamen dogmata sæpius quàm sæmel in canonibus damnata; neque debuisse Re-*

gem Magnæ Britanniae aliquid adversus Vorstium statuere qui ipsius subditus non erat; optare se ut fiat summus delectus eorum quæ rejiciuntur, nec posse aliquam Reformatam Ecclesiam hoc agere, cum nihil cupiant rejici quod à consensu alicujus Reformatæ Ecclesiæ comprobatum sit: cupere se præsertim ut illa sententia rejiciatur, [Neminem posse plus boni facere quàm facit] cum exinde nulli Reformato doctori defuncto aliqua contumelia inferatur; cum sit sententia heri tantum nata, quæ vix septimum ætatis sue numeraret annum: Reliqui omnes Theologi exteri quia cupiebant (ut aiebant ipsi) multum paci dare, in forma prælecta acquiescebant; optabant tamen illi qui antemeridie rationes suas attulissent ut possint plura rejici. Provinciales omnes formam prælectam probabant: & professores Belgæ multis rationibus contendebant non debere Synodum dicta virorum alioqui optime de Ecclesia Reformata meritorum aliquâ censurâ notare; D. Sibrandus tamen aiebat negari non potuisse quin aliqui in Belgio duriora quædam docuerint, quam essent illa quæ Theologi Britannii in catalogo suorum rejectaneorum recitaverant: sub fine Præsides monet cum hæc sit res ordinis, non doctrinæ solius, consulendos esse de hoc negotio Dominos Delegatos: qui rogati, deliberaturos se de re præsentī in Sessionem crastinam matutinam pollicentur.

Sessio 133. 22. Aprilis, stylo novo.] D. Præsides rogat D. Delegatos ut velint Synodo exponere quid ipsi de Epilogo proxima Sessione prælecto statuant: D. Delegati cupiunt ipsum denudè Relegi; Relegitur: D. Delegati illum probant, & rogant Synodicos ut si id fieri possit velint in ipso acquiescere: Orant porro ut jam tandem quam fieri possit maturime negotium hoc. 5. articulorum semel absolvant; quippe quod ipsi jam denudè iteratis Jussionibus urgeantur à D. Suis ordinibus Generalibus ad hoc serio flagitandum: Rogantur Synodici de hac formula prælecta; Britannii omnibus modis urgebant ut aliqua rejectanea porro adderentur, hoc præcipue, [Hominem non plus boni facere quàm facit:] verum si hoc obtineri nequiret, ut darent multum paci non-nemo ex ipsis monebat, ampliandam esse illam sententiam [Et quæ alia sunt hujus generis plurima] ut si quando exprobaretur ipsis aliqua horribilis sententia quam non rejecerant, possent se excusare per illam parenthesin, & asserere omnia istiusmodi in illa sententia rejecta fuisse à Synodo: Itaque ut paci & tempori consulant, acquiescunt; monentes tamen illud omnino mutandum esse quod habetur in Epilogo; doctrinam Reformatarum Ecclesiarum

Ecclesiarum censendam esse Eam quæ hisce canonibus continetur, se enim profitebantur deputatos à serenissima Regia majestate non ab Ecclesiis suis, nullam sibi commissam auctoritatem quæ possent Ecclesiarum suarum confessiones explicare, tulisse se tantum privata sua judicia quæ ipsi putarent vera esse; multa se in canonibus tanquam vera conclusisse, de quibus ne verbum quidem habetur in Ecclesiarum suarum confessionibus, verum quod sciant nihil in illis contineri quod istis confessionibus repugnet: Reliqui Synodo prælectum Epilogum probabant, & complurimi censebant reliquas duriores loquendi formulas deberi in scripto Elenchico quod adornatur, discuti; atque illic calumnias quibus ob ipsas gravatur reformata Ecclesia, debere depelli. D. Præses itaque monet Deputatos Synodi à meridie conventuros, ut quam fieri possit, canones illos duos Heterodoxos in primo Articulo de quibus tantopere in Synodo non ita pridem disceptabatur; ita component ut singuli facile in consensum adduci possent. Interea monet jam describi nitidum omnium Canonum exemplar, quibus publice in Synodo à singulis sessione crastina antemeridiana subscribendum esset, ut sic Canones — absoluti eodem die possint Hagam ad D. Ord. Generales transmitti. Sub initium enim hujus Sessionis, narrabat D. Gregor. Martinii, D. Delegatos quosdam ex ipsorum numero delegisse qui die Crastino Canones ad D. Ordines essent delaturi, hoc enim aiebat D. Ordines, & cum Ecclesiæ, tum Reipublicæ Belgicæ statum deponere.

Session 134. 33. Aprilis stylo novo.] Leguntur Articuli de primo articulo contraverso quibus omnes & singuli solenniter subscribunt, in tribus exemplaribus, Præses monet à singulis collegiis unum exemplar describendum esse, cui etiam singuli Synodici subscripturi essent: loca Scripturæ narrat postea describenda esse & addenda futuris, quæ jam per temporis angustias describi non potuerunt: Narrat jam inter deputatos convenisse de mutatione secundi articuli Heterodoxi, in secundo Articulo, in tres Articulos, & deletionem ultimi Heterodoxi in eodem Articulo qui erat de absoluta necessitate similitudinis naturæ in mediatore nostro: quæ mutata erant, in secundo Heterodoxo leguntur; & rogat D. Præses singulos ut in sessionem pomeridianam deliberent num possint in mutatis acquiescere.

Session 135. eodem die post meridiem.] Rogantur Synodicorum suffragia num placeat ipsis ut ultimus ille Heterodoxus Canon in se-

cundo Articulo deleatur, & secundus ille in tres prælectos Canones mutetur, placuit omnibus & singulis. Leguntur itaque Canones de secundo, tertio, quarto, quinto, Articulis, quibus etiam singuli solenniter subscribunt: duravit hæc sessio in horam 10. vespertinam.

Sessio 136.24. Aprilis stylo novo.] D. Præses monet D. Deputatos à Synodo, mandasse uni, ut conciperet formam personalis censuræ quam Synodus exerceret adversus citatos, & quoscunque alios qui recusarent doctrinam Synodicam, varios quoque Synodicos Deputatis formulas obtulisse, eos tandem in unam convenisse, quæ nunc prælegenda esset Synodo ut eam probet, vel corrigat: legitur, fuit autem in hanc sententiam, Synodum censere Remonstrantes esse novatores, & perturbatores patriæ, Reipub, præsertim Ecclesiæ Belgicæ, ejusmodi docuisse dogmata quæ à verbo dei, & confessionibus Reformatarum Ecclesiarum dissentirent, præterea citatos ad hanc Synodum teneri reos contumaciæ adversum cum supremum Magistratum cujus decreta sperverint, tum ipsam Synodum quam pro legitimo judice nunquam voluerunt agnoscere, ideoque Synodum omnes ad præsentem Synodum abdicare ab omnibus suis muneribus tum Ecclesiasticis tum Academicis, eo usque dum penitentiam agant de falsis dogmatibus à se scriptis, prælectis, & doctis, & possint hanc suam penitentiam indubitatis studiis & signis Ecclesiis Belgicis testatam facere, reliquos vero Remonstrantes in Belgio ad Synodos provinciales remittit, quibus mandat ut ductores & pertinaces continuo omnibus suis muneribus abdicent, reliquos vero vitio temporis lapsos, & à seductoribus abreptos omni lenitate & patientia concen-  
tur in viam reducere, quos si lucrifacere possint omni conatu id agant, sin minus pariter & cum ipsis agant: Porro Synodus illustrissimos ord. Generales obnixè rogat ut hanc suam sententiam de quinque Articulis, atque etiam de Remonstrantibus abdicandis firmam & ratam esse velint & jubeant; gratiasque ipsorum Dominationibus cum omni debito obsequio desert propter ipsorum de reformandis Ecclesiis suis studium singulare: Quæritur Synodicorum judicium de censura hac personali: Theologi Britannii omnes ac singuli respondebant, doctrinam Ecclesiarum Belgicarum hic in Synodo assertam suam fuisse, ac proinde ipsos vocatos sententiam suam de illo exposuisse, personas vero qui contrariam sententiam docuerint esse cives Belgas; Ideoque de aliorum subditis nolle se ullo modo personalem sententiam ferre, ideoque se censuram omnino provincialibus relinquere,



quere, quibus integrum esset de suis ministris statuere: idem sentiebant omnes Theologi exteri, exceptis Genevensibus & Embdanis qui sententiam prælectam probabant, & Bremenſibus qui tempus deliberandi poscebant: Provinciales quædam in forma prælecta observabant: Cujusmodi fuit illud, non esse fori Ecclesiastici eos damnare, tanquam perturbatores patriæ & pacis Reip. hoc spectare ad civilem Magistratum: magna fuit disceptatio inter provinciales an tolerandi essent illi qui utcumque nollent subscribere Articulis Synodicis, tamen reciperent se nihil unquam vel publicè vel privatim adversus ipsos dicturos aut docturos? quidam ex provincialibus petebant ut Theologi Exteri de hac re suam sententiam aperirent; sed D. Præses respondebat ista particularia omnino oportere relinqui Synodorum provincialium prudentiæ, & nescire se adhuc quam tolerantiam permissuri essent D. Ord. Generales, itaque forma prælecta, si paucula quædam mutarentur, ab omnibus provincialibus probata est, exceptis Zelandis & Gallo-belgicis qui spatium deliberandi de re gravissima petiverunt.

Sessio 137.] Relegitur censura personalis emendata in qua illud de perturbatione patriæ & Reip. omittebatur: queritur Synodicorum sententia de ipsa jam correctâ, Britanni & Hassiaci eam nec probabant nec improbant, noluerunt enim se personalibus immiscere; reliqui omnes Exteri, ut aiebant, re ipsâ melius perpensâ quam ante meridiem eam probant, exceptis Bremenſibus, quorum duo priores putabat esse maximi momenti, ideoque nihil posse se de ea statuere nisi apographum formulæ prælectæ & tempus deliberandi concedatur: provinciales omnes eam probant, Gomarus autem & alii petebant ut Synodus apud ord. Generales intercederet pro largiendo Remonstrantibus minus pertinacibus trimestri stipendio, fortassis enim possent cupere illo tempore cum viris doctis conferre, suisque conscientiis de canonibus Synodicis satisfacere; sed voluit ipsos primo quoque tempore à ministerii sui exercitio suspendi. D. Præses Respondebat non esse à dignitate Synodi tam Augustæ, ut intercedat apud D. Ordines pro re stipendiaria, verum non dubitare se quin D. Ordines benignè satis & clementer cum ipsis acturi essent: rogatur D. Delegatorum de hac prælectâ censura judicium, qui respondebant se nolle tantum sibi assumere ut ipsam probent, sed delaturos se ipsam D. Ord. generalibus, à quibus solis comprobatio expectanda esset: Theologi Britanni monebant in hac censura dici Synodicos Artic-  
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*Los conclusos esse secundum sententiam omnium Reformatarum Ecclesiarum, quo dicto innuebatur Ecclesias Lutheranas, quæ aliter sentirent, non habendas esse pro Reformatis, quod ipsis durum admodum videbatur; D. Scultetus, & Polyander reponcbant, ipsos Lutheranos nomen hoc deprecari, & nostris Ecclesiis ex hoc nomine (Reformatarum) solere invidiam constare, & D. Præses addebat hic in Belgio solere nostras Ecclesias per illud nomen (Reformatas) non solum à Pontificiis verum etiam à Lutheranis distingui; Britanni respondebant in suis Ecclesiis Lutheranos haberi pro Reformatis, ut pote à quibus Religionis Reformatio primum tentata est, habereque se porro in mandatis à serenissimo D. Rege ut quantum fieri possent despiccerent ne offenderentur Ecclesiæ Lutheranae, itaque addita est isthæc vox Nostrarum.*

*Leguntur blasphemæ opiniones duorum fratrum Thomæ, & Petri Gesterranorum, qui Remonstrantes erant, & ab Ordinibus Hollandiæ & West-Frisiæ suspensi à ministeriis dum Synodus pisset de ipsorum opinionibus cognoscere.*

*Sessio 138. 25. Aprilis stylo novo.] Legitur supplex libellus Johannis Macovii Theologiae professoris in Academia Franekerana, quo gravissimè queritur se apud Ordines Frisiæ insinulatum fuisse herejeos à D. Sibrando Luberto, petit itaque suppliciter ut Synodus velit de tota causa cognoscere, ut audito Sibrando ipse possit dicere pro se scilicet; ut Sibrandus, & ipse ex Synodicis arbitros deligant, qui totum hoc negotium diligenter examinent & ad Synodum referant. Præses rogat D. Sibrandum ut exponat coram Synodo sententiam suam de tota hac lite. Sibrandus negat se unquam fuisse Macovii accusatorem; verum testimonio duorum fratrum Frisiorum probat ipsum à classe Franekerana fuisse accusatum, se autem jussu D. Ordinum Frisiæ, & rogatu prædictæ classis, solum Classis os pro illo tempore fuisse; itaque sicut antehac in lite pars non fuerat, sic & nunc nullo modo se velle haberi pro parte protestatur: D. Præses narrat conveniens esse ut Synodus de hac causa cognoscat, quia id seriò petunt D. Ordines Frisiæ per literas suas ad D. Delegatos, atque etiam huc ad Synodum omnia acta in lite hac apud ipsos contestata transmississent. Queritur itaque à Synodo cum Sibrandus non sit pars, an debeat ipse Macovius primum audiri, an vero ipso semoto ex actis ordinum Frisiæ de causa cognosci: placuit Synodo ut primum acta prælegerentur, deinde si opus esset, ut audiretur coram Macovius.*

*Legitur*

Legitur Proœmium *benè longum quod præfigendum esset* Canonibus Synodicis, *queritur de illo iudicium Synodi, quod sic se habebat: esse putabat isthoc Proœmium nimis longum, porroque styli sublimis admodum, adeoque à stylo canonum admodum disparis, Ideoque omnino brevius conficiendum esse putat, succinctum & nervosum, exponens occasionem & finem convocatæ Synodi, quod præmittendum esset Canonibus, si fortassis ab actis Synodicis scorsim excudantur: Præsides itaque monet deputatos Synodicos ut ante meridiem conveniant, ut ex pluribus brevioribus formulis, quæ sibi a variis Synodicis essent oblatæ, unum aliquod succinctum proœmium possent conficere.*

Sessio 139. eodem die post meridiem.] Legitur aliud novum brevius proœmium à deputatis Synodicis ex variis formulis sibi oblatis confectum: quod totum Synodo placuit si paucula quædam mutarentur: Britanni putabant pro [Anti-Christi tyrannide] magis commode dici posse [Anti-Christiana tyrannide] quia ut ut fortassis verum putarent pontificem Romanum esse magnum illum Anti-christum, tamen sine iusto examine præmissis vix putarent debere hoc à Synodo determinari, quod à nulla Reformata Ecclesia adhuc, excepta Gallicana quæ & jam articulum illum ex confessione sua retraxit, factum esset; quidam ex Synodicis agere se rebant hoc vocari in questionem; quibus reponabant Britanni, non vocari nunc rem ipsam, nimirum an pontifex Romanus esset ille anti-christus in questionem: sed hoc, an debeat hoc à Synodo determinari nulla deliberatione præmissa?

Sessio 140. 26. Aprilis stylo novo.] Legitur alter supplex libellus Macovii, quo petit ut arbitri deligantur, & ut responsum suum ad errores sibi objectos ipsiusque explicatio legi possit. D. Scribæ & porro D. Thylius & D. Lydius publicâ fide testantur se quædam exemplaria canonum Synodicorum cum originali fideliter contulisse, eaque cum ipso per omnia convenire, quibus singuli Synodici subscribunt.

Leguntur acta in lite Macovii ad Synodum ab Ordinibus Frisiæ transmissa; & primum legebantur 50. errores objecti D. Macovio in classe Franckerana, quos videre poteris in altero meo libro Synodico: qui revera primo quoque auditu videbantur, exceptis uno aut altero, non fuisse tanti momenti ut homo doctus de illis coram Synodo accusaretur: complurimi ipsorum erant ex ista receptissima distinctione agentis Physice & moraliter, ab accusatore male intellecta.

Sessio

Sessio 141. eodem die post meridiem. ] Legitur una D. Macovii Responsio ad errores sibi objectos; deinde alia brevior: in utraque satisfaciebat criminibus sibi objectis abunde satis, alios negando, alios explicando.

Legitur Epistola facultatis Theologiæ Heidelbergensis ad Ordines Frisiæ, in qua facultas Theologica monet dominos ordines Frisiæ ne patiantur Theses tam otiosas, metaphysicas, obscuras, falsas in suis Scholis disputari, quales fuerant nuper in Academia Franekerana Theses de traductione sub Macovio disputatæ.

D. Præses querit à Synodo an uberior Macovii explicatio quam hic offert Synodo, deberet etiam in Synodo legi, & qua ratione pergendum sit in hac causa: Quidam ex Exteris Theologis dicebant potuisse illos 50. errores, ad quinque vel etiam quatuor reduci: nec ullum crimen hæreseos sicut objectum fuerat in illis deprehendi; Omnes exteri per deputatos remputant agendam, & cupiunt duos externos nominari & totidem professores Belgicos, quibus adjungi possent duo pastores qui de tota causa cognoscant, & referant ad Synodum: plerique ipsorum explicationem prolixam Macovii putant non audiendam in Synodo, sed referendam etiam ad deputatos: Genevenses soli hoc consilium non probabant: Deodatus rem ad solos provinciales voluit deferri post exteriorum discessum; Tronchinus vero oratione vehementissima contendebat nullo modo Macovium audiendum esse coram; sed debere agi cum illo tanquam cum Remonstrantibus & Episcopo: Illum judicandum ex scriptis: quod Judicium in hominem nullo modo heterodoxias suspectum mirabantur omnes: dum suffragium dandum esset à D. Sibrando, immodeste satis invehebatur in Festum, exprobrans ei summam in se ingratitudinem: recitabatque porro novum catalogum opinionum D. Macovii quæ ejusdem erant farinæ cum prioribus: Festus veniâ fandi à præside impetratâ modeste satis D. Sibrandum excipiebat, narrabat theses illas compositas fuisse non à D. Macovio sed à quodam Parkero juvene Doctissimo, & ab omni heterodoxias suspitione longe remotissimo; & licet nunc Sibrandus sustinere partem accusatoris recuset, tamen se à quibusdam fide dignis accepisse, omnes illos errores Macovio objectos, D. Sibrandum ex Thesis illis & aliis ipsius prælectionibus compilasse: quod ut audiebat D. Sibrandus vehementissimè commotus bis Deum vindicem in animam suam precabatur si istæ vera essent; adeo ut D. Præses cum sæpius modestiæ sanctæ & Reverentiæ Synodo debita jufferit meminisse.

Sessio 142. 27. Aprilis stylo novo ] Pergitur in rogandis suffragiis de causa Macovii: plures mirabantur cum ob illas Theses posse hæreseos insinulari, præsertim cum unus ex South-Hollandis testatus sit D. Aimesium illas theses primum vidisse & approbasse, & jam paratum esse qui ipsas defendat: tandem potioribus suffragiis, statutum est tertium scriptum Macovii legendum esse publice in Synodo, & tres ex Theologis Exteris, totidem ex provincialibus deputandos esse qui rem totam cognoscant & referant ad Synodum: verum quia D. Præses dicebat illud scriptum continere multa personalia præsertim in D. Sibrandum compilata, Quidam ex Exteris ob pacem conservandam petierunt, ut rogarentur de isthoc denuo Synodicorum suffragia, quod factum est: & plura suffragia tum voluerunt legi tantum privatim apud Deputatos: Nominati itaque sunt potioribus suffragiis deputati ad causam hanc audiendam, ex exteris Scultetus, Sthenius, Britingerus: Ex provincialibus Gomarus, Thysius Menius: certe Exteri mirabantur D. Scultetum nominatum fuisse à provincialibus, & multo magis D. Scultetum id munus velle subire, cum facultas Theologica Heidelbergensis, cujus ipse pars esset, theses illas quæ examinande sunt jam hæcenus tanquam otiosas, metaphysicas & falsas damnaverit.

Sessio 143. 29. Aprilis stylo novo ] Leguntur literæ Belgicæ à Magistratu & Presbyterio Campensi ad Synodum quibus rogant Synodum ut velit scribere ad magistratum & presbyterium Arnemienſe, ut velint dimittere D. D. Stephani, quem poscunt ipsis pastorem dari: Item ut velit ad magistratum & presbyterium quoque scribere pro dimissione D. Plancis: Synodus noluit se istiusmodi negotiis immiscere, ne fortassis cederet in præjudicium classium & presbyteriorum: Leguntur aliæ literæ à magistratu Campensi, quibus petunt ut per Synodum liceat Ecclesiæ Remonstrantiæ Campensi in templis suis habere lectionem sacre Scripturæ per lectores suos, eo usque dum posset ipsi prospici de pastoribus: D. Præses monet perscriptum esse Campis lectores illos solere attexere capitibus prælectis longas enarrationes subministratas sibi à duobus ministris suis jam à Synodo suspensis, quibus doctrina Remonstrantium asserebant, & in Orthodoxam invehebantur: porro duos ipsorum ministros qui sunt ex numero citatorum hic ad Synodum, misisse hinc literas ad Ecclesiam Remonstrantium quæ est Campis: quibus plebem animabant ad constantiam in Remonstrantium doctrina, jubebantque brevi certissimam liberationem ab hac persecutione expectare: quæ literæ an-



te dies non ita multos à lectoribus publice in templo pro toto plebe recitabantur.

● Leguntur alie literæ Belgicæ à Domino Battenberg, quibus Belgio Synodum gratulatur; promittitque se oraturum ut in ditione sua, obtineat illa doctrina quæ hic à Synodo stabilita esset.

Legitur Proœmium præfigendum Canonibus jam emendatum, ubi pro [Antichristi] ponebatur [Romani-Antichristi] quo vocabulo addito satisfacbat illis qui noluerunt sine deliberatione à Synodo statim pontificem Romanum esse insignem illum Antichristum; sed Antichristum tamen, atque ita Proœmium sic emendatum omnibus placuit.

Legitur confessio Petri Molinæ pastoris Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Parisiensis super quinque Articulis in Belgio contra-versis; quam huc ad Synodum transmissit.

Sessio 144. eodem die post meridiem.] Pergitur in prælectione confessionis Petri Molinæ: D. Præses monet jam rediisse Haga D. Delegatos, qui Canones Synodicos illuc ad illustriss. Ord. Generales detulerant: orâtque ipsorum Dominationes, ut velint coram Synodo exponere, Quid D. Ord. General. de ipsis sentiant. D. Greg. Martinii oratione brevissima refert Ord. Generales summo opere gavisos esse de Synodico consensu, in canonibus; probare ipsorum dominationes, eos universos & singulos, agerêque de labore exantlato Theologis tum Exteris tum Provincialibus gratias maximas: rogare porro ut jam Synodus velit proxima in loco confessionem Belgicam perlustrare, in qua nihil mutatum cupiunt sine gravi & necessaria causa.

Dies Lunæ proximus publicandis Canonibus omnium Synodico-rum consensu indicitur.

Præses rogat singulos ut velint diligenter attendere lectioni confessionis Belgicæ; incidit questio, quænam editio confessionis Belgicæ habenda esset pro authentica, cum ipse editiones multum discreparent? eam statuit Synodus legendam, & perlustrandam quæ inferitur Syntagmati confessionum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum: Illa itaque publicè prælegitur: D. Præses rogat singula collegia ut in horam nonam crastini diei velint exhibere collegialia iudicia de confessione prælecta tota, exceptis tribus Articulis videlicet 30, 31, 32. qui ordinem & Regimen Ecclesiæ spectant: Rogat singulos ut non velint insistere in latinitate, aut phraseologia, sed simpliciter ferre iudicium

*dicium num quicquid illà contineatur, quod non sit verbo divino consentaneum.*

Sessio 145. 30. Aprilis, stylo novo.] *Queritur iudicium Synodicum de confessione Belgica: Britanni probant omnia dogmata ipsius, putant nihil in ea quoad substantiam contineri, quod sacre paginae repugnet, quædam minutiora in ea observabant, sed quæ facillime ex collatis exemplaribus in correctâ, & nova quam parant editione emendari possent; monent de tribus capitibus, quæ ordinem Ecclesiasticum spectant, se nullam ferre sententiam, sed interim putare se regimen Ecclesiarum suarum esse institutionis Apostolicæ: Episcopus autem Landavenfis oratione brevissimâ contra illa tria prædicta capita perorabat; contendebatque in Ecclesia neque Apostolorum temporibus, neque postea unquam fuisse ministrorum æqualitatem: Itaque communi Britannorum consensu declaratum est, nihil in confessione Belgica contineri, quod pugnaret cum sacra pagina, aut analogia fidei. Eximus omnes ad funus D. Canteri Senioris Ultrajectini unius ex deputatis Synodicis. Redimus. Legitur iudicium deputatorum à Synodo in causa Macoviana; cuius summa hæc erat; D. Macovium nullius gentilismi, judaismi, pelagianismi, socinianismi, aut alterius cujuscunque hæreseos reum teneri, immeritoque illum fuisse accusatum; peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis, & obscuris Phrasibus scholasticis usus sit, quod scholasticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis Academiis introducere, quod eas selegerit quæstiones disceptandas, quibus gravantur Ecclesiæ Belgicæ: Monendum esse eum, ut cum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio: hoc vitio vertendum ipsi, quod distinctionem sufficientiæ & efficientiæ mortis Christi asseruerit esse futilem; quod negaverit, humanum genus lapsum, esse objectum prædestinationis; quod dixerit, Deum velle, & decernere peccata; quod dixerit, Deum nullo modo velle omnium hominum salutem; quod dixerit duas esse electiones: Judicant denique liticulam hanc inter D. Sibrandum, & D. Macovium componendam esse, & deinceps neminem debere eum talium criminum insimulare.*

Sessio 146. eodem die post meridiem.] *Pergitur in rogandis suffragiis de confessione Belgica; an in eadem sint sententia cum Britannis? propter editionum varietatem petunt, ut exaretur exemplar aliquod unum exactum, ord. generalium autoritate confirmandum.*

Sessio 147. calend. Maii, stylo novo.] D. Gregorius Martinii exponit mentem Illustriss. ord. general. eandem esse de Catechesi, quæ fuerat de confessione; Rogat itaque Synodum ut de Catechesi quoque Palatino-Belgica velit sententiam dicere, nec tam methodum, aut Phraseologiam spectare, quàm dogmata doctrinalia. Legitur totus catechismus: Rogantur Synodici, ut ad horam 4. Pomeridianam parent se ad ferendum collegialia de catechesi perfecta judicia.

Sessio 148. eodem die post meridiem.] Omnium judiciis approbantur dogmata in eo catechismo comprehensa, ut verbo Dei consentanea, ac pie prudentèrque conscripta; Britannii de interpretatione articuli, de descensu Christi ad inferos, suam ab aliis Ecclesiam vindicat, aliter explicandi potestatem: Ac demum propter gravem ab urbe Dordrechtana datam neglecti diei dominici offensionem, rogant, ac monent Synodum, ut apud Magistratum intercedat, ne forenses emptiones, apertis mercium officinis eo die exerceri permittant: eà occasione à quodam ex provincialibus mota quæstio de observatione Sabbathi; sed non discussa penitus, quia rejecta inter gravamina provincialia post ubi tunc nostra tractanda.

Sessio 149. 2. Maii, stylo novo.] Gregor. Martinii unus ex politicis delegatis, Synodo & ordinum mentem exponit de Vorstio, eos nempe mandare, ut de Theologia ejus fiat summaria ex scriptis cognitio, ac ut edrespiciant judicia Synodica, utrum doctrina Vorstiana ad Ecclesiæ edificationem faciat, adeoque talis doctor dignus videatur, qui Cathedram teneat Theologicam: Scripsit jam tum Vorstius eodem exemplo literas ad singula exterorum collegia, simulque ad Synodum publicas, eæque perleguntur, in quibus Synodi æquanimitem, & Christianam charitatem implorat, suum coram Synodo comparendi desiderium insinuat, rogat, ut si quid ab ipso liberius fuit disputatum, veritatis eruenda studio imputetur, ut rationibus ex verbo Dei petitis convincatur; se paratum esse testatur ad collationem cum Exteris Theologis incundam, item ad heresim Socinianam refutandam, si ipsæ ea mandetur Provincia. Nec posse sibi persuadere comburendos ipsius libros, cum quædam Piscatoris scripta longe horridiora, & bonis moribus infensiora non sint rogo addicta.

Acta hæc, epistola antiquæ nonnulla Vorstii simulatoria, & vulpine præsertim circa sui explicationem, ac palinodiam Heidelbergæ præstitam fraudes in medium proferuntur; deinde errorum, & blasphemiarum Vorstii catalogus à Belgicis professoribus collectus Synodo

nodo prælegitur ad capita reduçus de Dei attributis, Christique deitate, ab illo partim aperte, partim clanculum imminutis.

Sessio 150. 3. Maii, stylo novo.] Collegia singula tam exteriorum, quàm provincialium suum proferunt de Vorstio iudicium scripto exaratum; Britanni lectâ à se collectâ præcipuarum Vorstianarum contra divinam naturam blasphemiarum Synopsi, monenti Vorstium dato hoc scandalo, nunquam tamen in subsequentibus suis seu explicationibus, sive defensionibus ullum in suo de Dei attributis libro propositum errorem agnoscere, sed absurdissimis distinctiunculis, & inanibus subterfugiis obvelare, imo etiam præcipua orthodoxæ doctrinæ fundamenta callidè pro viribus suffodere. Se itaque non modo ipsum Vorstium orthodoxi professoris munere ac nomine indignum judicare, sed etiam persuadere ne hujusmodi ejus libri in bibliopoliis proflare permittantur. Denique rogare, ut in exemplum, & in sancti Dei causa zeli testimonium Vorstii de Deo tractatus summi magistratus jussu, & Synodi decreto, & palam solenniterque flammis absumatur, simulque hujusmodi infamis holocausti specimen. A Britannis eorum Synodo legitur authenticum, procancellarii Cantabrigienensis sigillo munitum, decretum 21. Septembris 1611. Cujus vi, etiam Serenissimi Regis nostri judicio præcunte, publicè flammis ultricibus expurgatus est liber prædictus: ejusdemque decreti Cantabrigienensis exemplar inter Synodi acta relatum. Serenissimi Regis, & Cantabrigienensis intentio se examini subscribere testantur Palatini Theologi, ac Vorstii palinodiam multis abhinc annis Heidelbergæ præstitam, quàm fuerat fraudulenta narrant.

Hassiaci etiam commemorant quàm fuerat post-modum non modo parum grata, sed etiam invisa illustrissimo suo domino Landigravio dedicatio sui de Deo libri, eidem pio Principi nuncupata, quàmque prudenter ipsum Vorstium Princeps ille ad se commendatum ad Cathedram professoriam admittere recusaverat. De Vorstio ut cathedra indigno exantorando reliqui tum exteri tum provinciales omnes consentiant; quòd autem se obtulerit jam pugilem evocandum contra Socinianos responsum est,

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,

Tempus egit——

Vipote cum ipse Vorstius ad errorum, hereseon curriculum etiam Socianismi sit suspexitissimus, nec ex animo rem gesturus putetur:

ac in eo negotio sibi dudum commissio, nihil prorsus presterit.

Sessio 151.4. Maii, stylo novo.] Decretum quoddam Synodicum de Vorstii causa conceptum legitur & approbandum proponitur: inde nonnulla interpellanda, alia omittenda, alia explicanda, moventur presertim à Britannis, qui hic urgent quædam attribui Vorstio, de capite justificationis, de quibus nec dum satis constat, quid asserat Vorstius, illinc autem omitti alia, aut non satis apertè damnari, quæ maxime blasphema sunt, & Ecclesiæ quasi universæ Christianæ gravissimum commoverunt offendiculum, ibidem multis agitatum, cum Vorstius corporis ejusdem resurrectionem neget, aut Christi satisfactionem cum Socino penitus tollat. Et rei probandæ leguntur privata Vorstii ad Dominum Tollanum literæ pluribus ab hinc annis scriptæ, in quibus aperte Socinianismum profitetur. Sed à Britannis responsum judicandum reum ex libris à se agnitis & publicatis, non ex epistola privata, de qua etiam non constat num ab ipso conscripta fuerit, constet autem scriptum fuisse ante palinodiam ejus Heidelbergensem. De libro Vorstii comburendo Synodus non vult statuerè, sed ad summum refert magistratum.

Sessio 152. eodem die post meridiem.] Decretum contra Vorstium denuo proponitur paulo mutatum, in eo desiderant Britanni plura Dei attributa à Vorstio impetita recenseri, ac Vorstii de Christi satisfactione & hominis justificatione sententiam, vel in censura omitti, vel Synodo, ut de eo melius constet, explicari. De his aliisque Vorstianis dogmatibus diu multumque disceptatur. Tandem consensus est in eam, quæ sancita est forma, (quam vide in altero meo libro Synodico,) qua Vorstius ob suam in suffodiendis præcipuis fidei fundamentis audaciam & impietatem indignus Cathedrâ Theologicâ judicatur. Optaturque ne ipsius libri de Deo passim volitare permittantur, & nonnulla speciatim alia quæ in eodem decreto continentur. Antequam dimitteretur hic confessus, qui in multam noctem duravit, legitur, & per plura Synodi suffragia approbatur, sententia deputatorum in causa Macoviana qui eum ab omni hæresi absolvendum censuerunt; sed monendum, ut Theologiam docendi modum commodiorem sequatur, verborumque formis ex sacra scriptura petitis utatur, etiam justam eum reprehensionem incurrere ob quasdam propositiones ab ipso crudius & rigidius assertas. His itaque clam compositis, interpellat Frisius quidam senex nomine Donia, se quod ad ipsum attinet Macovium (qui suum passus est tacite obvolvî negotium) nihil velle commovere: se ipsum autem, aliosque nonnul-



Is hac in causa laesus, ideoque communi collegarum nomine eoram Synodo protestari salvo jure ut agant contra accusatores, partes autem accusatorias domino Sibrando esse demandatas, constare ex literis quibusdam publicis, quas è sinu deprompsit, ac coram Synodo legi postulavit: increbescenti hac in expostulatione plurimum fervori, ac multiloquio, modum imponunt Delegati politici malleo suo, quo mos est silentium obstrepentibus imperare. Denique Præses ad Synodum refert diem lunæ proximum Canonibus in majore urbis Templo publicandis destinatum esse, & sic conventus dimittitur.

Seßio 153. 6. Maii, stylo novo.] Convenimus primum in loco Synodali, ubi erat spectatorum nobilium & aliorum, utriusque sexus maximus confluentus: Præses solennem precationem concipit, qua hodierno negotio faustum successum vovet: auditorium dimittitur: paulo post, singuli Synodici non sine decora pompa à loco Synodali ad magnum Templum per plateas Dordrechtanas pergunt, undique cincti numerosis spectatoribus, incedebant autem Synodici bini, hoc ordine; primò incedebant illustrissimi ordines Generales Delegati quos sequebatur ipsorum Secretarius D. Heinsius: postea sequuti sunt D. Episcopus Landavensis, & D. Præses Synodi ipsi à sinistra, dein reliqui omnes Theologi Exteri, secundum loca ipsis in Synodo designata; Exteros sequebantur D. assessores & scribæ; post illos D. professores Belgici, & post ipsos reliqui provinciales Theologi, secundum illum quo in Synodi sedebant ordinem. In templum devenimus capacissimum & splendidum, quod tamen nienti auditorum numero fuit repletissimum, inter quos fuerunt complurimi nobiles & Generosi, in utroque sexu, cum ex Belgico, tum etiam ex aliis nationibus: occuparunt Synodici loca sua in choro templi ubi tota hæc solennitas peragebatur; à parte dextra considebant, primum D. Præses Ecclesiasticus, post eum D. Assessores & scribæ, post illos D. Episcopus, reliquique deinceps secundum ordinem Synodicum; Theol. Exteri, in loco editiori & satis commodo; in scamnis inferioribus considebant illust. ord. Gener. delegati; post illos D. Professores Belgici. D. Præses singulis suo ordine jam collocatis, ex pulpito ibi instructo commodissime sito ad partem chori occidentalem adeoque in ipsa Templi medietate, ubi possit commodissime à consertissima corona exaudiri, solennitatem auspicatus est precatione valde prolixa, sed pientissima & appositissima, cujus prior pars & multo longior fuit ex solis scripturarum sententiis, cum summa elegantia, & judicio contexta, planeque concinnata ad venerandum antiquitatis styli legebat.

legebat eam ex Schedulis descriptis, duravitque per horæ dimidium, postea sine ullo præfamine narrat quàm brevissime auditorio indictum fuisse hunc solennem conventum, ut omnes jam tandem fructum laborum Synodicorum perciperent, audirentque prælectos illos canones, quos tot tantisque laboribus exantlati, immenso Dei beneficio, & suavissimâ omnium ac singulorum conspiratione, veneranda Synodus conceperat, ac efformaverit.

Itaque D. Dammannus unus ex scribis Synodicis, in idem pulpitu[m] ascendit, ac primum prælegit præmiu[m] quod canonibus præfigitur: quo prælecto, D. Præses monet omnes auditores ut ex more recepto, singuli velint hodiernam letitiam, & suam divinæ majestati gratitudinem testari erogando eleemosynam pauperibus: quam diaconi quidam Ecclesiæ Dordrechtanæ ad id muneris designati colligebant, proculdubio satis amplam: neminem enim observavimus qui manum suam fronte hilari non porrigebat. Redit ad pulpitu[m] D. Dammannus & aggreditur ipsorum Canonum prælectionem: lectis articulis primi capituli contraversi, propter templi magnitudinem, & spissas frequentissimi auditorii animas, deficere incipiebat ipsum vox, itaque D. Festus Hommius alter scriba Synodicus pulpitu[m] descendit, legitque Canones de secundo, tertio & quarto articulis; & voce ipsum quoque ob prædictas causas deficiente, rediit D. Dammannus, legitque canones de quinto articulo, & Epilogum Synodicum, quibus finitis legit quoque singulorum subscriptiones, singuli ad nomina sua audita fidem canonum apertione capituli testabantur; postea legit quoque idem scriba Synodi censuram personalem de Remonstrantibus, cui non additæ erant singulorum Syngraphæ, eo quod quidam ex Exteris noluerint de hominum personis sed tantu[m] de ipsorum doctrina aliquid statuere.

Post omnia lecta, legebatur quoque testimoniu[m] D. Delegatorum, quo testantur se interfuisse dum isthæc agerentur, omniaque quæ jam prælecta fuerant optimâ fide relata fuisse; quod singuli unâ cum D. Heinio ipsorum secretario, suis Syngraphis comprobant: monet porro D. Præses, confessionem & catechesin Belgicam esse quoque à Synodo comprobata; & sic concludit cum precatione & gratiarum actione; ejusdem plane styli cum priori & fere paris prolixitatis. Post absolutam totam solennitatem pulsantur Organa, & sic omnes Synodici domum redeunt ad locum Synodicum eodem plane ordine quo venerant; Ibi dominus Præses monet jam omnia negotia Synodica, quæ poscerent opem Exterorum Theologorum, absoluta esse; Ideoque

*Ideoque monet ut singula collegia duos mittant qui ad horam quartam pomeridianam incipiant describere canones, quibus postea subscribant ipse cum Assessoribus & scribis, ut sic singula collegia habeant exemplar authenticum asservandum in perpetuam rei memoriam: brevi precatione Synodum dimittit.*

*Sessio 154. & ultima, 9. Maii, stylo vovo.] D. Præses movet hunc ultimum Synodi conventum celebrari ad agendum Deo gratias pro exoptatissimo Synodi exitu, porroque ad agendas gratias Theologis Exteris pro gravissimis laboribus susceptis: Gregorius Martini unus ex Delegatis primo precationem habet suavissimam & justæ prolixitatis qua Deo gratias agit pro asserenda religionis puritate in Ecclesiis Belgicis, operâ & consiliis hujus Synodi, precaturque iidem Ecclesiis in veritate hic asserta invictam constantiam. Precatione finita, oratione eleganti Theologos Exteros compellat, nomine Illustriss. ord. gen. singulis gratias rependit pro saluberrimis ipsorum consiliis, & gravissimis laboribus quibus hoc tempore Ecclesias Belgicas sublevassent, itidem & ingentibus illis principibus, Rebus-publicis, Magistratibus qui ipsos delegassent, nominatim ipsos cum summa observantia recensendo; rogatque ut Ecclesias Belgicas ipsorum celsitudinibus curarent fore commendatissimas: rogat ut singuli præsentés persuadeant sibi de prolixissimo ord. gen. erga ipso animo, utque ante discessum Hagam comitis petant, referantque ab Illustriss. ord. gen. gratias, & porro ad principes & Respublicas suas literas dimissorias.*

*D. Præses Ecclesiasticus oratione pia commemorat Dei beneficia in Ecclesiam suam sæpius lapsentem, applicatione facta ad Ecclesias Belgicas prædicat mediata illa instrumenta quibus Deus ad hanc rem usus fuerat, cum primis Regem magnæ Britanniæ, deinde reliquos principes & Magistratus nominatim, qui huc Theologos suos mississent: deinde omnes & singulos Theologos Exteros hic præsentés, quibus omnia fausta & cælestes benedictiones comprecatur, Inbetque ipsos esse persuasissimos eorum memoriam fore hic in æternum suavissimam; primum Theologi Britanni singuli orationibus brevibus & succinctis, Deo agunt gratias de Synodi tam felici successu. D. Delegatis & fratribus Belgis ob singularem humanitatem, Deum rogant ut velit Ecclesias Belgicas semper felices esse & pacatas: Idem præstiterunt palatini per dominum Scultetum; Idem Hassiaci per D. Crucigerum; Idem Helvetii per D. Brittingerum; Idem Nassovici per D. Alstedium; Idem Genevenses singuli; Idem*

*Bremenses,*

Bremenses, per D. Martinium; Idem Embdani singuli, sed uterque prolixissime, itaque omnes Exteri vota sua nuncupassent. Præses Synodo piissima & Gratulatoria precatione finem imposuit; Tum, primum D. Delegati, dein D. Præses, dein D. Assessores & scribæ, dein singuli Synodici Belgæ loca sua relinquentes singulos Theologos Exteros ordine datis dextris & adjunctis votis humanissime salutant; atque sic Sessio hæc auditoribus frequentissima, adeoque ipsa Synodus Dordrechtana, cum summis gratulationibus, & maxima animorum letitia ob speratum finem, & mærore ob corporum divulsionem Q. F. F. Q. sic dimissa est.

## Nomina Remonstrantium Citatorum ad Synodum Dordrechtanam.

Ex Geldriâ;

**H**enricus Leo, *Pastor Bommeliensis.*  
 Bernezus Wezekius, *Pastor Echteltanus.*  
 Henricus Holdingerus, *Pastor Graviensis.*

Ex Hollandiâ Australi;

Simon Episcopus, *Professor Theologiæ in Academia Leydenfi.*  
 Adrianus Bozzius, *Pastor Leydenfis.*  
 Joannes Arnoldi, *Pastor Leydenfis.*  
 Nicolaus Grevinchovius, *Pastor Roterodamensis.*  
 Edvardus Poppius, *Pastor Gaudensis.*  
 Theophilus Ryckwardus, *Pastor Brielanus.*

Ex Hollandiâ Boreali;

Joannes Geysteranus, *Pastor Al'mazianus.*  
 Dominicus Sapma, *Pastor Hornanus.*

Ex

*Ex Provincia Transilulanâ;*

Thomas Goswinius, *Pastor* Campensis.  
Assuérus Mathisius, *Pastor* Campensis.

*Ex Ecclesiis Gallo-belgicis;*

Carolus Niellius, *Pastor* Ultrajectinus.  
Simon Goulartius, *Pastor* Amstelodamensis.

Utenbogardus,	} <i>Ultra-ject.</i>
Corvinus,	
Duinghonijs,	
Pinakerus,	
Neranus,	
Isaacus Frederici,	

**Errores Arminii contra receptam Protestantium doctrinam, ex ejus declaratione ad Ordines, Apologiâ adversus quosdam Articulos, Responsione ad novem quæstiones, examine Perkinsii, excerpti.**

1. **P**rimùm, in genere, quòd Arminius in negotio Religionis quædam innovare, & receptam Protestantium doctrinam impugnare molitus sit, ipse satis clarè indicat in Declaratione suæ sententiæ ad Ordines. Nam ipse sibi, libro citato p. 14. Orthodoxorum nomine objiciens, Potuisses (antehac) turbarum evitandarum causâ, partimque ut quamplurimis Ministris satisfaceres, quicquid in toto Religionis negotio sentires, apertè atque nudè profiteri apud confratres tuos, ut aut tu maturè institui rectiùs potuisses, aut illi ad collationem mutuam tempestivè se parare potuissent; Respondet p. 15. Metuebam ut talis mea sententia pro suggestu in Templis atque Academicis disputationibus exagitaretur, atque refutaretur — & ad exterarum Ecclesiarum atque Academiarum transmitteretur, spe sententiæ condemnatoriæ adversus eam obtinendæ.



*Quare metuebas hæc, nisi sententia tua nova esset, & receptæ in vestris & exteris Ecclesiis atque Academiis doctrinæ adversaretur? Porro p. 66. ejusdem Declarationis, putat, æquum esse, & in hoc rerum statu (nempe Belgicis Ecclesiis per ipsum turbatis) etiam necessarium planè — ut in Synodo nationali Confessio Belgica, Harmoniæ confessionum, publico consensu à Belgicis & Gallicanis Ecclesiis approbatæ inserta, & Catechismus Heidelbergensis ab iisdem & aliis reformatis Ecclesiis receptus, examini subjiciatur. Et Orthodoxis p. 72. excipientibus, ex eo confusiones, scandala, destructiones conscientiarum, in Ecclesiis irrisiones, calumnias, & criminationes exorituræ: Respondet p. 73. Committi non debet, quò minus Doctrina semel recepta examini subjiciatur, ut ut etiam vel maximè metus esset, turbas inde extituras, malevolos id ludificaturos, quinimo verò in rem suam quàm maximè versuros.*

2. *Secundò, Particularia capita Doctrinæ Fidei, quæ innovare studuit, hæc ferè sunt.* 1. De statu bonorum Angelorum, eorumque in bono confirmatione. 2. Perseverantiâ sanctorum. 3. Providentiâ Dei in genere. 4. Prædestinatione & Reprobatione. 5. Gratia amplitudine. 6. Gratia efficacîâ. 7. De viribus Liberi Arbitrii. 8. Peccato Originali. 9. De Fidelibus veteris Testamenti.

1. *De Angelis.] In dubium vocat, an Angeli sint nunc beati, & in bono confirmati? in Apologia ad quosdam Articulos p. 135. ubi asserit, Patrum & Scholasticorum Argumenta — non sibi videri illud robur habere, ut aliis id credendum tanquam Articulum Fidei præscribere jure possint. Deinde ista argumenta singillatim solvit.*

2. *De perseverantia sanctorum.] Fideles nonnulli deficiunt à fide finaliter — ergo etiam deficiunt illi à salute. In Apologia ad quosd. Artic. pag. 86. De fide verò, quæ qualitas est & potentia credendi, dicit Apostolus, nonnullos amisissâ bonâ conscientia circa Fidem naufragium fecissè. In Respons. ad 9. quæst. pag. 176.*

3. *De providentiâ Dei in gen.] 3. Quòd verò res, quæ respectu secundarum causarum contingenter sit, necessario fieri dicitur respectu Decreti divini, id non modo perperam, sed & imperitè dicitur. In Apolog. p. 94. assignat rationem in examine p. 138. Fieri nequit, ut unus idemque effectus partim contingenter, partimque necessario existat, quocunque tandem respectu. Ex quibus necessario inferatur, omnia, quæ contingenter accidunt respectu causarum secundarum, contingenter quoque evenire respectu primæ causæ Dei Opt. Max.*

4. De

4. De Prædestinatione & Reprobatione.] In Responsione ad 9. quæstiones pag. 173. docet, Fidem priorem esse electione, quâ decretum aliquod solvendi significat. Hinc in exam. pag. 32. electionem sic definit; Electio est decretum Dei, quo apud se ab æterno statuit fideles in Christo justificare, & ad vitam æternam acceptare, ad laudem gloriosæ gratiæ suæ. Et in Apolog. p. 89, 90. Statuit Fidem non esse hujus electionis effectum, sed necessarium requisitum in iis, qui salutis secundum Dei electionem participes sunt.

P. Martyr in cap. 9. ad Roman. ex Protestantium sententiâ docet, in Decreto Reprobationis duo esse proposita: propositum non miserendi, & quosdam homines in statu peccati deserendi; & propositum ordinandi hominem peccatorem ad pœnam, illudque nullam causam habere præter merum Dei beneplacitum. Contrâ, Arminius, pag. 85. exam. repetens ex Perkinsio definitionem Decreti Reprobationis, his verbis: Decretum Reprobationis est opus Divinæ providentiæ, quo Deus decrevit certos homines præterire quoad gratiam supernaturalem, &c. Mox subjicit. Scriptura nulla agnoscit, hominum à Deo factam Reprobationem, nisi cujus causa meritoria sit peccatum. Et rursus, pag. 205. Statum controversiæ de Reprobatione inter se & Perkinsium his terminis proponit. Quæritur — An Deus ullum hominem reprobaverit citra respectum peccati tanquam causæ meritorix? An ulli homini gratiam remissionis & renovationis negare statuerit citra considerationem indignitatis, quâ se illâ gratiâ indignum fecit: indignitatis (inquam) non ex primo peccato existentis, sed ex gratiæ istius oblate rejectione & contemptu.

5. De gratiæ amplitudine.] Verbum prædicatum junctam semper sibi habet Spiritus Sancti operationem (Examin. p. 57.) — & Reprobationis decreto, reprobis, qui externâ prædicatione ad fidem & pœnitentiam vocantur, Gratia sufficiens (quâ possunt credere & converti pag. 57.) quâ credere & converti possunt si velent p. 58.) non negatur, p. 58. Rationem reddit in Respons. ad 9. quæst. p. 175. Deus non potest ullo jure Fidem in Christum postulare ab homine lapsò, quam ex se habere non potest, nisi aut dederit, aut dare paratus sit Gratiam sufficientem, quâ credere possit, si velit.

Præterea eandem Doctrinam de lege tradit; viz. aut sufficientem Gratiam omnibus hominibus in statu peccati dari ad implendam le-

gem; aut neminem ad legem implendam obligari. Eum in hac heresi esse indicat sequens ejus ratiocinatio, (p. 252. exam.) Duplex est postulatum legis; obedientia vel pœna: unde & duplex est satisfactio legis; una quæ præstatur obedientiæ lege præscriptâ; altera, quâ solvitur pœna à lege inobedientiæ posita: qui alterum solvit, ille à legis altero postulato immunis est: Qui itaque pœnam solvit lege positam, ille immunis ab obligatione obedientiæ præstandæ. Cum igitur pœna posita inobedientiæ, (in Adamo & primis parentibus, Exam. p. 251.) in se comprehendat privationem illius gratiæ (in ejus posteris Exam. p. 251.) sine quâ lex præstari nequit; ejus posteriores orbat gratiâ, sine quâ lex impleri non potest, duplici jure immunes sunt ab obligatione obedientiæ; tum quia pœnam passi sunt debitam, tum quia destituti viribus ad legem implendam. Quare, p. 253. concludit: Si vult Deus obedientiæ actum postulare, tenetur restituere gratiam, sine qua actus non est præstabilis.

6. De Gratiae efficaciâ.] Protestantium sententiam de Gratiae efficaciâ à Zanchio. lib. de Redemp. c. 7. habemus explicatam his verbis. Humana voluntas, cum incipit regenerari, Gratiam sibi efficaciter oblatam, inque se immisam, licet suapte naturâ possit rejicere, propter tamen efficaciam Spiritûs, & firmam Dei voluntatem non potest, Deoque regenerare volenti, non ita valet reluctari, ut non regeneretur. Verum Arminii p. 133. assertio est, Quod manet semper in potestate liberi Arbitrii Gratiam datam rejicere, & subsequenter repudiare; quia Gratia non est Omnipotens Dei actio, cui resisti ab hominibus libero arbitrio non possit.

7. De Viribus liberi Arbitrii.] Docet hominem bene utentem donis naturæ posse consequi Gratiam. Quod æquivalet fere scholasticorum dogmati, Homo faciens, quod in se est, meretur primam Gratiam de congruo. Verum ipsi Jesuitæ agnoscunt, has assertiones errores esse Cassiani, Fausti, Semipelagianorum, quas Prosper refutavit: & ideo Bellarminus nervosis argumentis demonstravit, Non posse hominem solis naturæ viribus ad gratiam recipiendam se ullo modo præparare. Tamen Arminius, Exam. p. 218. non veretur affirmare, isto dicto Christi, Habenti dabitur, Promissionem contineri, quia Deus spondet, se gratiâ supernaturali eum illuminaturum, qui lumine naturali rectè utitur, vel saltem utetur quantum poterit, minus malè. Et rursum p. 259. loquens de hominibus Christi cognitione destitutis, & tamen non sine naturali testimonio de Deo, qualis est aliqua veritas illis patefacta de Dei potentiâ

& bonitate, lex naturæ eorum mentibus insculpta, ait; his bonis si rectè usi fuissent, saltem ex conscientia, majorem ipsis gratiam concessurus fuisset, secundum illud, Habenti dabitur. Et pag. eadem, docens omnes homines vocari per naturalem Dei testificationem, per creaturas in quibus Deum palpamus, per veritatem innatam, quam detinemus in injustitia, legis in mentes inscriptione, secundum quam habent cogitationes ipsos accusantes; pag. 260. subjicit: Hæc vocatio, quanquam salutaris non est, utpote ex qua salus immediate obtineri non potest, tamen præcedanea potest dici salutari, quæ ipsam rectè usurpatam ex Dei misericordia sit consecutura. Ex hoc errore Arminii Semipelagiano, alius pullulat; viz. opera non-renatorum à viribus naturæ profecta placere Deo, cum illa gratia donat: non enim donat gratia opera sibi non placentia. Atque hoc videtur Arminius in Resp. ad 9. quæst. p. 174. concedere cum hæc limitatione. Placent ex Dei benignitate, non suâ excellentiâ.

8. De peccato originali.] Cujusdam Ministri Belgici nomine, hoc dogmate proposito in Apolog. p. 117. Peccatum originale neminem damnaturum, & tribus rationibus ejusdem Ministri nomine, ad hoc probandum adjectis, fatetur hæc rationes esse tanti momenti, ut qui contrarium statuit, illas confutare debere, antequam possunt alicui notam hæreseos impingere, p. 118. & deinde p. 119. respondet autoritatibus Patrum contrarium asserentium. Verum, quod alterius nomine in Apolog. dubiè proponit, in Respon. ad 9. quæst. proprio nomine clarè enunciat. Perversè dicitur (inquit Arminius) Originale Peccatum reum mortis facere, quum peccatum illud sit Pœna peccati actualis Adami, quam pœnam præcedit reatus mortis. Imo in Apolog. p. 169. verba faciens de peccato originali, videtur negare peccatum orig. in se esse peccatum. Non nego inquit peccatum esse, sed nego esse actuale peccatum — Nam distinguendum est inter peccatum actuale, & illud quod est causa aliorum peccatorum, & eo ipso peccati nomine censetur. Quibus non obscure inquit, peccatum originale, non tam in se, quàm quod peccati causa sit, peccatum dici.

9. De Fidelibus Vet. Testam.] In dubium vocat, an fideles sub Veteri Testamento intellexerint Ceremonias legales fuisse typos Christi, in Apol. p. 113. Loca (inquit) quæ id probare videntur, tam speciosa ab adversariis ipsis eripiuntur, ut qui non solent assentiri, nisi benè probatis, facile ad dubitandum induci possint, An Fideles sub veteri Testamento rei notitiam habuerint?

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*Hi sunt Arminii Errores, ex quibus plures alii veluti consecutaria necessarii emergunt; Hunc tamen Remonstrantes piū & fidelem Christi Jesu servum appellant.*

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*Sententia Remonstrantium, quam in conscientia sua verbo Dei consentaneam esse arbitrati sunt, & hactenus etiamnum arbitrantur circa primum de Prædestinationis Decreto articulum, hæc est;*

1. **D***eus non decrevit quenquam ad vitam æternam eligere, aut ab eadem reprobare, ordine priusquam eundem creare decreverit, citra illius vel obedientiæ vel inobedientiæ antecedentis intuitum, pro beneplacito suo, ad demonstrandam gloriam misericordiæ & justitiæ suæ, vel potestatis & dominii absoluti.*

2. *Quum decretum Dei de cuiusque Hominis tum salute, tum exitio non sit decretum finis absolute intenti; sequitur neque eidem decreto subordinata esse media talia, per quæ ad finem destinatum tum electi, tum reprobi efficaciter & inevitabiliter perducantur.*

3. *Quare nec Deus hoc consilio creavit in uno Adamo omnes homines in recto statu; non ordinavit lapsum, ejusque permissionem; non subtraxit Adamo gratiam necessariam, & sufficientem; non procurat Evangelium prædicari, homines externè vocari: non auferit illis ulla dona Spiritus Sancti ut ista media essent, per quæ eorum aliquos ad vitam perducatur, alios vitæ beneficio destitueret: Christus Mediator non solum Executor electionis, sed ipsius decreti electionis fundamentum: quod alii efficaciter vocantur, justificantur, in fide perseverant, glorificantur, causa non est quod absolute ad vitam æternam sint electi; neque quod alii in lapsu deserantur, Christus iis non detur prorsus, aut ineffaciter vocentur, indurentur, damnentur, causa non est quod à salute æterna absolute sint reprobati.*

4. *Deus non decrevit sine intervenientibus peccatis actualibus, multò maximam partem hominum ab omni spe salutis seclusam in lapsu relinquere.*

5. *Deus ordinavit ut Christus sit Propitiatio pro totius mundi peccatis, & vi istius decreti statuit credentes in ipsum justificare & salvare, hominibusque media ad fidem necessaria administrare, eâ ratione quam novit suam sapientiam & justitiam decere. Nequaquam*



quam autem destinavit, ex vi Decreti, solis electis Christum Mediatorem dare, eosdemque solos fide per vocationem efficacem donare, iustificare, in fide conservare, & glorificare.

6. Nec à vita aeterna, nec à mediis ad eam sufficientibus ullus rejectus est absoluto aliquo antecedente decreto, sed ut meritum Christi, vocatio, omniàque dona Spiritus prodesse ad salutem omnibus possint, & revera prosint, nisi ea ipsi in exitium sibi eorundem abusu vertant: ad incredulitatem autem & peccata tanquam media & causas Damnationis nemo destinatus est.

7. Electio singularium personarum peremptoria est ex consideratione Fidei in Jesum Christum, & perseverantiæ; non autem citra considerationem fidei & perseverantiæ in vera fide, tanquam conditionis in eligendo prærequisitæ.

8. Reprobatio à vita aeterna facta est secundum considerationem antecedentem infidelitatis & perseverantiæ in infidelitate; non autem citra considerationem antecedentem infidelitatis, & perseverantiæ in infidelitate.

9. Omnes fidelium Liberi sunt in Christo sanctificati, ita ut nullus eorum ante usum rationis ex hac vitâ decedens pereat; Nequaquam autem in reproborum numero censentur etiam nonnulli fidelium Liberi in infantia sua ante ullum actuale peccatum in propria persona commissum ex hac vita decedentes, adeo ut nec sacrum Lavacrum baptismi, nec preces Ecclesiæ ipsis ullo modo ad salutem prodesse possint.

10. Nulli fidelium Liberi Baptisati in nomine Patris, Filii & Spiritus Sancti in infantia suâ statim viventes absoluto decreto reprobatis ascribuntur.

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*Sententia Remonstrantium de secundo Articulo, quæ est, de Universalitate meriti mortis Christi.*

1. **P**retium redemptionis, quod Christus Deo Patri suo obtulit, non tantum in se, & per se toti generi humano Redimendo, sufficiens est, sed etiam pro omnibus & singulis hominibus, ex decreto, voluntate, & gratia Dei Patris persolutum est; eoque participatione fructuum mortis Christi nemo absoluto & antecedente decreto exclusus est.

2. Christus

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2. Christus merito mortis suæ Deum Patrem universo generi humano hæcenus Reconciliavit; ut Pater propter illius meritum, salvâ justitiâ, & veritate suâ, novum gratiæ fœdus cum peccatoribus & damnationi obnoxiiis inire & sancire potuerit & voluerit.

3. *Etsi* Christus omnibus & singulis hominibus Reconciliationem cum Deo & remissionem peccatorum promeruerit: nemo tamen secundum novi & gratiosi fœderis pactum aliter quàm per fidem beneficiorum mortis Christi, reipsa sit particeps; nec peccata peccatoribus remittuntur, antequam actu & verè in Christum credant.

4. Credere Christum pro se mortuum esse ii soli tenentur, pro quibus Christus mortuus est. Reprobi vero, (quos vocant) pro quibus Christus mortuus non sit, nec ad istam fidem obligari, nec propter incredulitatem contrariam justè damnari possunt; quin si tales reprobi essent, ii credere tenerentur Christum pro se mortuum non esse.

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### *Sententia Remonstrantium circa tertium & quartum Articulus, de Gratia Dei, & Conversione hominis.*

1. **H**omo salvificam fidem non habet ex se nec ex liberi arbitrii viribus, quandoquidem in statu peccati, nihil boni (quod quidem salutare bonum sit, cujusmodi imprimis salvifica fides est) ex se, & à se potest cogitare, velle, & facere; sed necesse est ut à Deo in Christo per Spiritum ipsius Sanctum regeneretur, atque renovetur in intellectu, voluntate, affectu, omnibusque viribus, ut salutaria bona rectè possit intelligere, meditari, velle, atque perficere.

2. Gratiam autem Dei statuimus non tantum esse principium, sed etiam progressum & complementum omnis boni, adeo ut nec ipse quidem regenitus absque præcedente, & præveniente ista, excitante, prosequente, & cooperante gratiâ bonum cogitare, velle, atque agere possit, ullisve ad malum temptationibus resistere: ita ut omnia bona opera actionesque (quas quis cogitando potest assequi) gratiæ Dei ascribendæ sint.

3. Nec tamen credimus zelum omnem, curam, & studium ad obtinendum salutem adhibitum ante ipsam fidem, & Spiritum renovationis, vanum atque irritum; quinimò noxium magis homini esse

*esse quàm utile : sed contrà statuiamus, audire verbum Dei, dolere de peccato commisso, expetere gratiam salutarem, & Spiritum Renovationis, (quorum tamen nihil citra gratiam homo potest) non modo noxium non esse, & inutile; sed potius utilissimum, & quàm maximè necessarium ad obtinendam fidem, & Spiritum Renovationis.*

4. *Voluntas in statu lapsus, ante vocationem non habet potentiam & libertatem ullum bonum, quod salutare sit volendi, ideòque libertatem volendi tam bonum salutare quàm malum, in omni statu voluntati adesse negamus.*

5. *Gratia efficax, quâ quis convertitur, non est irresistibilis; & ita licet voluntatem afficiat verbo & Spiritus sui operatione internâ Deus, ut & potentiam credendi sive vires supernaturales conferat, & hominem actû credere faciat, tamen potuit homo ex se gratiam istam aspernari, & non credere, eoque etiam sua culpâ perire.*

6. *Quamquam pro liberrimâ Dei voluntate maxima sit Gratiæ divinæ disparitas, tamen spiritus sanctus tantum gratiæ omnibus & singulis, quibus verbum fidei prædicatur, confert, aut conferre paratus est, quanta ad promovendam suis gradibus hominum conversionem sufficit, eoque gratia sufficiens ad fidem & conversionem non tantum iis obtingit, quos juxta decretum absolutæ electionis salvare velle dicitur Deus, verum etiam iis, qui actû ipso non convertuntur.*

7. *Homo per gratiam spiritus sancti potest plus benefacere, quàm reipsa facit, & plus mali omittere quàm reipsa omittit : Nec credimus Deum simpliciter nolle, ut homo plus boni faciat, quàm facit, & mali omittat, quàm omittit, ac, ut utrumque ab æterno sic fiat præcisè decrevisse.*

8. *Quoscunque Deus vocat ad salutem, seriò vocat, hoc est cum sincera, & minimè simulata salvandi voluntate; nec eorum assentimur sententiæ, qui statuunt Deum externè quosdam vocare, quos internè vocare, hoc est verè conversos nolit, etiam ante rejectam vocationis gratiam.*

9. *Non est in Deo voluntas istiusmodi arcana, quæ revelatæ ejusdem in verbo voluntati sic contraveniat, ut secundum eam, arcanam scil. nolit conversionem, & salutem maximæ partis eorum, quos verbo Evangelii, & revelata voluntate ad fidem & salutem seriò vocat, neque hîc ut quidam loquuntur, sanctam simulationem, aut duplicem personam in Deo agnoscimus.*

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10. *Nec credimus Deum Reprobos (quos vocant) hos in fines vocare, ut magis induret, ut excusationem adimat, ut gravius puniat, ut Adversarius eorum ostendat; non autem ut convertantur, credant, salventur.*

11. *Verum non est ex vi & efficacia arcanae voluntatis, seu decreti divini omnia non bona tantum, sed & mala necessario fieri; adeo ut quicumque peccant, respectu decreti divini non possint non peccare; Deum velle, decernere, procurare hominum peccata, eorumque opera insana, stulta, crudelia, & sacrilegam sui nominis blasphemiam, movere linguas hominum ad blasphemandum se.*

12. *Falsum quoque et horrendum nobis est, Deum ad peccata, quae palam prohibet, occulta ratione homines impellere; peccantes non agere contra voluntatem Dei veram, & propriè dictam: Consentaneum esse voluntati Dei, quod injustum est, hoc est, quod præcepto ejus contrarium est, quinimò veram & capitalem culpam esse, facere Dei voluntatem.*

*Sententia Remonstrantium circa quintum Articulum  
De Perseverantia.*

1. **P**erseverantia fidelium in fide non est effectum illius absoluti decreti quo Deus singulares personas nulla conditione obedientiae circumscriptas elegisse dicitur.

2. *Deus verè fideles gratia & viribus supernaturalibus instruit, quantum ad perseverandum, & Diaboli, carnis ac mundi tentationes superandum pro infinita sua sapientia sufficere judicat, nec per Deum unquam stat, quo minùs perseverent.*

3. *Verè fideles possunt à vera fide excidere, & in istiusmodi prolabi peccata, quae cum vera, & justificante fide consistere non possint: nec potest hoc tantum fieri, sed & non raro fit.*

4. *Verè fideles possunt sua culpa in scelera atrocia incidere, in eisdem perseverare, & mori, & proinde finaliter excidere & perire.*

5. *Neque tamen credimus vere fideles, etiamsi in gravia & conscientiam vastantia peccata nonnunquam incidant, protinus omni spe resipiscientiae excidere, sed fieri posse agnoscimus ut Deus secundum*

cundum multitudinem misericordiarum suarum eos rursus per gratiam suam ad resipiscentiam revocet, quinimò non infrequenter id evenisse credimus, etiamsi de eo, quod hoc certò & indubiè futurum persuasissimi esse nequeant.

6. Itaque hæc sequentia dogmata, quæ scriptis publicis in vulgus sparguntur indies, ut pietati & bonis moribus noxia toto animo rejicimus. viz. 1. Verè fideles non posse deliberato consilio peccare; sed tantum ex ignorantia & infirmitate. 2. Vere fideles per nulla peccata à gratia Dei excidere posse. 3. Mille peccata, etiam omnia peccata totius mundi, electionem irritam facere non posse. Cui si addatur, omnes omnino homines teneri credere, se electos esse ad salutem, & proinde ex electione illà excidere non posse; quantam illud securitati carnali fenestram aperiat, cogitandum relinquimus. 4. Fidelibus & electis, nulla peccata, ut ut magna & gravia esse possunt, imputari; quia omnia præsentia & futura jam remissa sint. 5. Vere fideles in hæreses exitiales, in atrocissima peccata, uti sunt adulteria, & homicidia prolapsos, propter quæ ecclesia, juxta institutionem Christi, cogatur testari se ipsos in externa sua communione non posse tolerare, illosq; non habituros partem ullam in regno Christi, nisi convertantur, non posse tamen à fide totaliter, nec finaliter excidere.

7. Vere fidelis, uti pro tempore præsentis de fidei & conscientie sue integritate certus esse potest, ita & de salute sua, & salutifera Dei erga ipsum benevolentia pro illo tempore certus esse potest ac debet, & hinc pontificiorum sententiam improbamus.

8. Vere fidelis pro tempore futuro certus quidem esse potest, ac debet se mediantibus vigiliis aliisque sanctis exercitiis in vera fide perseverare posse, nec ad perseverandum unquam illi defuturam gratiam divinam. Sed quomodo certus esse possit se officio suo in posterum nunquam defuturum, sed in fidei, pietatis, & charitatis actionibus, uti fidelem decet, perseveraturum, in hac militie Christianæ Schola, non videmus: nec ut hac de re certus sit fidelis necessarium esse arbitramur.

Reverendissimi Patres ac Fratres, habetis sententiæ nostræ quoad reliquos quatuor articulos propositionem; quam propugnare, & ei contrariam, quæ quoad maximam Thesum supradictarum partem Contra-remonstrantium est, oppugnare



*paratissimus: & isthac ratione, ut eam porro explicemus, & defendamus, quantum possumus, & necessarium judicabimus, veritatis ipsius, gloriæ divinæ, conscientie nostræ, & ædificationis ecclesiarum nostrarum interesse putamus.*

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*Most Reverend and very good Lord,*

WE have sent to your Grace by this Bearer the things that have passed since the 24. of November. We have been held here with matters which we look'd not for: long expecting the coming of the Remonstrants. They came to the Synod the 26. of Novemb. we were in great expectation at their coming, to come to the points in question. But many delays have been made by them, and in seeking matters of delay, they moved *two things*: with the one they incumbered the Synod; with the other they incumbered themselves. The first was, their protestation against the Synod, holding it for *no lawful judge* of their controversies; for which they gave two special reasons. First, because it was for the most part *Schismatical*; secondly, it consisted of such as were their *Adversaries*, and therefore ought to be no Judges. To these reasons the *forreign Divines* were intreated to answer in writing. The answers which we gave, we have sent to your Grace by this Bearer. The thing wherein they incumbered themselves, was, upon the first speech of *Episcopus* in the Synod: which speech he was willed to deliver to the Synod. The *Delegates* that were present, required also, that it should be given with their names subscribed, which was done; but in delivering of it, *Episcopus* required, that either the same *ἀντίγραφον*, or at least the *ἀπὸ γράφον* thereof might be restored to him, because he had not another copy. This was generally taken to be his answer, but when it was found, that he had another copy thereof, this was not well taken, and he was thereof admonished, which bred some question. This being ended, they were brought with much ado to set down their sentence of the first Article of the five; which sentence as they have set it down, we have sent to your Grace. This is all that is yet done. The *French Divines* have been long expected, and

and yet are expected. Thus with our Prayers we commend your Grace to Gods blessed protection, and rest

Dordrecht Decemb.  
6. 1618.

*Your Graces bound in  
all Duties.*

*George Landaven.*

*Jos. Hall.*

*Joh. Davenant.*

*Samuel Ward.*

*Most Reverend and my very good Lord,*

**T**He things which heretofore we have been incumbered with, did not yield me a just occasion to write to your Grace. Of late more occasions have risen. Novemb. 26. the *Remonstrants* came first into the *Synod*, *Episcopius* made a long speech, among other things he declared that they offered a Petition to the *States*, intreating that they might have *Grevinchovius* and *Goulartius* joyned to them, which the *States* denied. It was declared that day in the *Synod* that *Grevinchovius* was *deposed* by the Church, that his *Deposition* was made known to him by two sent from the *States*; that *Grevinchovius* his answer was that he rested in that Sentence: only he intreated leave to stay at *Rotterdam* and there practise *Merchandise*. The same day before night came to me *Episcopius*, *Corvinus*, and *Dwingtonius*, three chief *Remonstrants*, entreating me to mediate for them, that *Grevinchovius* might be admitted to their Company. I told them that the Church had *deposed Grevinchovius*, and the *States* had approved the *Deposition*, and therefore I could not meddle in that thing. Yet they were very earnest, I told them I would send for my *Colleagues*, and they should have a common answer. Whilest we stayed for my fellows, I fell into some speech with *Corvinus* concerning some things which he hath written, and found him nothing constant in those things which he hath published. When the rest came, they gave the same answer; yet were they very earnest, because they said, *Grevinchovius* was for present speech best able to deal in that cause. I told them they must trust the goodness of the cause, and not to the present abilities of any man, and so they departed. But  
before

before they went away, they gave us a writing which they intreated us to read, which, they said, they purposed to deliver to the other *forreign Divines*. The writing we sent to my Lord *Embassador*, purposing also to send, when the next opportunity served, to your *Grace*. Since this time the *Synod* hath been somewhat warmed: for before we were held with small occasions. Three Speeches by them have been made in the *Synod* before the 2. of *Decemb.* one pronounced by *Episcopius*, two other made by *Duingtonius*. In all which speeches they declared, that they held not this *Synod* to be a competent Judge of their controversies. When the first Speech was made, the *President Ecclesiastical* called for a copy thereof, or the Speech it self; the *President Political* added, that the Copy should be signed by their hands; which was done. In offering up the Copy *Episcopius* intreated, that he might have it restored again, because (as he said) he had not another. But when *Heinsius* was afterward sent to him from the *Delegates*, to require another Copy, because they found that this copy which was exhibited, did not contain all that *Episcopius* delivered; he shewed him another Copy. Hereupon grew a business which for some time troubled the *Synod*, whilst *Episcopius* cleared himself from *falsehood*. He appealed against the *President*, who admonished him hereof, to the testimony of the whole *Synod*. I declare to your *Grace* these things particularly, because these two things; one, that they denied the words which they spake in the *Synod*; the other, that they held the *Synod* for no lawful Judge of their controversies, giving these reasons; because it consisted for the most part of *Schismaticks*, and because they were *adversaries to the other*, and therefore could not be their Judges: These things, as they handled them, drew away the affections of men from them; in so much as some of our Friends here in this Town, who were well affected to them, seemed to be much alienated, because they accuse the *Synod* of *Schism*. For if they had taken exception against some particular persons, and not accused the whole body, it might have been better taken; but this course displeaseth their own friends. In some things they erred greatly, for want of knowledge of what was done in the *Synod*, which seemed strange that of 400 or 500 persons which are spectators, not one would tell them what was done; seeing that might so easily be done, because they keep in a chamber that is hard by the door of the

the *Synod-house*. If they shall proceed hereafter in *Doctrinalibus*, as hitherto they have done in *Agibilibus*, it will appear that there is a great judgment of God upon their judgments. They are *marvellous* loth to be brought to the point, wherefore they and we meet. They have held the *Synod* with delays, stays, and evagations from *Novemb. 26.* until *Decemb. 3.* with dilatory evasions exercising the *Synod. Decemb. 4.* they gave up their sentence of the first of the five Articles, but so confusedly, that they have bred a greater dislike of their proceedings. They declare most in *Negatives*, what they hold not. Of that one Article they have made ten, & in some one of their ten, are twelve propositions contained. To follow them would make a long work. *Corvinus* one of the *Remonstrants*, came to *Mr. Mayer*, the Professor of *Basil*, and told him, that he was drawn into these troublesom courses by others, and shewed some dislike, as if he meant to withdraw himself from them. I make your *Grace* acquainted with this. In your wisdom you know, that if this were made known to some in *England*, he might have notice thereof out of *England*, which might hinder his resolution, which I think by all good means should be forwarded. For from *England* they have had no small encouragements heretofore. We are in good hope that though there may be some delays, yet the matter will have a good end. We hear that the *Jesuites* are much offended at the *Synod*. It must be some great good that offends them. All things are here carried with great honour to his *Majesty*; and hearty prayers are made for him daily, as well by others as by his own Subjects. If things shall be transacted with quietness, your *Grace* may think of it, whether it were not fit that some motion might be made to the *States* for some consideration or stipend to be given to the *Remonstrants*, if they shall be *deposed*, for they look for no other than *Deposition*. Their Request in the *Synod* to the *Delegates* was, that they would be means to the *States*, that they would impose no other punishment upon them than *Deposition*. I must make your *Grace* acquainted with one thing that was told me by *Mr. Montgomery* a Scottish Gentleman in these parts; He said that he came to the sight of a Letter written to some of the *Remonstrants*, to encourage them in their courses; promising that if they were *deposed*, they should have honourable maintenance for themselves and their Families. This was before the late times, which if it hold  
now,

now, it may give warning to others not to plead hastily for their maintenance. I crave pardon for this length. *Mr. Dean of Worcester* hath not had his health well these two or three days, the rest are all well, God be thanked. Thus commending your Grace to Gods blessed protection, I rest

Dordr. Decemb.  
6. 1618.

Your Graces, in all Duties bound.  
George Landaven.

May it please your Grace.

**D**Octor Goade, of whose coming it pleased your Grace to advertise me by your Letters of the 21. of the last, arrived here with your others of the 29. the 4. of this present. The fifth I presented him to the *States General*, in whose assembly by an *extemporary Speech* he very well acquitted himself, and left good impressions of a conceit which he expressed very lively how this *Church* and *State* like two inseparable Twins must live and die together; and how both have been always, and are still cherished by his *Majestie*. The same day I brought him to his *Excellency*, and Count *William* (as I had formerly done the rest of the *Divines*) and there I took the boldness to read unto them out of your Graces Letters his *Majesties* and your Graces Judgment of the *Remonstrants* and their opinions; which being so clearly set down, his *Excellency* said was *bon françois*; and, if I be not deceived, in conformity to what your Grace doth wish: when the *Synod* hath done with the *Remonstrants opinions*, this course will be taken with their *persons*, that the chief Ring-leaders (as *Uterbogian*, *Episcopius*, *Grevinchovius*, and *Vorstius*, with some others) will be branded with some note of infamy, and thrust out both of *Church* and *State*. Some others of the chief will have their entertainments continued, but be *suspended* in their functions. The rest, by reason of want of fit men to supply their charges, will be continued in hope the example of others will keep them within their bounds. This course is like to be taken *rebus sic stantibus*; but if the French *Embassador's* endeavours for the delivery of our *Prisoners*, (about which they have now had two publick audiences) or their private practices in favour of the *Arminian* party



party should take any place, we must then expect a mutation; mean time things go on very well, both in *Church* and *State*, for even this day I am advertised from *Schonover*, (which hath been one of the hottest *Arminian* Towns) there being at this present certain *Deputies* of the *Provincial Synod* to visit that *Classis*, within the space of these three days, three *Remonstrant Preachers* of the Villages adjoining have renounced their *Doctrine*; acknowledging under their hands that it is false, and contrary to the *Doctrine* of the Old and New Testament; and that the *Doctrine* taught by the *Contra-Remonstrants* is the *Orthodox*, from which they will never hereafter swerve.

We have here a persecuted man by *Barneveld* and his Faction (*Monsieur Arsens*, whom your *Grace* may remember by his quarrel with *Vandermyle*) advanced to the *Nobles* of *Holland*: So is also *Monsieur Marquett*, the *Lieutenant General* of the *Horse*; both men of good sufficiency, and well affected in Religion. They were both admitted to their *Seats* in the Assembly of the *States of Holland* yesterday. One of the *Nobles* is put in place of *Vandermyle* in the Council of *State*, and another in the place of *Matinefs*, in the Assembly of the *States General*. These two last being *Curators* of the University of *Leyden* (out of which charge they are likewise removed) brought in *Vorstius*, and he is thereby in so much the worse case; in that they stand now in need of *Patrons* themselves, which were his *Protectors*.

I shall not need to advertise your *Grace* what passeth at the *Synod*, from whence you will hear, how the *Remonstrants* being excluded from further conference, by reason of their *Opiniatry*; their *Opinions* are now collected out of their *Books*. The course is approved by the *States*, yet the manner of their *dismissal* in very rough and uncivil terms, used by the President *Bogermannus* (who before won much commendation of *modesty and temper*) is generally disliked. *Quamquam illi digni hac contumeliâ*, the place and quality of the Assembly required another manner of proceeding; which would have wrought the same effect, and been less subject to censure; but it is not now *in integro* to look back, and rectify what is amiss without much disparagement. They must therefore go forward, and for the countenance of their action do the best they may, leaving the events to God.

There hath been an overture made to His Majesty by *Du Moulin* the Minister at *Paris* of a *General Confession* to be composed by this Synod for all the Reformed Churches, a Form whereof is by His Majesties Order privately conceived by some select persons in the Synod, which when it is perfected, it will be then sent to His Majesty to be by him governed as shall seem best to His Wisdom, either by suffering the same to go no farther; or if he approve thereof, with such change and alteration therein as he shall think fit, to recommend the same publickly to the Synod, and by consequence to the several Churches which have their Deputies there.

*Du Moulin* doth recommend further a project of *mutual toleration* betwixt the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*; which doth ill suit with our present business of suppressing the *Arminians*; and therefore, I believe, it will not be thought fit to make mention thereof in the Synod.

Our English Divines have from the first time of Mr. *Balcanquall's* arrival there admitted him to their Consultations; and now they joyn likewise in  *Suffrage*, and in the distribution of the divers parts of the business; as those who all make but *one College*. I do not find by what I hear from *Dort*, or what I observed here, that Mr. *Balcanquall* doth give any just subject for the report which is raised of *undecencie in apparel*, but on the contrary that in all respects he gives much satisfaction.

Doctour *Goad* was well received at the Synod, as one who can better go through this laboursome business than the *Dean of Worcester* was able to do by reason of his languishing indisposition. The *Dean* went from *Dort* towards *England* the Eighth of this present; but I doubt he is not yet arrived there by reason of the contrariety of the Winds.

For conclusion, I will tell your Grace that which is no news unto you, that I have ended the last year with the most angry message, and begun this with the most agreeable that I ever yet delivered this State: And as the former was interpreted by those who best understood the nature of those *Provinces* for the greatest of all their present Calamities; so this later doth give them heart and life again; and as they may go on without *arriere-pense* in the course wherewith His Majesty hath so well and so constantly aided them by his countenance; so my hope is that His Majesty

*The Bishop of Landaff to Sir Dudley Carleton. 179*

*jesſy* will in time reap more affuredly the fruits of theſe mutations, in that he is pleaſed to uſe Patience until they be better ripened.

Thus I moſt humbly take leave, from the *Hagbe* this 14. of *January*, 1618.

Your Graces moſt humbly to  
be commanded,

Dudley Carleton.

POSTSCRIPT.

I do hear even now of a bitter writing the *Remonſtrants* have preſented to the *Synod* in answer of *Bogermannus* for his ſharp *exit*: wherein they for a concluſion do *optare Synodo meliorem mentem*.

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Lord Biſhop of *Landaff*, to Sir Dudley Carleton Em-  
baſſadour at the *Hagbe*, Febr. 8. 1618.

*Right Honourable my very good Lord,*

BY my long ſilence in that particular whereof your Lordſhip wrote laſt to us in general, you may perceive how unwilling I am to write thereof. Unto your Lordſhip have I written nothing till now, which ſome of my *Colleagues* think ſtrange, though I ſuppoſe they do believe me upon my word. I ſhould not as yet have written hereof, but that I think my ſelf bound to give an account to your Lordſhip of theſe things, not only in reſpect of mine affection to your Lordſhip, but in reſpect alſo of the place which you carry.

When we were to give up our ſentence to the *ſecond Article*, having firſt thought of certain *Theſes*, we parted our labour, ſo that each one had his part of the *Theſes* to confirm. When all was conferred together, it was found that *Dr. D.* and *Dr. W.* had proceeded ſo far in *declaring their parts*, that the reſt could not

follow them; whereupon we were at a stand for a time: They perceiving that neither *my self*, nor the *rest of my fellows* could approve that which they had set down; took occasion of divers conferences, which did rather set us farther asunder; yet this was private among our selves. They held, that the *Redemption of Christ*, and the *Grace* thereof was *general to all without exception*; which being put, I could not see, why we should not grant *general grace* in the largest sence, that the *Remonstrants* would have it: Their answer was, that it was so far to be granted, and we were to yield so much to them. Upon this there was some difference, I took it neither to be a *Truth of the Scripture*, nor the *Doctrine of the Church of England*; and they thought it was both. After some time and discourses spent, I told them that there was a *necessity of our agreement*, if we could not agree in all things, we must come to such Points wherein all may agree; and willed them to give me liberty to remove the things, wherein we could not agree, that we might all agree in the rest: To this *they yielded*, and so we agreed in some things.

After this, we received your Lordship's Letters, for which all without exception thought our selves much beholding to your Lordship. We sent your Lordship an answer in common; which, I suppose, your Lordship sent to my Lord's Grace; for there the question in controversie is set down.

Whether the *Grace of Redemption* is *general to all men* in the World without exception; or to be *Restrained* only to the Church? I know, there be some Bishops in England that are of opinion that it is *general* without exception to all men; but I never thought that their Opinions were the *Doctrine of the Church of England*. Dr. W. when in private conference we have occasion to speak of these things; being driven by some evidences of Scripture, which prove that wheresoever the *Grace of Redemption* goeth, there goeth also *remission of sins*; So that if he admit the *grace of Redemption* common to all, he must admit also, that all men have *remission of sins*: To avoid this, deviseth a word to express the *generality* thus, not *Redemptio*, but *Redimibilitas*; and not *Reconciliatio*, but *Reconciliabilitas*. Which devising of Words makes me more to suspect the Doctrine; for I think a *devised School term* should not determine a *Truth in Divinity*. I told him if this Opinion be granted, we must have *new terms* to express it,  
for

for the *old* will not serve: He answereth that it is good and fit to make *new terms*, as this word was devised in the Council of *Nice*, *ὁμοῦς*. And, as it seemeth, he could be well contented, that *new words* were devised in this Synod to receive this Doctrine. As where the *Remonstrants* have a Doctrine from *Arminius*, that, *Redemptio impetrata est communis*, but not *applicata*; Whereupon it followeth that *impetratio* is *generalis*; which thing soundeth as unsound in the ears of men: *Dr. W.* deviseth a word to help this: For he will not say that *impetratio* is *general*, but *impetrabilitas* is *general*. Thus as if we wanted matter, we are playing with words. And if this humour had stayed it self within our *private conferences*, it would have been less offensive; but he hath opened himself to divers of the *Synod*, which have told me of it. And that men should not be ignorant, he hath opened the same *publicly in the Synod*. This gave the occasion of that report, which came to your Lordship of some dissent among us. We keep peace and love among our selves notwithstanding some variety of Opinions. We wrote to your Lordship that Mr. *President* was offended at some things which we exhibited, and was desirous that we should write to know my Lord's Grace his opinion therein. In moving of that to my company, I told them that we might yet take such order as to quiet all things without troubling my Lord's Grace: Namely, if we should recall our *Theses*, and alter them at our pleasure; for that is the common liberty granted to all, to recall or add what they think good, before the framing of the *Canons*. I told them it might be with less trouble and speech, if we did it of our selves, rather than to refer it to my Lord's Grace to do. To this *Dr. D.* answered that he would rather have his right hand cut off, than recall or alter any thing. Thus were we driven to send to *his Grace*. If I could have drawn them to another course, my Lord's Grace should not have been troubled. Whatsoever will be done in this, if we should do what we can, we cannot sway the *Synod*, for the *Synod* will ever have a major part against these Opinions, and we can do nothing herein but only shew our *Devises*, for we are sure before hand that this *Devise* of the *Universal Grace of Redemption* will not be received in this Synod. Thus having given an account to your Lordship of these things whereof you wrote, and which I thought my self



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bound to do, commending your Lordship to the protection and blessing of God, and my self to your Lordship, I rest

*Dordr. Febr. 8.*  
1618.

*Your Lordships most affectionate  
to do you service,*

George Landaven:

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Lord Bishop of *Landaff*, Febr. 18. 1618. to the Arch-  
Bishop of *Canterbury*.

*Most Reverend my very good Lord,*

WE have advertised your Grace of the occurrents in the *Synod*. Of late there fell out an unreasonable contention between the *Breme-Divines* and some of the *Provincials*, wherein by a combination the *Provincials* had wrapped in *Scultetus*; there were some faults on both sides, but the greater fault was in the *Provincials*. We have laboured to take up that matter, and therein we have done not unprofitable service: For those things which lately we wrote to *your Grace*, we are desirous to compose them among our selves, if happily we can. We might have done it before, if some of my fellows would have been perswaded to suffer some things to be changed which we have exhibited; for we have that common liberty to change what we think good. I pressed it to the company to change some things, which offended the *President*, but one of our company answered that he would rather have his *right hand cut off*, than change any thing. The question that troubleth us, is, whether we may admit the *Grace of Redemption to be general to all men without exception*? Of which matters some of our company had written much, and therein proceeded farther, than we could yield to. I cut off all that discourse, which proved this *General Grace*, before our writings were exhibited: This I did by their good wills and consent; yet if the matter shall come to be disputed in the *Synod*, I fear that they will not be perswaded to be silent in it; a private admonition

admonition from your Grace may quiet all. We will be careful in the mean time to do what we can for *Peace*. We live together in great love, and society notwithstanding some differences of Opinions. Thus with my hearty prayers for your Graces long continuance to the comfort of his Church, I rest

*Dordr. Febr. 18.*  
1618. *Stil.vet.*

*Your Graces most bounden*  
*in all duties,*

George Landaven.

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*The British Divines, Febr. 18. 1618. Stil.Vet. Their*  
*Agreement concerning the Second Article.*

*Most Reverend,*

O Ur most humble duties premised. Whereas of late by the advice of some, whom we have cause to respect, we so far troubled your *Grace* as by our joynt Letters to request your advice and direction concerning the authorized Doctrine of our Church *de generali pretio mortis Christi*: We have since thought it more agreeable to our duties not to press your *Grace* therein, nor to raise any scruple or question on that Point, we having already resolved on that, which we presume can incur no exception in our Church, and tendeth, as we are perswaded, to the advancing of the Peace of these Churches. May it please your *Grace* therefore herein to leave us to our own defence and explication, without any troubling your *Grace* otherwise, than what your Wisdom shall think fit in private to advise; whereof we shall make such use as occasion shall require, with due respect to your Graces intention and command.

The process and particular occurrences of our *Synodical Affairs*, since our last narration, we have now sent, reserving ourselves a while therein for the conveniency of this Messenger, who signified to us his intent of going purposely to *Lambeth*.

But that we presume that by our intimation to your Grace

*Hiss*

*His Majesty* is informed of the State of the *Synodical proceedings*, we should think it our duty to take care for some such narration; which as we have hitherto, so will still forbear, unless your *Grace* command us otherwise.

So with remembrance of our humble duties, and prayers for the peace of our and their Churches, and for your *Graces* prosperity, we humbly take our leave this 28. of *Febr.* 1618. *Stilo novo.*

*Derdr. Batavor.*

*Your Graces to be commanded,*

George Landaven.  
John Davenant.  
Samuel Ward.  
Thomas Goad.  
Walter Balcanquall.

The British Divines at *Dort*, March 11. 1618. To  
the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*.

Reasons of enlarging *Grace* beyond *Election*.

*Our most humble duty premised,*

AS we are bound most thankfully to accept, and always ready observantly to respect your *Graces* especial care, and judicious pains in explainig to us by letter some difficulties concerning our *Second Article*: So we doubt not to enjoy your *Graces* approbation of our *cantelous moderation*; both, in private using only amongst our selves your *Graces* said Instructions, as also in withholding our hand from pressing in publick any rigorous exclusive Propositions in the Doctrine of the extent of our *Saviour Christ's* oblation. Our tenderness herein hitherto used is the more awaked by late intimation given us by my Lord *Embassadour* of *His Majesties* strict charge; "That before the *Synodical resolution* "concerning *Christ's death*, and the application of it to us, we  
"stand

“stand upon it, to have those conclusions couched, in manner,  
“and terms, as near as possibly may be, to those which were  
“used in the *Primitive Church* by the *Fathers* of that time against  
“the *Pelagians*, and *Semi-pelagians*, and not in any new phrase of  
“the *Modern* age: and that the same may be as agreeable to the  
“*Confessions of the Church of England*, and other Reformed Church-  
“es, and with as little distast and umbrage to the *Lutheran*  
“Churches as may be.

What hitherto we have resolved concerning *this Article*, may appear by our *Theses* long since subscribed by every of us, and publicly among the rest read in the *Synod*; a Copy whereof we now send, humbly submitting the same, and all other our actions to your *Graces* judgment, and Authority. To every of them (as in all other of the rest of the *Articles*) are annexed our brief *Explications*; which we now spare to trouble your *Grace* withall; intending at our return to exhibit to His *Majesty*, and to your *Grace* an intire Copy of our *whole judgment of the five Articles*, as it was read in the *Synod*, unless your *Grace* command us to send over the same before.

In our avouching and declaring in this and other *Articles*, some fruits of *Christ's death*, not comprised in the *Decree of Election*, but afforded more generally, yet confined to the *Visible Church* (as viz. true and spiritual *Graces* accompanying the Gospel, and conferred upon some *non-electi*) we gain ground of the *Remonstrants*, and thereby easily repell, not only their instances of *Apostasy*, but also their odious imputation of *illusion* in the general propounding of the *Evangelical Promises*, as we are ready more clearly to demonstrate. Nor do we with the *Remonstrants* leave at large the benefit of our Saviour's death, as only propounded loosely to all *ex æquo*, and to be applied by the *arbitrary act of man's will*: but we expressly avouch, for the behoof of the *Elect*, a *special intention* both in *Christ's offering*, and *God the Father accepting*, and from that intention a *particular application* of that sacrifice, by conferring Faith and other Gifts infallibly bringing the *Elect* to Salvation. And that our care in advancing this Doctrine might be the more remarkable, we in these our *Theses* have set in the fore-front our Propositions concerning *God's special Intention*.

Our *Synodical Proceedings* (whereof we now send your *Grace*

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a brief narration continued to our former) having passed through all our *Collegiate Judgments* of the *Five Articles*, do shew rather an essential consent in substance, than a conspiring identity in every confectary; which we hope will approve even to our Adversaries the sincerity of our hearts, and argue that we seek, rather the Truth of God, than the Triumph of men.

So continuing our dayly prayers for the peace of God's Church, our most Religious King's prosperity, and your Graces preservation, we humbly crave pardon and remain

Dort. this 21. of March  
1619. Stil. nov.

Your Graces most humble  
to be commanded,

George Landaven.  
John Davenant.  
Samuel Ward.  
Thomas Goad.  
Walter Balcanquall.

Doctour Davenant touching the Second Article, discussed at the conference at the Haghe, of the Extent of Redemption.

I. WE undoubtedly hold these two ensuing Propositions, which are the two first which we have exhibited, and in which we had the consent of the *Foreign Divines*.

1. *Ex speciali amore & intentione tum Dei Patris, tum ipsius Christi, mortuus est Christus pro Electis, ut illis remissionem peccatorum, & salutem eternam reipsa obtineret, & infallibiliter conferret.*

2. *Ex hoc eodem amore per & propter meritum & Intercessionem Christi, dantur iisdem Electis fides, perseverantia, ceteraque omnia, per quae conditio Fæderis impletur, & beneficium promissum, i. e. vita eterna infallibiliter obtinetur.*

2. But we hold also these two ensuing Propositions, which we have also exhibited, and were in like manner approved by the Exteri.

I. Deus



1. *Deus lapsi humani generis miseratus misit Filium suum, qui se ipsum dedit pretium Redemptionis pro peccatis totius mundi.* Which Proposition is equi-pollent to the express Article of the Church of England, set forth by Authority Anno 1562. *Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est Redemptio, propitiatio, & satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi tam originalibus, quam actualibus, Art. xxxi.* which also is delivered *totidem verbis* in the Consecratory Prayer before the Receiving of the Holy Eucharist in the Book of Common Prayer.

2. *In hoc merito mortis Christi fundatur universale Promissum Evangelicum, juxta quod omnes in Christum credentes, remissionem peccatorum, & vitam eternam reipsa consequantur.*

According to these two last Propositions we do hold that our Blessed Saviour by God's Appointment did offer up himself to the Blessed Trinity for the Redemption of mankind, and by this Oblation once made, did found, confirm, and ratifie the Evangelical Covenant, which may and ought to be preached seriously to all mankind without exception. *Quicumque credit salvabitur; si tu crederes, salvaberis.* And moreover we hold this ensuing Proposition, which we also have exhibited, and which was in like sort approved as the rest.

3. *In Ecclesia uti juxta hoc Promissum Evangelii salus omnibus offertur, ea est administratio gratiae suae quae sufficit ad convincendos omnes impenitentes, & incredulos, quod suam culpam voluntariam, & vel neglectum, vel contemptu Evangelii perierint, & beneficia oblata amiserint.* And according to this we hold, that there are sundry initial preparations tending to Conversion, merited by Christ, and dispensed in the preaching of the Gospel, and wrought by the Holy Ghost in the hearts of many that never attain to true Regeneration or Justification, such are *Illuminatio, & Notitia dogmatum fidei, Fides Dogmatica, Sensus peccati, Timor poenae, Cogitatio de liberatione, Spes veniae, &c.* An evident example whereof may be seen in them that sin against the Holy Ghost, Heb. VI. & X. And consequently we hold, that the whole merit of Christ is not confined to the Elect only, as some here do hold, and was held in Colloq. Hag. by the Contra-Remonstrants.

*The Reasons which move us to hold these three latter Assertions, are*

1. **W**E make no doubt, but this Doctrine of the *Extent of Christ's Redemption* is the undoubted Doctrine of the *holy Scriptures*, and most consonant to *Antiquity, Fathers and Councils*, to whom our *Church* will have all Preachers to have special respect in *doctrinal points. lib. quorund. Canon. Discip. Eccles. Anglic. Edit. 1571. cap. de Concionatoribus.*

2. First, The *Church of England* besides the places alledged deliver the first of the three last Article, touching the *Universality of Redemption*, as in our Confession set forth Anno 1562. Art. 2, 7, 15. and elsewhere in the *Communion Book*, and *Homilies*.

2. For the *Universality of the promises of the Gospel*, which is the *Second Article*, the *Church of England* doth teach *Artic. Relig. 7. de Prædestinatione*, That we must *Receive God's Promises*, in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in *holy Scripture*; where our *Church* doth signifie that the *Promises of God* in the *Gospel* do appertain to all generally to whom they are published, and according to this we hold, that the reason why the *Promises of the Gospel* are not effectual to all to whom they are published, is not through any *Defect in Christ's death*, as though he had not truly founded and ratified by his death and passion the *Evangelical Covenant* or promise to all; or that *this promise pertained not to all*; or, that *God did not thereby seriously invite all*, to whom this *Evangelical Promise* is propounded in the *Ministry of the word*, to repentance, and faith, and so consequently to the participation of the benefits promised therein: but that the *defect is inherent in man, who will not receive that grace*, that is truly and seriously offered on *God's part*. This Doctrine must needs be maintained, otherwise we cannot see what ground *God's Ministers* have seriously to exhort and invite all to repentance, and belief in *Christ*, according to the mandate and promise of the *Gospel*.

3. For the *Communication of Grace* in some measure and degree tending to *Conversion*, to all to whom the *Gospel* is preached, there is no doubt, but it is conformable to the Doctrine of our *Church*.

3. There

3. There is *no Confession* of any Reformed Church, that doth *restrain Christ's death only to the Elect*: Now we are by our Instructions from his Majesty to advise the *Belgicks* to conform themselves to the publick Confessions of the *Church of England*, and the Neighbour Reformed Churches.

4. We observe that in the Conference at the *Hagbe* the *Remonstrants* and *Contra-Remonstrants*, being pressed by Arguments on each side in this *Second Article*, they come to joyn issue in that which we hold to be the very truth; for in *Collat. Bertian. pag. 154.* the words of the *Contra-Remonstrants* are these, *lin. antepenult. Sed infideles, etsi promeriti quidem illi sint condemnationem, tamen est adhuc via aliqua & ratio* (or as it is in *Collat. Brandii p. 163.* *habent tamen medium*) *per quam meritam condemnationem illam possint evadere, nimirum si credant; neque enim resecta est omnis salutis spes quantisper in hac vita est, &c.*

Now *p. 186. Collat. Bertian. post medium*; the words of the *Remonstrants* are these. *Experientiam hoc posse docere, non omnes & singulos reipsa à servitute liberari: sed non docet liberationem, aut saltem jus & modum* (or *medium* as *Brandius* hath it *p. 197.*) *ad pertingendi omnibus non esse impetratum.* In the former place the *Contra-Remonstrants* make a great difference between the *state and condition of the wicked spirits*, and *men not-elect*; for that men have a *way and means* to avoid condemnation (*i. e.*) by *believing*. But if the Promise of the Gospel founded in Christ's merits, *Quisquis crediderit, salvus erit*, do only belong to the *Elect*, then the *non-elect*, though they should believe, should have no way or means of escaping condemnation. Because belief is not available to salvation from the nature of the act, but from the *Will of God* making the Promise, which according to the *Contra-Remonstrants* in this promise is presumed to be confined only to the *Elect*. And so this Promise should no more pertain to the *non-elect* than to the *evil Angels*, who, if they should repent and believe (admitting this impossible supposition) yet could not be saved; because this Promise was never made to them; but to mankind as the Scripture speaketh.

In the latter Passage the *Remonstrants* do explain themselves, that *Christ by his death obtained a means and way of deliverance to all*. Both acknowledge that a way and means of deliverance is impetrated by Christ, not for *Believers* only, but for *Infidels*

and *unbelievers*, though they accept not of it.

5. Notwithstanding this Tenent of *Extending Christ's death to all*, and the *Universality of the promise*, we do firmly hold the main Points controverted not only in the other *Four Articles*, but in this *Second Article* also, in our two first Propositions touching *God's and Christ's special intention to Redeem effectually*, and to merit effectual Grace only to the *Elect*. And so shall in all the *Five Articles* define sufficiently against the *Remonstrants*. And by this our distinction blunt their chief Arguments in all the *Five Articles*, which otherwise, we cannot see how they can be sufficiently solved.

6. We consider, that by this our delivery of the Points premised, we shall avoid all these absurdities, which by unavoidable consequence will fall upon them which hold the rigid Opinion of *Piscator*, and some in these *Provinces*, touching the Doctrine of *Reprobation*, which are alledged by the *Remonstrants* in a large Tract, which they have written upon the *First Article*, which was read in the *Synod*; which Assertions we think no Divine can justify.

7. We know that sundry of the most Learned *Bishops*, and others in *England* do hold the same; and we doubt not but if the Tenents of sundry of the *Contra-Remonstrants* here, were made known unto them, they would disclaim them.

8. We verily think that the strictness of the *Contra-Remonstrants* in this *Second Article* is one chief reason which keepeth the *Lutheran Churches* from joyning with us. And we think that if way were given in this *Synod* herein, they would be the more easily brought to hold the Doctrine of *Predestination* according to the Opinion of *St. Augustine*, and the Church of *England*.

9. This is the Doctrine of sundry of the famous and learned Writers of the *Reformed Churches*, as of *Melancthon*, of *Calvin* in sundry places, of *Musculus*, *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, *Aretius*, *Ursinus*, *Sohnius*, *Pezelius*, *Mollerus*, *Paræus*, and others.

10. We have had conference with some of the Divines here, but cannot receive any due satisfaction.

11. We had a special charge in our Instructions to endeavour that *Positions* be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both parts, which we judge to be most necessary in this *Second Article*.

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1

A  
T R A C T  
CONCERNING  
S C H I S M E  
AND  
SCHISMATICKS.  
WHEREIN

Is briefly discovered, The Original Causes of all *Schism*.

**H**eresie and *Schism*; as they are commonly used, are two Theological scar-crows, with which they who use to uphold a party in Religion, use to fright away such, as making inquiry into it, are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious; for, as *Plutarch* reports of a Painter, who having unskilfully painted a Cock, chased away all Cocks and Hens, that so the imperfection of his Art might not appear by comparison with Nature; so men willing for ends to admit of no fancy but their own, endeavour to hinder an inquiry into it by way of comparison of somewhat with it, peradventure truer, that so the deformity of their own might not appear: but howsoever, in the common manage, *Heresie* and *Schisme* are but ridiculous terms yet the things in themselves are of very considerable moment, the one offending against Truth, the other against Charity, and therefore both deadly, when they are not by imputation, but indeed.

It is then a matter of no small importance, truly to descry the nature of them, and they on the contrary strengthen themselves, who through the iniquity of men and times, are injuriously charged with them.

*Schisme* (for of *Heresie* we shall not now treat, except it be by accident, and that by occasion of a general mistake, spread through all the writings of the Ancients, in which their names are familiarly confounded) *Schisme*, I say upon the very sound of the word imports Division; *Division* is not but where *Communion* is or ought to be: Now *Communion* is the strength and ground of all Society, whether *Sacred* or *Civil*; whosoever therefore they be that offend against the common society and friendliness of men, if it be in civil occasions, are guilty of Sedition and Rebellion; if it be by reason of Ecclesiastical difference, they are guilty of *Schisme*: So that *Schisme* is an Ecclesiastical Sedition, as Sedition is a lay *Schism*: yet the great benefits of *Communion*, notwithstanding in regard of divers distempers men are subject to Dissension, and Dis-union, are often necessary; For when, either false or uncertain Conclusions are obtruded for truth, and Acts either unlawful, or ministring just scruple, are required of us to be perform'd, in these cases, consent were conspiracy, and open contestation is not faction or *Schisme*, but due Christian animosity.

For the opening therefore of the nature of *Schisme*, something may be added by way of difference to distinguish it from necessary Separation, and that is, that the cause upon which Division is attempted, proceed not from Passion, or from Dis temper, or from Ambition, or Avarice, or such other ends, as humane folly is apt to pursue, but from well weighed and necessary reasons, and that when all other means having been tryed, nothing will serve to save us from guilt of Conscience, but open separation; so that *Schisme*, if we would define it, is nothing else but an unnecessary separation of Christians from that part of the visible Church, of which they were once members. Now, As in Mutinies and civil Dissentions, there are two Attendants in ordinary belonging unto them; one the choice of one Elector or Guide, in place of the general or ordinary Governor, to rule and Guide; the other the appointing of some publick place or Rendezvous, where publick Meetings must be celebrated: So in Church-dissentions and quarrels, two appurtenances there are, which serve to make *Schisme* compleat.

First, in the choice of a Bishop, in opposition to the former, (a thing very frequent amongst the Ancients, and which many times was the cause and effect of *Schisme*.)

Secondly, the erecting of a new Church and Oratory, for the dividing parts to meet-in, publickly. For till this be done, the *Schisme* is but yet in the womb.

In that late famous Controversie in Holland, *De Prædestinatione & auxiliis*, as long as the disagreeing parties went no further than Disputes and Pen-combates, the *Schisme* was all that while unhatch'd; but as soon as one party swept an old Cloyster, and by a pretty Art suddenly made it a Church, by putting a new Pulpit in it, for the separating party there to meet; now what before was a Controversie became a formal *Schisme*. To know no more than this, if you take it to be true, had been enough to direct how you are to judge, and what to think of *Schisme* and *Schismaticks*; yet, because of the Ancients, (by whom many are more affrighted than hurt) much is said, and many fearful dooms pronounced in this case. We will descend a little to consider of *Schism*, as it were by way of Story, and that partly further to open that which we have said in general by instancing in particulars, and partly to disabuse those who reverencing Antiquity more then needs, have suffered themselves to be scared with imputation of *Schisme*, above due measure; for, what the Ancients spake by way of censure of *Schisme* in general, is most true, for they saw (and it is no great matter to see so much) that unadvised and open fancy to break the knot of union, betwixt man and man (especially amongst Christians, upon whom above all other kind of men, the tie of love, and Communion doth most especially rest) was a crime hardly pardonable, and that nothing absolves men from the guilt of it, but true and unpretended conscience: yet when they came to pronounce of *Schisme* in particular (whether it was because of their own interest, or that they saw not the Truth, or for what other cause God only doth know) their judgements many times (to speak most gently) were justly to be suspected. Which that you may see, we will range all *Schisme* into two ranks.

First is a *Schisme*, in which only one party is the *Schismatick*; for where cause of *Schisme* is necessary, there not he that separates, but he that is the cause of separation, is the *Schismatick*.

Secondly, there is a *Schisme* in which both parties are the *Schismaticks*; for, where the occasion of separation is unnecessary, neither side can be excused from the guilt of *Schisme*.

But you will ask, Who shall be the judge, what is necessary? Indeed, it is a question which hath been often made, but I think scarcely ever truly answered, not because it is a point of great depth or difficulty truly to assail it, but because the true solution of it carries fire in the tail of it (for it bringeth with it a piece of Doctrine which is seldom pleasing to Superiors:) to you for the present this shall suffice.

If so be you be *animo defecato*, if you have cleared your self from froath and growns, if neither sloth, nor fear, nor ambition, nor any tempting spirit of that nature abuse you (for these and such as these, are the true impediments, why both that, and other questions of the like danger are not truly answer'd) if all this be, and yet you know not how to frame your resolution, and

and settle your self for that doubt; I will say no more of you than was said of *Papias*, *St. John's* own Scholar, Your abilities are not so good as I presumed.

But to go on with what I intended, and from that that diverted me, that you may the better judge of the nature of *Schisms* by their occasions, you shall find that all *Schisms* have crept into the Church by one of these three ways, either upon matter of Fact, or upon matter of Opinion, or point of Ambition; for the first, I call that matter of fact, when something is required to be done by us, which either we know, or strongly suspect to be unlawful; so the first notable *Schisme* of which we read in the Church, contained in it matter of fact; for, it being upon error taken for necessary, that an *Easter* must be kept, and upon worse than error (if I may so speak) for it was no less than a point of Judaism forced upon the Church; upon worse than error, I say, thought further necessary that the ground of the time for keeping of that Feast must be the rule left by *Moses* to the *Jews*, there arose a stout question, Whether we were to celebrate with the *Jews* on the fourteenth *Moon*, or the *Sunday* following? This matter though most unnecessary, most vain; yet caused as great a combustion as ever was in the Church; the *West* separating and refusing Communion with the *East*, for many years together: In this fantastical hurry I cannot see but all the world were Schismatics, neither can any thing excuse them from that imputation, excepting only this, that we charitably suppose that all parties did what they did out of conscience, a thing which befall them through the ignorance of their Guides, (for I will not say through their malice) and that through the just judgment of God, because through sloth and blind obedience, men examined not the things which they were taught; but, like beasts of burthen, patiently couch'd down, & indifferently underwent whatsoever their Superiors laid upon them. By the way, by this we may plainly see the danger of our appeal to Antiquity, for resolution in controverted points of Faith, and how small relief we are to expect from thence; for, if the discretion of the cheifest Guides and Directors of the Church, did in a point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so mainly fail them, as not to see the truth in a subject, wherein it is the greatest marvel, how they could avoid the sight of it; Can we without the imputation of great grossness and folly, think so poor-spirited persons, competent Judges of the questions now on foot betwixt the Churches; pardon me, I know what temptation drew that note from me.

The next *Schisme* which had in it matter of fact, is that of the *Donatists*, who were perswaded (at least pretended so) that it was unlawful to converse or communicate in holy duties with men stained with any notorious sin; for, howsoever that *Austin* do specify only the *Thurificati & Traditores* and *Libellatici*, &c. as if he separated only from those, whom he found to be such; yet by necessary proportion, he must referre to all notorious sinners: upon this, he taught that in all places, where good and bad were mixt together, there could be no Church by reason of Pollution, co-operating a way from sinners, which blasted righteous persons, which conversed with them, and made all unclean: on this ground, separating himself from all that he list to suspect, he gave out, that the Church was no where to be found but in him, and his Associates, as being the only men among whom wicked persons found no shelter, and by consequence the only clean and unpolluted company, and therefore the only Church. Against this, Saint *Augustine* laid down this Conclusion, *Unitatem Ecclesie per totum mundum dispersa preceptam non esse diffundendam*, which is indeed the whole summe of that Father's disputation against the *Donatists*. Now in one part of this Controversie, one thing is very remarkable. The truth was there, where it was, by meer chance, and might have been on either side, the reason brought by either party notwithstanding: for though it were *De facto*, false, that *pars Donati* shut up in *Africk* was the only Orthodox party; yet it might be true, notwithstanding any thing *St. Augustine* brings to confute it; and on the contrary, though it were *de facto* true, that the part of Christians dispersed over the whole earth were Orthodox, yet it might have been false, notwithstanding any thing Saint *Augustine* brings to confirm it. For where or amongst whom or how many the Church shall be, or is, is a thing indifferent; it may be in any number more or less, it may be in any Place, Countrey, or Nation, it may be in all, and for ought I know, it may be in none, without



the prejudice to the definition of a Church, or the truth of the Gospel, *North or South*; many or few; dispersed in many Places, or confined to one: None of these do either prove or disprove a Church.

Now this *Schisme*, and likewise that former, to a wise man that well understands the matter in Controversie, may afford perchance matter of pity, to see men so strangely distracted upon fancy, but of doubt or trouble what to do, it can yield none; for though in this *Schisme* the *Donatist* be the *Schismatick*, and in the former both parties be equally engaged in the *Schisme*, yet you may safely upon your occasions communicate with either, if ~~some~~ you flatter neither in their *Schisme*: For why might not it be lawful to go to Church with the *Donatist*, or to celebrate *Easter* with the *Quartodeciman*, if occasion so require? since neither Nature, nor Religion, nor Reason doth suggest any thing of moment to the contrary? For in all publick Meetings pretending holiness, so there be nothing done, but what true Devotion and Piety brook, why may not I be present in them, and use communion with them? Nay, what if those to whom the execution of the publick service is committed, do something either unseemly or suspicious, or peradventure unlawful? what if the garments they wear be censured, nay indeed be suspicious? what if the gesture or adoration to be used to the Altars, as now we have learned to speak? What if the *Homilist* have Preached, or delivered any Doctrine of the Truth, of which we are not well persuaded? a thing which very often falls out; yet for all this we may not separate, except we be constrained personally to bear part in them, our selves: The Priests under *Ely* had so ill demeaned themselves about the dayly sacrifices, that the Scripture tells us, they made them to stink; yet the People refused not to come to the Tabernacle, nor to bring their Sacrifice to the Priest: for in those *Schismes* which concern fact, nothing can be a just cause of refusing of Communion, but only to require the execution of some unlawful or suspected act, for not only in reason, but in Religion too, that *Maxime* admits of no release, *Cantissimi cuiusq; Preceptum quod dubitas ne feceris*. Long it was ere the Church fell upon *Schisme*, upon this occasion, though of late it hath had very many; for until the second Council of *Nice*, in which irreconcilable Superstition and Ignorance did conspire, I say, until the Rout did set up Image-worship, there was not any remarkable *Schisme* upon just occasion of fact: all the rest of *Schismes* of that kind were but wantons, this was truly serious; in this the *Schismatical* party was the Synod it self, and such as conspired with it for, or concerning, the use of Images in Sacrifices.

First, it is acknowledged by all that it is a thing unnecessary.

Secondly, it is by most suspected.

Thirdly, it is by many held utterly unlawful; can then the enjoyning of such a thing be ought else but abuse? or can the refusal of Communion here be thought any other thing than duty? Here or upon the like occasion to separate, may peradventure bring personal trouble or danger (against which it concerns any honest man, to have *pellus Preparatum*;) further harm it cannot do, so that in these cases you cannot be to seek what to think, or what you have to do.

Come we then to consider a little of the second sort of *Schisme*, arising upon occasion of variety of opinion: It hath been the common disease of Christians from the beginning, not to content themselves with that measure of faith which God and Scriptures have expressly afforded us, but out of a vain desire to know more than is revealed, they have attempted to devise things, of which we have no light, neither from Reason nor Revelation; neither have they rested here, but upon pretence of Church-authority (which is none,) or Tradition (which for the most part is but feigned,) they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently imposed upon others, a necessity of entertaining conclusions of that nature; and, to strengthen themselves, have broken out into Divisions and Factions, opposing man to man, Synod to Synod, till the peace of the Church vanished, without all possibility of recall: hence arose those ancient, and many separations amongst Christians, occasioned by *Arianisme*, *Eurychianisme*, *Nestorianisme*, *Photinianisme*, *Sabellianisme*, and many more both ancient, and in our own time:



all which indeed are but names of *Schisme*; howsoever in the common language of the Fathers, they were called *Heresies*, for *Heresie* is an act of the will, not of the reason, and is indeed a lye and not a mistake, else how could that of *Austin* go for true, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo*: indeed *Manichæisme*, *Valentinianisme*, *Macedonianisme*, *Mahometisme*, are truly and properly *Heresies*: For, we know that the Authors of them received them not, but invented them themselves, and so knew what they taught, to be a lye; but can any man avouch that *Arim* and *Nestorius*, and others that taught erroneously concerning the Trinity, and the person of our Saviour, did maliciously invent what they taught, and not rather fall upon it by error and mistake? Till that be done, and upon good evidence, we will think no worse of all parties than needs we must, and take these Rents in the Church to be at the worst but *Schismes*, upon matter of opinion. In which case what we are to do, is not a point of any great depth of understanding to discover, if so be distemper and partiality do not intervene: I do not see, that *opinionum varietas* & *opinantium unitas*, are *ἁρμονία*, or that men of different opinions in Christian Religion, may not hold communion in *Sacris*, and both go to one Church. Why may I not go, if occasion require, to an *Arian Church*; so there be no *Arianisme* express in their Liturgy; and, were Liturgies and publick Forms of Service so framed, as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only such things, as in which all Christians do agree; *Schismes* on opinion were utterly vanished: for consider of all the Liturgies that are and ever have been, and remove from them whatsoever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on, and the evil shall be, that the publick Service and Honour of God shall no ways suffer. Whereas to load our publick Forms, with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most foveraign way to perpetuate *Schisme* unto the worlds end; Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, Reading of Scriptures, Administration of Sacraments in the plainest and the simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion, or of Church-Pomp, of Garments, or prescribed Gestures, of Imagery, of Musick, of matter concerning the Dead, of many superfluities which creep into the Church, under the name of Order and Decency, did interpose it self.

To charge Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all superstition, and when scruple of conscience began to be made or pretended, there *Schism* began to break in; if the special Guides and Fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of incumbent Churches with superfluities, or not over-rigid either in reviving obsolete Customes, or imposing new, there would be far less cause of *Schism*, or *Superstition*, and all the inconvenience were likely to ensue would be but this, they should in so doing yield a little to the imbecillity of their Inferiours, a thing which *St. Paul* would never have refused to do; meanwhile wheresoever false or suspected opinions are made a piece of Church-Liturgy, he that separates is not the *Schismatick*, for it is alike unlawful to make profession of known or suspected falshood, as to put in practise unlawful or suspect actions.

The third thing I named for matter of *Schisme* was *Ambition*, I mean *Episcopal Ambition*, shewing it self especially in two heads, one concerning pluralities of *Bishops* in divers Seas. *Aristotle* tells us, that necessity causeth but small faults, but Avarice and Ambition were the Mother of great Crimes; *Episcopal Ambition* hath made this true, for no occasion hath produced more frequent, more continuous, more sanguineous *Schismes*, than this hath done. The Sees of *Alexandria*, of *Constantinople*, of *Antioch*, and above all of *Rome*, do abundantly shew thus much, and all Ecclesiastical stories witness no less, of which the greatest that consists of factionating and tumultuating of great and potent *Bishops*.

*Socrates* Apologizing for himself, that professing to write an Ecclesiastical story, he did oft-times interlace the actions of secular Princes and other civil business, tells us that he did this to refresh his Reader, who otherwise were in danger to be cloyed by reading so much of the Acts of unquiet and unruly *Bishops*, *ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀνέλεον ἐστίν*, in which as a man may say, they made

made butter and cheefe one of another, for τυρηνν (that I may shew you a cast of my old Office and open you a mystery in Grammar) properly signifies to make butter and cheefe, and because these are not made without much agitation of the milk, hence τυρηνν, by a borrowed and translated signification, signifies to do things with much agitation and tumult.

But that I may a little consider of the two heads, I but now specified; the first I mentioned was the *Prelacies of Bishops* in one Sea. For the general practice of the Church, since the beginning at least since the original of Episcopacy, as now it is, was never to admit at once more than one Bishop in one Sea; and so far in this point have they been careful to preserve unity, that they would not have a Bishop in his Sea to have two Cathedral Churches: which thing lately brought us a Book out of France, *De Monomachia Episcoporum*, written by occasion of the Bishops of *Lan-gres*: who I know not upon what fancy could not be content with one Cathedral Church in his Diocess, but would needs have two, which to the Author of that work seems to be a kind of Spiritual Polygamy. It fell out amongst the Ancients very often; sometimes upon occasion of difference in opinions, sometimes because of those who were interessed in the choice of Bishops; that two and sometimes more were set up, and all parties striving to maintain their own Bishop, made themselves several Churches, several Congregations, each refusing to participate with others, and many times proceeding to mutual Excommunications; this is that which *Cyprian* calls *Erigere Altare contra Altare*: to this doth he impute the Original of all Church-disorders; and if you read him, you would think, he thought no other Church-tumult to be *Schisme* but this: This perchance may plead some excuse; for, though in regard of Religion it self, it matters not whether there be one or more Bishops in one Diocess; for *Epiphanius* reckoning up the Bishops of *Rome*, makes *Peter* and *Paul* the first; and *St. Augustine* acknowledgeth for a time he fate fellow Bishop with his Predecessor, though he excused it, that he did so being ignorant that the contrary had been decreed by the Council of *Nice*: yet it being a thing very convenient for the peace of the Church to have it so, neither doth it any whit favour of their misdeemeanor, their punishment sleeps not, who unnecessarily and wantonly go about to infringe it.

But that other head of *Episcopal Ambition*, concerning *Supremacy of Bishops* in divers Seas, one claiming *Supremacy* over another, as it hath been from time to time, a great trespass against the Churches Peace, so it is now the final ruine of it. The *East* and *West* through the fury of the two prime Bishops, being irremediably separated without all hope of Reconcilement. And besides all this mischief, it is founded on a vice contrary to all Christian humility, without which no man shall see his Saviour; for they do but abuse themselves and others, that would perswade us, that Bishops by *Christs* institution have any superiority over other men further than of Reverence, or that any Bishop is Superiour to another further than positive order, agreed upon amongst Christians, hath prescribed: for we have believed him that hath told us, that in *Jesus Christ* there is neither high nor low, and that in giving honour, every man should be ready to prefer another before himself; which saying cuts off all claim certainly of Superiority, by title of Christianity, except men think that these things were spoken only to poor and private men. Nature and Religion agree in this, that neither of them hath an hand in this Heraldry of *Secundum sub & supra*: All this comes from the Composition & Agreement of men amongst themselves; wherefore this abuse of Christianity to make it Lacquey to Ambition, is a vice for which I have no extraordinary name of Ignominy, and an ordinary I will not give it, lest you should take so transcendent a vice to be but trivial.

Now concerning *Schisme* arising upon these heads, you cannot be for behaviour much to seek: for, you may safely communicate with all parties as occasion shall call you, and the *Schismatics* here are all those who are head of the faction, together with all those who consent it: for private and indifferent persons, they may be spectators of these contentious as securely in regard of any peril of Conscience (for of danger in Purse or Person, I keep no account)

count) as at a Cock-fight where Serpents fight, who cares who hath the better? the best with is that both may perish in the fight.

And for Conventicles, of the nature of which we desire to be informed, thus much in general evidently appears, that all Meetings upon an unnecessary separation are to be so stiled, so that in sense a Conventicle is nothing else but a Congregation of *Schismatics*, yet time hath taken leave sometimes to fix this name upon good and honest Meetings, and that perchance not altogether without good reason; for without publick Religious Meetings thus it fares: First, it hath been at all times confessed necessary, that God requires not only inward and private Devotion, when men either in their hearts and Closets, or within their private walls, pray, praise, confess and acknowledge; but he further requires all those things to be done in publick, by troops and shoales of men, and from hence have proceeded publick Temples, Altars, forms of service, appointed times, and the like, which are required for open Assemblies, yet whilst men were truly pious, all Meetings of men for mutual help of piety and devotion where-soever and by whomsoever celebrated, were permitted, without exception.

But when it was espyed that ill-affected persons abused private Meetings, whether Religious or Civil, to evil ends; Religiousness to cross impiety, as appears in the Ethnick *Elusina*, and *Bacchanalia*, and Chritian Meetings under the Pagan Princes, when for fear they durst not come together in open view, were charged with foul imputations, as by the report of Christians themselves plainly appears, and civil Meetings many times under pretence of friendly and neighbourly visits, sheltered treasonable attempts against Princes and Common-weals.

Hence both Church and State joyned, and joynly gave order for Forms, Times, Places of publick Meetings, whether for Religious or Civil ends. And all other Meetings whatsoever, besides those of which both Time and Place, are limited; They censured for Riots and Riots, and unlawful Assemblies in the State, and in the Church for Conventicles.

So that it is not lawful, no not for prayer, for hearing, for Conference, for any other Religious Office whatsoever, for people to assemble otherwise, than by publick Order is allowed; neither may we complain of this in times of corruption, for why should men desire to do that suspiciously in private which warrantably may be performed in publick.

But in times of manifest corruptions and persecutions, wherein Religious assembling is dangerous, private Meetings howsoever, besides publick order, are not only lawful, but they are of necessity and duty: else how shall we excuse Meetings of Christians for publick Service, in time of danger and persecutions, and of our selves in Queen *Maries* dayes? And how will those of the Roman Church amongst us, put off the imputation of Conventicling, who are known amongst us privately to assemble for Religious exercises, against all established order, both in State and Church? For indeed all pious Assemblies in times of persecution and corruptions howsoever practised, are indeed or rather alone the lawful Congregations, and publick Assemblies, though according to form of Law, are indeed nothing else but Riots and Conventicles, if they be stained with corruption and superstition.

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F I N I S.

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